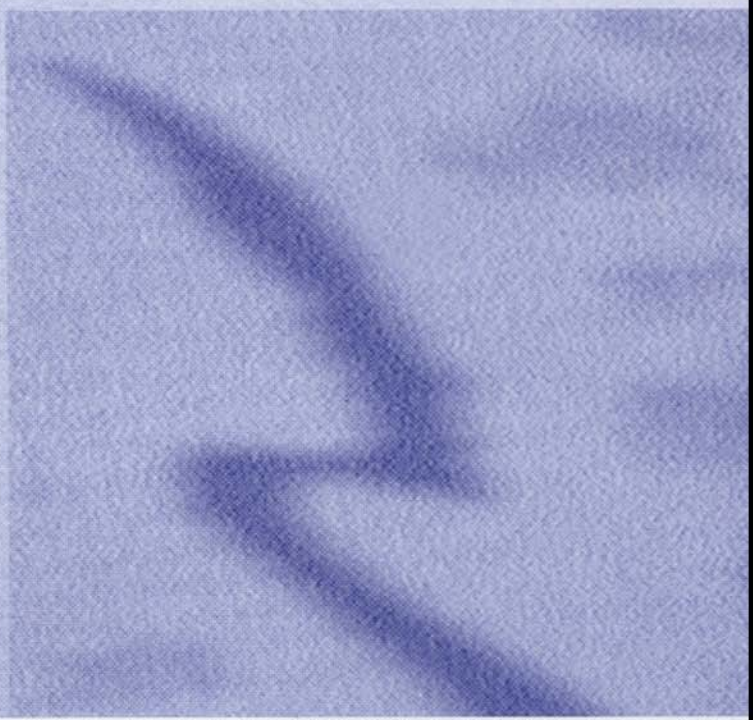
Judaism and Collective Life

Self and community in the religious kibbutz

Aryei Fishman

Routledge Studies in Religion



Judaism and Collective Life

Through his examination of the relationship between Judaism as a religious culture and kibbutz life, Aryei Fishman presents a groundbreaking work in the research of Judaism.

The book takes as its point of departure the historical fact that it was Orthodox pioneers of German origin, in contrast to their Eastern European counterparts, who successfully developed religious kibbutz life. Employing sociological concepts and methods, the author examines the correlations between two evolutionary phases in kibbutz development and two modes of Judaism: the rational Halakhic and the emotive Hasidic modes. In doing this he explores the relationship between these two modes' diverse dispositions towards the divinity – the transcendent and the immanent – and two diverse manners of the self and their related communities, as well as the functional value of these diverse selves and communities for the larger social system.

A unifying theoretical framework for this study is provided by Joseph B. Soloveitchik's typology of the two Adams of Creation. But the work also draws on the sociological theories of Max Weber, Durkheim, Simmel, Parsons and Peter Berger.

This innovative and insightful work will be of essential interest to scholars of the sociology of religion, Jewish studies and modern Jewish history, and will also interest those more broadly engaged with theology and religious studies.

Professor **Aryei Fishman** was a member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Bar-Ilan University, Israel, until his retirement. His special interests in the sociologies of religion and communal societies converged in his in-depth study of the religious kibbutz. He is the author of *Judaism and Modernization on the Religious Kibbutz*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

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To Gadi and Nurit,
Who were closely present during the
writing of the first drafts of this study

Contents

Acknowledgments

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Introduction

This is a study of the relationship between Judaism as a religious culture and communal life. The subject of this study is the Religious Kibbutz Federation of Israel (HaKibbutz HaDati, henceforth also the RKF). The RKF was founded in 1935 in the national Jewish community in Palestine; 60 years later the federation consisted of 16 settlements with a total population of about 8,000.

HISTORICAL SETTING

The kibbutz originated in the early phase of the Jewish national community in Palestine (1882–1919). Taking shape within the political framework of the Ottoman Empire, and nurtured demographically by a thin stream of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, the Zionist community in Palestine in its early phase laid the foundation for an autonomous national life. In 1904 the Socialist Zionist movement entered this setting. This radical stream of Zionism forged the image of the secular 'pioneer' (*Halutz*) dedicated to building the physical foundation of the national community; it also integrated into the national ideology the values of self-labor, equality, and cooperative living. These ideals converged and materialized in the kibbutz. By 1919, fourteen kibbutzim, all secular, had been established by East European pioneers.

The replacement of Turkish rule by the British mandate in the wake of World War I marked the opening of a new era in the development of the Jewish national community. A mass wave of East European Jewish pioneer youth immigrated to Palestine in the years immediately following the war, many of whom aspired to settle on the land. Zionist colonization was now to quicken. Orthodox pioneering youth also figured in this wave of immigration; they, too, were affected toward settlement on the land. The time frame of this study, then, begins to take shape about 1920; it extends to about 1948, when the development of the religious kibbutz had reached maturation.

DIFFERING GEOGRAPHIC ORIGINS

An overview of religious communal settlements in the national Jewish community between 1920 and 1948 poses a conundrum: The religious groups' success rates in setting up kibbutzim differed, depending on the groups' geographic origin. It was religious pioneers from Germany who by and large established the definite norms that prevailed in the religious kibbutzim. In contrast, Orthodox communal groups that came from Eastern Europe (notably from Poland) encountered great difficulties in adapting to the norms of kibbutz life. An internal survey of the eight religious kibbutzim in the RKF in 1944 indicates that pioneers from Germany constituted a majority in five and a plurality in a sixth, and were almost evenly divided with the East Europeans in a seventh. Only in the eighth religious kibbutz were East Europeans an absolute majority.[1]

As early as the 1920s it was clear that East European religious pioneers found it difficult to relate to kibbutz life. This was the decade during which the religious Zionist pioneering movement, composed almost entirely of immigrants from Eastern Europe, formed within the framework of the newly founded Orthodox labor organization, HaPo'el HaMizrahi. While this organization also championed a shared life pattern of settlement, it rejected the kibbutz for the more loosely structured *moshav*, or smallholder cooperative settlement (which secular pioneers had also initiated). The preference for the *moshav* among these religious pioneers is particularly striking when viewed against the background of secular Zionist settlement in the 1920s. Of the 29 secular pioneering groups that settled on the land in that decade, virtually all from Eastern Europe, 20 (69 per cent) opted for the kibbutz and only nine for the *moshav*.[2]

It has been suggested that the difference between the German and East European religious pioneering groups' abilities to cope with kibbutz life lay in the historical backgrounds of the two groups. The German Jewish community had become integrated into modern life in the nineteenth century, as a result of Emancipation, but only after World War I were most East European Jewish communities exposed to full-scale modernization. Thus, perhaps, the German groups would have been better prepared than the East Europeans for the advanced, or Commune, stage of kibbutz life (see below). This hypothesis weakens, however, in light of the fact that the *secular* kibbutz movement was established by settlers who came from traditional communities of Eastern Europe.

I will therefore propose that the difference in ability to accommodate to the kibbutz pattern derives from the divergent religious subcultures within the RKF that were invoked to accommodate the two evolutionary phases of communal life.

TWO PHASES IN KIBBUTZ DEVELOPMENT

Viable communal life that lasts a generation or more builds up in two phases through interpersonal reciprocity on two integrative axes: an axis of feeling and an axis of rational action. On each of these axes commune members may project their new union as a utopian quest for a morally perfected community and a spiritual quest for personal salvation.

The axis of feeling, predominating in the elementary stage of commune development, originates in an impulse of love. Inspired by a transcendent vision, men and women unrelated biologically will bond together psychically in tight-knit groups, and form new 'family' communities characterized by shared living and equality. As ideological symbols articulate communal values, and as interpersonal affection builds up to intense collective identification, a single-minded community emerges. The feeling of oneness underlying the 'family' ambience is mirrored in the sense of mutual responsibility; it is also refracted in the ideal of giving according to one's ability and receiving according to one's needs. At this stage of commune development the individual self is primarily inward-directed. Communal life expresses love in action, but the emphasis in this stage is more on love than on action. The morally perfected community is perceived as an outgrowth of innerly perfected individuals. This community of feeling based on reciprocal sentiment can be called a 'psychic collective.'

Its counterpart, a community of action based on reciprocal behavior, I refer to as an 'empirical collective.' The communal empirical collective unfolds on the rational–active axis of cooperative life; within the utopian perspective it defines itself in terms of character-molding moral institutions. For communal viability, the empirical collective must interpenetrate the psychic collective and evoke its practical potential; that is, fixed normative patterns must stabilize brotherly love and undergird its spontaneity. The inward-directed self must accede to an outward-directed empirical self. And as the communal group grows in size, roles must differentiate and rationally coordinate in a division of labor, particularly in the economic sphere.[3] In short, to sustain its viability, the 'family' commune must be fleshed out as a socialistically structured empirical collective.

Viable communal life, then, involves two phases: The first is characteristically emotive; the second rational. In this study the emotive phase of kibbutz development will be referred to as the 'Bund stage' and the rational phase as the 'Commune stage.'[4]

A rigorous rule shapes communal life in its socialistic mode in the Commune stage. The rationalized social group demands that its members deliberately subdue their personal desires and submit to a central political authority that directs and coordinates most of their activities. Only commitment to a transcendentally inspired ulterior mission, a kind of commitment generally characterized as religious, can inspire people to yield willingly to such a discipline and dedicate their beings to a cause beyond

themselves.[5] And religion can endlessly freshen the psychic collective and stimulate its cogency. Christianity has stood out in its ability to forge 'commitment mechanisms'[6] that sustain viable communal life. Motivated by religious love and inspired by the example of the Apostles' collective life, Christian communal groups have sought to realize the Kingdom of God on earth in their shared life pattern.[7]

THE KIBBUTZ MODEL

The religious pioneering groups in the 1920s and 1930s lacked a precedent in Jewish religious life to legitimate the communal system. While the monastic-like Essenes of the Second Temple period did live a shared life, within Jewish historical tradition there was only a marginal awareness of this group. Accordingly, the first religious kibbutzim followed the model of the secular kibbutz in taking form and in shaping their new life pattern. By the time the RKF was founded the secular kibbutz movement embraced nearly fifty settlements.

Many of the secular kibbutzim originated as pioneering 'nuclei' in the Diaspora, usually consisting of graduates of Zionist youth movements who had come together under the influence of nationalist and socialist values, and prepared themselves on training farms sponsored by HeHalutz (The Pioneer) movement. Upon immigration to Palestine, the members of a pioneering nucleus would set up temporary quarters in a work camp, in anticipation of settling on Jewish national land. Jewish-owned land was scarce until 1948, and a pioneering nucleus would often have to wait five years or more for its turn to settle. In the meantime, the group fashioned and developed its communal life along the axes of feeling and rational action, moving on from a Bund to a Commune. In transforming its communal structure from family-like to rationalized, the Zionist collective community grounded its institutions in social justice as well as in brotherly love. The colonizing mission of the kibbutz crowned the rationale for its founding. By interweaving a pioneering fiber into the socialistic texture, the secular kibbutz placed a highly structured settlement at the service of the national movement. Indeed, according to Sigfried Landshut, Jewish national revival was the functional equivalent of religion in the secular kibbutzim.[8] Under the impetus of a potent work ethic, the secular kibbutz spearheaded Zionist settlement and vigorously advanced the building of the material basis of the new Jewish society.

The RKF founders adopted the communal form of settlement, then, because it allowed for the highest degree of self-fulfillment within a national framework, and because its socialist values meshed with their own strong social awareness. However, the founders felt compelled to ground their kibbutz life in what was to them a higher level of meaning. In effect, in cultivating religious communal life along the two integrative axes of feeling

and rational action, the RKF set in play the two basic religious personality types that Joseph B. Soloveitchik was later to delineate in his *The Lonely Man of Faith* to exemplify the human condition.[9]

TWO FUNDAMENTAL RELIGIOUS TYPES

Soloveitchik bases his typology of the two religious personalities on his evaluation of the dual nature of man, according to his interpretation of the two versions of the creation of Adam in Genesis Chapters 1 and 2. 'Adam the first,' or Adam 1, (Genesis 1), originally divinely inspired, evolves into the modern, secular, rational–active man who is bent on mastering his environment through science and technology. This type of Adam prevailed in the rational, or Commune, stage of kibbutz evolution. When its kibbutzim matured to their Commune stage, the RKF was challenged to remodel this figure within a religious frame of reference. The key for doing so resided in Adam 2.

'Adam the second,' or Adam 2 (Genesis 2), is the outright religious man. The Adam 2 personality differentiates according to two opposite religious orientations toward reality. *Inward*-directed Adam 2, inspirited by an immanent mode of the divinity, centers on the subjective psychic world as the theater of the religious life. *Outward*-directed Adam 2, stimulated by a transcendent mode of the divinity, centers on the objective physical world as the theater of religious worship. In its initial effort to validate kibbutz life, the RKF called forth the inward-directed type of religious personality; this mode of Adam 2 provided the religious grounding for the emotive Bund stage of the kibbutz. But ultimately it was the outward-directed Adam 2 mode among the Orthodox pioneers that successfully accommodated Adam 1 along the rational–active axis in the Commune stage of their kibbutzim.

The two modes of Adam 2 directly influenced the RKF through divergent historical subcultures that featured them: a mystical subculture rooted in inward-directed Adam 2, which directly influenced the RKF through Hasidism; and a rational subculture, rooted in the outward-directed mode, which directly influenced the RKF through the nineteenth-century Torah-im-Derekh Eretz (literally, Torah and Civic Life) Orthodox stream. Each subculture fosters a characteristic community within a utopian perspective of *tikkun olam* (correcting, or perfecting, the world).[10] Hasidism posits an affectively charged psychic community as the social vehicle for realizing *tikkun olam*; this community is pitched to revert the individual self to a primordial reality anchored in God. Torah-im-Derekh Eretz adverts to the empirical religious community – the polity governed by Jewish law, or Halakhah – as the specific vehicle for realizing *tikkun olam* sometime in an unparalleled future. The two subcultures, then, present two diametrically opposite modes for *tikkun olam*. The RKF drew on these mystical and rational subcultures and related their typical communities to the two basic kibbutz collectives – the

psychic and the empirical. In this way the RKF was able to fashion a religious footing for the two phases of kibbutz development.

INTEGRATION OF THE RELIGIOUS AND KIBBUTZ CULTURES

The divergent religious subcultures that prevailed within the RKF appear to constitute the key to the differential abilities of the East European and German pioneering groups to accommodate to the kibbutz pattern. For Hasidism prevailed in the East European pioneering groups; Torah-im-Derekh Eretz prevailed in the German groups. In order for a religious subculture to coordinate with the essentially secular kibbutz culture, the two cultures must be able to mesh in an overarching definition of reality.[11] Tracing the evolution of religious kibbutz life from the youth movements in the Diaspora through settlement on the land in Palestine, I shall seek to demonstrate that Hasidism and Torah-im-Derekh Eretz coordinate differently with the two phases of kibbutz evolution, the 'family' phase of feeling, or Bund stage, and the organized phase of action, or Commune stage. The study will highlight the key role of the value-orientation patterns of the religious subcultures in facilitating (or hindering) their alignment with kibbutz culture.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THIS STUDY

By way of a preview, let me sketch the organization of this study. Chapter 1 will introduce the two Adamic personality types delineated by Soloveitchik, and will distinguish between inward-directed and outward-directed Adam 2, their typical communities, and their typical value-orientation patterns. Chapter 2 will examine the Bund and Commune evolutionary stages of kibbutz development as they were experienced by the secular kibbutz. Chapter 3 will elaborate upon the Halakhic subculture that Torah-im-Derekh Eretz developed in nineteenth-century Germany. Chapter 4 will discuss the formation of the Hasidism-grounded HaPo'el HaMizrahi in the Jewish national community of the 1920s, and will analyze the inability of the Hasidic mindset to sustain a viable religious kibbutz life. Chapter 5 will describe the formation of the German and East European wings of the Religious Kibbutz Federation and will adumbrate their respective religious approaches to kibbutz life. Chapter 6 will depict the Bund reality of the Orthodox kibbutz in religious terms, as cultivated by an inward-directed Adam 2 type of personality. Chapter 7 will deal with the transition of the religious kibbutz from the Bund to the Commune stage, and will highlight the difficulties of the RKF's one predominantly Hasidism-grounded kibbutz in its rational phase. Chapter 8 will place the RKF on the world stage that was set by Max Weber in his comparative studies of religion and modernization; it will do so by

delineating the aptitude of the outward-directed Halakhic mode of Adam 2 to accommodate scientist–technologist Adam 1 in his socialist guise, as expressed both in the thought of the nineteenth-century socialist thinker Moses Hess and in the Commune stage of the German wing of the RKF. Chapter 9 will summarize the study within the perspective of an integrated theory of social and religious evolution.

Talcott Parsons' theory of action, which addresses the subjective and voluntary component of human action,[12] will inform this entire study. Through examining the workings of the religious consciousness of the real persons involved in the Orthodox kibbutzim, the study will actualize the various Adamic types of Soloveitchik's *The Lonely Man of Faith* as they faced the exigencies of kibbutz life. And by enlisting the ideal typological method of inquiry and applying it to the historical reality of the religious kibbutzim,[13] the study will abstract the characteristic value-orientation patterns of Hasidism and Torah-im-Derekh Eretz from the literature of the East European and German religious pioneering groups, to demonstrate their disparate levels of success in the Commune stage of their kibbutzim.

This is my second study of the religious kibbutz to combine the sociology of religion and the sociology of the kibbutz. The first study, J*udaism and Modernization on the Religious Kibbutz*, examined Orthodox Judaism's ability to sustain the impetus of modernization.[14] The present study draws to some degree on its antecedent, but its focus is the capacity of different Orthodox subcultures that converged in the RKF to sustain communal life. Soloveitchik's two Adams (Chapter 1) constitute a unifying theme. Let me add a personal note. I spent almost all of 1947 on a religious kibbutz and took an active part in its daily life. The impressions of that experience are still vivid in my memory, and I drew on them to supplement archival literature in describing religious kibbutz life in the second half of Chapter 6 and the first half of Chapter 7.

1 Two types of religious man

> Religion is both a divine imperative which was foisted upon man from without and a new dimension of personal being which man discovers within himself.
>
> J.B. Soloveitchik in *Tradition* 6:2

This chapter will delineate and elaborate in ideal typological terms the Adamic personality types that Joseph B. Soloveitchik set forth in his *The Lonely Man of Faith*.[1] I noted in the Introduction that the religious kibbutz movement drew on these figures in its endeavor to accommodate kibbutz life in ulterior meaningful terms. This chapter will define the characteristic value-orientation patterns of the diverse Adamic types and expound their critical significance for the successful integration of religious culture and kibbutz culture. At the end of the chapter I will return to the religious kibbutz movement and relate the Adam 1 and Adam 2 figures to this movement's historical experience.

In *The Lonely Man of Faith*, J.B. Soloveitchik joins the students of religion who divide historical religious cultures according to the dichotomy between action and feeling.[2] The classical paradigm of this dichotomy was cast by Max Weber. In his comparative study of world religions, Weber takes man's irreconcilability to an imperfect world as a point of departure and juxtaposes religious salvation through world mastery with salvation through the pursuit of harmony.[3] The path of mastery focuses on a transcendent divinity who created the world and exists independently of it; this mode of the divinity addresses self-aware man from the outside and enjoins him to serve as its instrument by acting upon the world in order to transform it into a masterable object. The path of harmony focuses on an immanent, indwelling, divinity that is 'embedded in the depths of human consciousness' and moves the human self to seek it out and unify with it in an eternal world. According to Weber, then, a culture's cosmology, in defining its divinity, its world, and man's relationship to them, provides the cognitive grounding for the culture's ethos. Indeed, Weber contrasts a 'culture of action' with a 'culture of feeling.'[4]

Peter Berger heightens the universality of Weber's mastery/harmony concept by suggesting that the same religious tradition may include both paths of salvation. Berger explicates what he refers to as the 'confrontational' and 'interiority' prototypes of religious experience, which launch the two paths respectively. On the confrontational path, the thrust of religious consciousness is toward a divinity that is differentiated from the human and the world, and relates to a segmented world. On the interiority path, the thrust of religious consciousness is toward a divinity that constitutes the hub of ultimate unity of the human and the world. Berger coins the term 'the other side of God' to suggest a dual-moded divinity in the religious tradition.[5]

Soloveitchik further localizes the two concomitant paths of salvation ('redemption' in his language) to 'dual man … a real contradiction in the nature of man' (p. 10). Departing in his methodology from that of the other students of the action/feeling dichotomy, in that his analysis is based not on objective empirical evidence but on his personal experience and meditations, Soloveitchik intimates that a person may act almost concurrently under the spur of both a confrontational and an interior religious disposition; what is more, the two types of religious disposition may interpenetrate. To conceptualize his meditations, Soloveitchik makes use of the two biblical accounts of the creation of man in the first two chapters of Genesis. In Adam 1 and Adam 2 Soloveitchik discerns two antithetical religiously inspired ideal types that are simultaneously found in the universal human personality.[6] Each Adam is enjoined by God to realize his human identity through a different religious disposition. The novelty in Soloveitchik's thinking, then, lies in his vision of the individual's ability to experience God in both His immanent and transcendent manifestations – 'He is everywhere, but at the same time above and outside everything' (p. 49) – and to bridge the two types of religious experience dialectically. Let us look closely at the two Adams as Soloveitchik delineates them.

THE TWO ADAMS

Adam the first

Adam 1 (Genesis 1) was created in the 'image of God' as expressed in His rational and creative powers. Subject to the differentiating thrust of his religious consciousness, this Adam seeks to realize his religious identity by imitating his transcendent Creator, as His 'creative agent,' in building a world of his own. Put differently, Adam 1 is an autonomous rational being who acts under the divine mandate to confront the physical world: to investigate the workings of God through the laws by which He created the world, and, through this acquired knowledge, to act upon the world in order to reshape and control it. Thanks to his role of *imitatio dei* in reshaping the world, Adam 1's personality acquires a 'majestic' quality. The most

characteristic representative of Adam 1 is the mathematical scientist, who mentally constructs quantifiable paradigms of natural laws, which he proceeds to translate into technology through 'the functional and practical aspects of his intellect' (p. 12). However, Adam 1 tends to subvert the religious impulse behind his rational–active ethos, by transmuting that impulse into a secular utilitarian drive to secure his position *vis-à-vis* a hostile natural environment. In this tendency Adam 1 assumes a manipulative stance and demeans his relationship with God. Modern secular man, says Soloveitchik, embodies wayward Adam 1.[7]

The utilitarian drive of Adam 1 comes forth in the quality of his instinctual sociability, which is sparked by a 'fenced-in egocentric and ego-directed' (p. 60) consciousness. Adam 1 collaborates with his concurrently created Eve to fashion the prototype of a 'natural work community' where role differentiation enhances his ability to cope with hostile nature. He also creates social norms to ensure the orderly functioning of the community. While the members of the work community labor in their heterogeneous roles as partners in unison, in 'dialogue[s] … of action' (p. 26), they regard one another, and their community as a whole, functionally, as means to serve their individual interests. They mutually communicate at a surface level – all along maintaining their 'I' awareness – and evaluate a person according to his or her accomplishments in furthering the community's efficiency.[8] Adam 1's self-awareness, however, involved as it is in his instrumental achievements, does not lead him to plumb his inner self.

The characteristic social group of Adam 1, to use the term of Ferdinand Toennies, is the rationally organized *Gesellschaft* (association), where behavior is impersonal and people interact as incumbents of specific roles, rather than as whole personalities.[9] Soloveitchik does not dwell on the bureaucratically structured governance mode of the *Gesellschaft*; but, in effect, this rational system of administration constitutes a corollary of Adam 1's thrust to control his environment. As a group that is structured by interpersonal external action, the *Gesellschaft* qualifies as an empirical collective, as I shall further discuss below.

Adam the second

In contrast with Adam 1's 'surface personality,' Adam 2 has an 'in-depth personality' through which he seeks to realize his human identity by seeking out God in existence. Whereas dynamic and creative Adam 1 'comprehends [God] *through* reality,' by cognizing the world abstractly in order to reveal its functional workings, 'receptive' Adam 2 'apprehends [God] *in* reality' (p. 51, note) in order to discover existentially the meaning of his life within a given world. The creation of Adam 2 (in Genesis 2) illuminates his existential approach to reality. Formed alone by God from the dust of the earth and the inspiration of His breath, and aware of his self's uniqueness, this

Adam strives to overcome his loneliness by continuing his relationship with God in his earthly life. And, moved by the unifying thrust of his religious consciousness, Adam 2 seeks to interweave harmoniously with his fellow divine-sprung humans and elements of nature – on a course of reunification with God.

Soloveitchik dwells only sparingly on Adam 2's thrust to experience the divine essence in nature – the 'message [of God] that is embedded in organic and inorganic matter' and 'the image of God … in every beam of light, in every bud and blossom' (pp. 22–3). On the other hand, he expands upon the manifestation of the divine element in people as they join together to form an existential community. Adam 2 and his fellow humans form a 'covenantal faith community' that is based on friendship and built on affect-laden relationships; in this community of amity, in which 'not only hands are joined but experiences as well' (p. 41), God reveals Himself as 'a comrade and fellow member' (p. 45). Indeed, God constitutes the focus, as well as the source, of the experiences of the community members, thanks to which they 'bind themselves together and participate in a unitive existence' (p. 44).

The physical relationship between Adam 2 and Eve is paradigmatic for the building of the community consciousness of Adam 2. In the spirit of Soloveitchik's analysis, one could say that Adam 2, having relinquished part of himself for Eve's creation in response to his loneliness, dialectically joins Eve in a close union, as though they were 'one flesh.' In like manner, the members of the covenantal community forgo virtually all of their self awareness and intimately merge both with God and their fellows; this all-embracing religious experience, focused on God, induces a 'we' consciousness. While the collective experience submerges Adam 2's self-awareness, it also constitutes a carrier wave for his being, enabling him to draw forth the indefinable core of his unique self, his individual true being, from 'the hidden strata of the isolated "I" … the privacy of [his] in-depth personality' (p. 35) on the course of his return to 'the Great True Real Self' (p. 79). It is thanks to his divinely consummated collective experience that Adam 2 fully reveals to himself his unique personal identity. Adam 2, then, like Adam 1, personifies human individualism. But whereas Adam 1's individualism is rational, deriving from his differentiation from, and cognitive imitation of, his transcendent Lawmaker, that of Adam 2 is existential. It derives from the affective thrust of Adam 2's true self to uncoil, through a collectively experienced community, on a path of reunification with his Supreme Source. By the same token, in contrast to the firm boundaries of Adam 1 that demarcate his self from God and the world, Adam 2's fluid boundaries dispose his self to the experience of merging with them.

Hence, while the work community of Adam 1 is formed at a superficial level of communication, around the partnership of an 'I' and a 'thou' devoid of a mutual God, the covenantal community of Adam 2 is built up through an in-depth mutuality of communion of 'I, thou, and He' (p. 43).

The collective experience induces social solidarity; by revealing and committing themselves to the 'He,' the 'I' and 'thou' reveal and commit themselves to one another 'in sympathy and love on the one hand and in common action on the other' (p. 68). The collective experience further projects a transcendent, value-laden, reality in the group's consciousness. In this context, God also manifests Himself as 'the He in whom all being is rooted and in whom everything finds its rehabilitation and, consequently, redemption' (p. 43). Soloveitchik conceives redemptiveness as ultimate purpose that defines existence as worthwhile and legitimate.[10]

In Toennies's terms, the characteristic social group of Adam 2 is the *Gemeinschaft* (community), where people interact as whole personalities intrinsically, according to feeling.[11] The mutual communion that fashions the *Gemeinschaft* defines it as a psychic collective, as the next subsection will explain.

Adam 2 is also mandated to work. But whereas the natural milieu of Adam 1 is the earth at large, which he is charged to subdue, that of Adam 2 is the Garden of Eden, which he is enjoined 'to cultivate and keep.' And while Adam 1 works and socializes within a quantitative temporal context – 'clock' and 'calendar' time – in which past, present, and future are distinctly separate from one another, the work and social relations of Adam 2 are 'rooted in everlasting time, in eternity itself,' where temporal dimensions blur and generations interweave (pp. 69–73).

TWO MODES OF ADAM 2 AND THEIR COVENANTAL COMMUNITIES

We shall later return to Adam 1. Right now I wish to introduce into our discussion two modes of Adam 2 – an inward-directed and an outward-directed mode – and the typical 'covenantal faith' communities that the two create, respectively. Inspired by an immanent mode of the divinity, inward-directed Adam 2, as we shall soon see, creates a community of feeling. Outward-directed Adam 2, on the other hand, inspired by a transcendent mode of the divinity, creates a community of action. The distinction between these two modes of Adam 2 and their correlative communities will constitute a central theme of this entire study.

The covenantal community formed by Adam 2 is essentially an affect-laden religious group, but we have seen that its members relate to one another 'in common action' as well as 'in sympathy and love.' That is to say, Jews in the covenantal community are enjoined to interact at the outward, as well as inward, levels of reality under the guidance of divine norms. While Soloveitchik does not explicitly designate the two modes of Adam 2,[12] he cogently differentiates between two types of covenantal communities, the 'prophetic' and 'prayer' communities, according to the direction of God–man dialogue. That is, dialogue initiated by God leads to

a prophetic or action-oriented community, formed by an outward-directed Adam 2; dialogue initiated by man leads to a feeling-centered prayer community, formed by an inward-directed Adam 2.

Prophetic versus prayer community

The prophetic community, focusing on a transcendent God, is a Jewish community created consciously and purposively, and directed from above, so to speak, through Halakhically defined empirical interaction – through the exercise of the 'practical commandments' of Jewish law. Indeed, historically the prophetic community is manifest in the Halakhic community, whose essential empirical character makes it a 'community of action' (p. 62). The members of the Halakhic community are mutually responsible before God for its subsistence.

The prayer community, on the other hand, originates in the immanent, divinity-rooted, spontaneous self. Normatively concerned with the commitment of its members to one another and to God, this community builds up toward God through the affective interaction of its 'comrades and fellow members.' The prayer community is essentially psychic in nature – a community of feeling.

The two types of covenantal communities may coexist in different religious social configurations, correlating and interpenetrating along the dual axes of action and feeling. That is to say, the building and sustaining of each type of covenantal community manifests both the immanent and transcendent mode of divine inspiration. Thus, the sense of unity in God that members of the prayer community find through joint worship is refracted in their sense of commitment to one another in jointly performing communal Halakhic action. In turn, the Halakhic community in a scaled-down form establishes a fixed and objective pattern for communal prayer.

From the standpoint of this study, we are particularly concerned with the coexistence of the prophetic and prayer communities in terms of the two analytic collectives inherent in them. That is to say, the individuals who relate to God and to one another in each type of community create – with different emphases – both an empirical collective and a psychic collective. The two collectives will serve this study as operational concepts in relating Jewish religious culture to kibbutz culture.

EMPIRICAL AND PSYCHIC COLLECTIVES OF COVENANTAL COMMUNITIES

Let us turn to a concrete example of how the empirical and psychic collectives operate and interpenetrate in a core institution of Jewish religious life: the minyan.

The minyan: two types of religious collectives

The dual (transcendently and immanently inspired) religious nature of Adam 2 is expressed in social practice in the minyan, or ten-man public prayer quorum. Constituting an essential 'prayer community' in everyday life, the minyan incorporates a primary psychic collective grounded in the spontaneous self, as well as a secondary empirical collective, grounded in Halakhah. These two analytic collectives are built by the inward- and outward-directed modes of Adam 2, respectively, as these two modes draw upon distinctive patterns of value orientations (as characterized by Talcott Parsons), or mind-sets.[13]

Such value orientations are formed in a religious context by the refraction of the religious consciousness – either transcendently or immanently inspired – as it relates to one's social and natural environment. Later in this chapter we shall see that these value-orientation patterns qualify the two analytic collectives of the prayer community to serve as formal models for the empirical and psychic collectives of greater scope in Jewish religious life – such as those embodied in the structure of the religious kibbutz. And in overall terms, as intimated in the Introduction, the value-orientation patterns will constitute the key to the integration of the religious and kibbutz cultures that concern us.

The typical value-orientation patterns of outward- and inward-directed Adam 2 are:

Outward-directed Adam 2	*Inward-directed Adam 2*
Collective primacy[14]	Self primacy
Componentiality[15]	Wholeness
Performance	Personal quality
Universalism	Particularism
Self-restraint	Affectivity

Let us look more closely at each of these patterns as embodied in the minyan.

The empirical prayer collective: its value orientations

The minyan's Halakhically fashioned empirical collective constitutes the ritualistic component, the 'body,' of worship through public prayer. It builds up modally through the following five religious value orientations of the collective's associates, which are induced in outward-directed Adam 2 by a law-ordaining transcendent divinity.

1 *Collective primacy* (as opposed to self primacy). While religious law allows each individual to pray privately, it regards the public prayer service as more complete, in that public prayer includes certain prayers and practices of its own, such as the recital of the *kaddish* or the

kedushah and the reading of the Torah. Individual motives for sustaining the Halakhically defined ten-man prayer quorum may vary. For example, one man at prayer may be motivated to participate in the public service to help discharge a Jewish community obligation; another man may be motivated to obtain religious 'benefits' that derive only from public prayer. But whatever the motives of each of the ten members of the minyan, the individual's interest in sustaining the empirical prayer collective overrides his personal religious interests. It is only through realizing the quorum for a public prayer service that the service can proceed.[16]

2 *Componentiality* (as opposed to wholeness). The empirical prayer collective of the minyan is structured by a complex of discrete Halakhically ordained components – chiefly differentiated roles, such as those of the precentor; the Torah reader; the 'ascender' to the Torah to partake in its reading; the member of priestly lineage, who is the first to ascend to the Torah and who also blesses the congregation at prescribed times; and, of course, the 'ordinary' worshipper.[17] Members of this empirical collective, accordingly, are obligated to God and to one another segmentally, solely by specific norms prescribed by these roles; beyond these defined roles they are not necessarily involved with one another. The componential structure of the empirical prayer collective is also affirmed in the specific time frame of the prayer service and in its definitive text.

3 *Performance* (as opposed to personal quality). The central feature of the empirical prayer collective is Halakhically ordained behavior that expresses the worshipper's obedience to God's will as one 'who is commanded and performs' (Tractate *Kidushin* 31a). It is through performance that the empirical prayer collective fleshes out its role structure. Indeed, performance (behavior) constitutes the prime criterion by which one evaluates one's fellow men at prayer. Articulation of the prayer and Torah texts are the major aspect of performance. In the words of Ha'im of Volozin, 'The essential part of the prayer commandment … is that a person move his lips; if he just contemplates, he has not fulfilled his obligation.'[18] The arrival of ten men at the place of prayer, and the requirement that ten men remain physically present under one roof during the service, are further behavioral expressions of this value orientation.

4 *Universalism* (as opposed to particularism). The associates of the empirical prayer collective relate to one another objectively, on a rational and impersonal plane, as members of prescribed categories. Any Jewish male over thirteen years of age may join nine others in filling almost all of the minyan's roles; the ten do not have to be attracted to one another or even acquainted. The prescribed prayer text is another aspect of universalism. In Soloveitchik's words, the fixed text 'standardizes the unique and universalizes the individual' (p. 67). The rational, impersonal character of the empirical prayer collective is underscored by the

fact that the initial ten members of the prayer service may be formally replaced by others who fit the three basic categories for membership (being Jewish, male, and at least thirteen years old) without disturbing the continuity of the service. The mode of time that characterizes the empirical prayer collective is outer, objective, time. While some variations in public prayer are found among different Jewish ethnic groups, and even between different communities of the same ethnic group, these differences are minor.

Self-awareness is a corollary of the universalistic orientation; the individual conceptualizes his own role (or roles), and those of his fellow worshippers, in objective terms.

5 *Self-restraint* (as opposed to affectivity). In order for the members of the empirical prayer collective to behave normatively and realize their objective goal of public worship, they are obliged to curb their feelings and to defer immediate personal gratification.

To summarize: The value-orientation pattern that is involved in sustaining the minyan's empirical collective derives from the transcendently ordained Halakhic system. By delineating the objective roles and norms of minyan members as well as the time frame and liturgy of the prayer service, religious law defines this empirical collective component. The rational interdependence of the collective roles and the fixed liturgy allows for the orderly functioning of the prayer service.

The psychic prayer collective: its value orientations

The minyan's empirical collective can exist independently of its psychic collective, even though such a phenomenon is rare. For example, Jews from different parts of the world may assemble and form a minyan at a prescribed time at an airport synagogue; they may recite the familiar prayer text and fulfill the familiar structural roles of the empirical prayer collective without establishing any kind of interpersonal communion or psychic collective. On the other hand, the psychic prayer collective cannot exist without its 'body.' To quote the Zohar, 'When the body is completed below celestial sanctity comes and enters the body.'[19] Nurtured by the divine element residing in the core self of each of the ten men who seek out God in prayer together, the psychic collective advances and expresses the unitive 'return' of the members of the minyan to God. Soloveitchik barely refers to the empirical collective component of the prayer community, but does expand upon its psychic counterpart. Emerging from the *kavvanot* (devotional intentions) of the spontaneous selves of individual members relating to God in His immanent mode, and expressing thereby 'worship in the heart' (Tractate *Taanit* 2a), the psychic prayer collective constitutes the communal essence of the prayer community. '*Kavvanah* … is the very core of prayer,' says Soloveitchik (p. 24, note), as he explicates the higher religious merit of

the psychic prayer collective in relation to its empirical counterpart. 'The very essence of prayer is the covenantal experience of being together and talking to God … . The concrete performance, such as the recitation of texts, represents the technique of implementation of prayer and not prayer itself.' (pp. 56–7).

Communion, then, constitutes the prime medium for prayer; and love stimulates communion.[20] Religious love constitutes a special 'switchboard' for dialectically shifting devotion from one mode of the divinity to the other. The initial dialogue of the minyan member is with the transcendent God who commands, 'And thou shalt love the Lord thy God' (p. 81). The observance of this commandment by the man at prayer induces his spontaneous religious feeling, and this is consummated by his loving an immanent God. If love is seen as psychic openness that arouses the individual to transcend himself and be drawn readily to others,[21] and sensitizes him to their corresponding response, then the individual worshipper who opens himself to God in prayer feels that God's love is returned. He draws ever more closely to God; and ultimately, through a process of mounting feedback from the experience of God's presence, his sense of independent existence in space and time is blurred. Soloveitchik connotes the affective I-blurring experience in the following passage:

> The man of faith animated by his great experience is able to reach the point at which not only the logic of his mind but even his logic of the heart and of the will, everything – even his own 'I' awareness – has to give in to an 'absurd' commitment. The man of faith is 'insanely' committed to and 'madly' in love with God. (p. 100)

But the religious experience fed by prayer also opens a man to his fellows at prayer, leading him to practice the commandment 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' Ten men at prayer who relate affectively to one another in their prayer tend to merge in what is deepest in them and create thereby the psychic prayer collective. And, as the ten focus on God, their love of God and their love of their neighbors blends.[22] Indeed, the experience of loving God energizes the love for one's neighbor. Thanks to the 'sympathy and love' that minyan members feel for one another, the wellsprings of the members' spontaneous selves merge beneath the surface of the fixed prayer text, and individual yearnings and hopes interweave. By virtue of the psychic collective component of the prayer community, then, 'destinies are dovetailed, suffering or joy is shared, and prayers merge into one petition on behalf of all' (p. 60). According to Soloveitchik, the ability of the prayer community to convert individual into public prayer constitutes the rationale for the prayer community.[23]

Soloveitchik also reviews extensively the transgenerational attribute of the public prayer service. In an article that was published in 1980 Soloveitchik hails the independent prayer community as the personification

'of the eternal community' of Israel. And Soloveitchik elaborates: 'Fundamentally there is only one tzibbur [religious community]: the invisible *keneset yisrael*, embracing the past, the present, and the future, prays with every *minyan*.'[24] The mode of time that characterizes the psychic prayer collective is inner, intersubjective, time.

What value orientations structure the psychic prayer collective of inward-directed Adam 2?

1 *Self primacy* (as opposed to collective primacy). Fathoming his core being as he communes with God in prayer, the member of the psychic prayer collective seeks to find God through his original and unique self.[25] In the words of Henri Bergson, a man's 'consciousness delving downward, reveals to him the deeper he goes an ever more original personality, incommensurable with the others, and, indeed, indefinable in words.'[26] The member of the psychic collective, then, is oriented to private rather than collective interests. To be sure, the ten psychically interrelated men at prayer tend to create an innerly cognizable psychic collective in their prayer; in this process, however, the prayer collective constitutes an emergent, rather than a designed, entity.
2 *Wholeness* (as opposed to discrete componentiality). Drawn together by free-flowing love, the members of the psychic prayer collective correlate with God and with one another within a context of seamless unity. In this vein they perceive time as everlasting.
3 *Quality* (as opposed to performance). In appraising one's fellow man at prayer as a partner in cultivating the psychic prayer collective – 'with whom do I pray?' – one is concerned with the quality of the fellow worshipper's inner being. It is not what a person does that counts in this collective, but who a person is. In this vein the kabbalistic master Isaac Luria (1534–72) intimated that for a man to regard his companion as a potential partner in public prayer, he must have 'the knowledge and comprehension to know his companion's soul.'[27] It is only through knowledge of one another's inner identity that men at prayer can establish rapport with one another and cultivate in-depth communion as committed partners in a shared psychic collective.
4 *Particularism* (as opposed to universalism). In contrast to the abstract, impersonal relationship between individuals in the empirical prayer collective, the relationship between individuals in the psychic prayer collective is based on the mutual, shared sentiments of particular persons with individual attributes; not on categorical attributes. This relationship bonds minyan members together psychically and fuels a 'we' awareness.
5 *Affectivity* (as opposed to self-restraint). The worshipper in the psychic prayer collective is encouraged to give spontaneous expression to his inner being; his prayer thereby awards him immediate gratification.[28]

To sum up: Love constitutes the basic building element of the psychic prayer collective. Touching upon the divine element immanent in the individual self, love inspires communion between the members of the psychic prayer collective and develops within them a collective consciousness,[29] on their shared path of return to God.

The two prayer collectives embedded in the minyan are unequal in religious terms. The psychic collective is the heart of the prayer community. But while the empirical collective is secondary from the standpoint of prayer, it is the more fundamental of the two collectives, in that it is obligatory under religious law. But the two prayer collectives correlate – they interweave as form and content. The fixed pattern of the empirical prayer collective captures and regulates the prayer-induced collective religious experiences and promotes the psychic collective's stability over time. On the other hand, the psychic collective strengthens the sense of unity of the members of the empirical collective, providing them with the feeling of a uniform 'body' possessing diverse limbs. Thus, as Max Kadushin indicates, the activities performed by an individual in his specific role in the corporate minyan express all the members of the minyan.[30] Furthermore, each of the two prayer collectives may grapple with the other for hegemony in the prayer service. At times the empirical collective may override the psychic collective in public prayer, as often happens in the daily prayer service; at other times the psychic collective may hold sway over the empirical collective, as on festive occasions when an exalted mood may melt down individual boundaries.

Expanded collectives: *kehillah* vs. kabbalistic coterie

Let us apply our understanding of the two analytic prayer collective components of the minyan to more comprehensive Jewish religious communities that originate with Adam 2: first, the local Halakhic community or *kehillah*, in which we can see the minyan's empirical collective writ large; and second, the kabbalistic coterie, which extends the scope of the minyan's psychic collective. Each of these expanded collectives is defined by the value-orientation pattern, or mind-set, that structures its corresponding minyan model.

The Halakhic community

The religiously defined Jewish geographic community known as the *kehillah* (or community) typifies the 'prophetic' covenantal community formed by an outward-directed Adam 2 type of personality. Historically, the *kehillah* was the dominant Jewish polity from the years following the Second Temple period until nineteenth-century Emancipation. For my structural analysis of this Halakhic community, and for the dominant pattern of value orientations that informed its members' behavior, I draw upon

Jacob Katz's description of the Ashkenazi *kehillah* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[31] Existing within the overall gentile state and governed by its own largely autonomous Halakhic legal system, through which it pursued the ethic of *tikkun olam*,[32] the *kehillah* constituted a differentiated social body encompassing most spheres of Jewish daily life.

Consider the dominant value orientations of *kehillah* associates: (1) Each member of the *kehillah* was enjoined to place the collective interests of the community before his own, as in accepting the leadership's authority or in paying taxes. (2) The *kehillah* structure was sustained by componential roles, such as those of the *dayyan* (religious judge), the *shohet* (ritual slaughterer), the school teacher, and the administrative officials, in addition to the roles of 'ordinary members.'[33] (3) Halakhah determined the universalistic, formal, religious relationships between the *kehillah* and its members, and among the members themselves. (4) The *kehillah* was substantiated through the performances of the role incumbents under the rule of Halakhah. (5) A disciplined disposition toward religious law and toward *kehillah* authority demanded self-restraint.

While the religious consciousness of *kehillah* members focused on empirical features of community life, it also nourished an ephemeral psychic collective. Members of a *kehillah* tended to feel psychically close to one another by virtue of shared memories and interests *vis-à-vis* the outer world, and shared responsibility for the religious state of their community – all of which awakened emotions that were transmuted into mutual religious sentiments; these, in turn, fed the *kehillah*'s psychic collective. Communal sentiments generally circulated beneath the surface of the institutional order of each *kehillah*. But on special recurring religious occasions, such as the High Holidays, this latent psychic collective gained ascendency – though briefly – over the hegemony of the empirical collective of the community.[34]

The kabbalistic coteries

The kabbalistic coteries of sixteenth-century Safed, in Upper Galilee, demonstrate the workings of an expanded religious psychic collective that is formed by an inward-directed Adam 2 type of personality. These coteries emerged at a time when Safed was becoming a prominent center of Jewish scholarship, in a psychic climate suffused with the tension of repentance and longing for redemption.[35] Fastening on the interpsychic sphere of Jewish personal relations as the arena for cultivating *tikkun olam*,[36] and guided by the idea that ten psychically perfected individuals who joined in a perfected corporate group would bring about the national redemption of the Jewish people,[37] these élite groups of ten fostered psychic collectives that encompassed areas of life beyond the confines of the synagogue. Through a fellowship of religious love, each group cultivated a collective personality by means of which individual members sought to promote their psychic

perfection with the aid of fellow group members.[38] Moses Cordovero, a leader of one of these coteries, quintessentially expressed the Safadean ethos of cultivating collective psychic unity, in his exposition of the theme of mutual responsibility.

> All of Israel are related to one another, for their souls are united and in each soul there is a portion of all the others. … For this reason … all Israel are surety one for the other … and when one Israelite sins he wrongs not only his own soul but the portion which all the others possess in him. …
> [Therefore] it is only right that a man desire his neighbour's well-being, that he eye benevolently the good fortune of his neighbour and that his neighbor's honor be as dear to him as his own; for he and his neighbour are one. This is why we are commanded to love our neighbour as ourself. … A man should not desire to witness evil befalling his neighbour nor to see his neighbor suffer or disgraced. And these things should cause him the same pain as if he were the victim. The same applies to his neighbor's good fortune.[39]

To refine their collective personalities, the Safadean coteries made it a practice to have members confess their sins before the group and to have the group reproach a sinning individual to his face.[40]

It was only in limited areas of empirical life, however, and primarily in the ritualistic sphere, that these coteries developed regular patterns for nurturing and expressing the collective personality. While the prayer service constituted the core mechanism for cultivating the psychic collective, coterie members also engaged in joint Torah study, religious celebrations, journeys to the graves of the righteous outside of Safed, and the welcoming of the Sabbath in the fields.[41] To be sure, members of the coteries were charged to assist one another in daily life;[42] but it seems that the groups did not foster institutionalized patterns for practicing commitment to one another in all spheres of life.

I particularly note the absence of communal economic patterns in workaday life. For, in the final analysis, material sharing expresses total mutual commitment and constitutes, at the empirical level, a corollary of the 'we'-conscious psychic collective. Indeed, the following statement of a disciple of Isaac Luria regarding the renunciation of private property suggests that the Safadean coteries may have been close to a breakthrough to communal living: 'If you wish to be flawless, imagine that all your money is not yours and do not spare anything, [for all] that you have is ownerless.'[43]

An eighteenth-century kabbalistic coterie modeled after the Safadean groups almost approached a shared life: the twelve-member Ahavat Shalom ('Love of Peace') coterie at the Beth El synagogue of Jerusalem.[44] The 'deeds of the covenant' of this group constitute perhaps the most coherent expression in Jewish mystical literature of the affectively charged social

mechanisms involved in building psychic unity and its corollary of mutual commitment.

> We, the undersigned, comrades in this world and in the world to come … have come together to stir the sap of our comradely love, so that it will not congeal. … We hereby covenant … that all twelve of us, as the number of the tribes of God, will all love one another with a great love, a love of soul and body … cleaving with one spirit but divided only physically. Let each man's soul be bound to that of his fellow, that we may all be one soul of great glory, and each will treat his fellow as if he were part of himself with all his soul and might. In such manner that if, God forfend, one of us should suffer all of us will help him together or individually as much as we can. …
>
> And each one of us is committed not to extol his comrade or rise in deference to him, even if the other surpasses him in magnitude … so that we would all behave as though we were one person.[45]

The Ahavat Shalom group, then, was formed in order to stoke a pervasive psychic collective – 'one soul of great glory' – through free-flowing love. Members of the group were encouraged to feel part of one another. And to promote its sense of oneness, the group also championed egalitarianism. The Ahavat Shalom group, like the Safadean coteries, did not pool their possessions. But its members were pledged to the sharing of their 'prime assets'; that is, of their portion in the world to come.[46] They opened up thereby to what Shlomo Zalman Shazar called 'communism of the most valuable of all their assets.'[47]

The value orientations that determined the interpersonal relations of the kabbalistic psychic collective are those that sustain the psychic prayer collective: primacy of the self, as against the collective; wholeness; personal quality; particularism; and affectivity. I wish to highlight the self primacy value orientation, which the kabbalists expressed through the formula, 'The general contains no more than its particulars.'[48] That is to say, the collective can build perfection only from the bottom up, through perfected individuals. (We shall encounter this formula again in our discussion of the religious pioneering movement.) I also wish to point out the relationship between performance and personal qualities in the kabbalistic coteries: While coterie members were enjoined to perform good deeds in relating to their fellows, such deeds were appraised not in terms of their objective effect, but in terms of their ability to enhance the inner life of those involved. That is to say, by the criterion of personal quality.

Our discussion suggests that the empirical collective component of the kabbalistic coteries was no more than marginal to their religious life. As intimated above, the coteries' communal sentiments were not crystallized in Halakhic patterns. Indeed, these groups did not develop Halakhic communities of their own; their members shared in the life of their local *kehillot*.

We have examined the Halakhic (prophetic) and prayer covenantal communities formed by outward-directed and inward-directed Adam 2, respectively, and have noted the relative predominance of the empirical and psychic collectives in each community. Let us also note the manner in which the two modes of Adam 2 apprehend their respective religious communities within the perspective of the individual–community relationship. Outward-directed Adam 2 perceives his typical empirical community in a realistic light; he attributes to the community a religious quality of its own that is independent of its individual members' religious qualities. Inward-directed Adam 2, on the other hand, perceives his typical psychic community in a nominalistic light; he sees the community's religious quality as an outgrowth of its individual members' religious qualities.

We have also analyzed the significant value-orientation patterns that were at work in the formation of the religious empirical and psychic collectives. In the discussion that follows, I shall generally refer to the value-orientation patterns as mind-sets. The mind-set that relates to the transcendent mode of God and establishes a rational–empirical frame for defining reality I characterize (to use Berger's term) as the 'confrontational' mind-set. The ethos of world mastery, grounded in the universalism and performance value orientations, derives from this mind-set.[49] The mind-set that relates to an immanent mode of God and establishes an existential frame for defining reality I shall refer to as the 'inward' mind-set. The ethos of pursuit of harmony, grounded in the personal quality and particularism value orientations, derives from this mind-set. We shall shortly see that the two mind-sets may define the natural, as well as the social, world.

COORDINATION OF ADAM 1 AND ADAM 2

Let us return to Adam 1 and see how the two modes of Adam 2 correlate to him. We have seen that Soloveitchik characterizes the Adam of Genesis 1 as a divinely inspired operative who is commissioned by God to master the world. Indeed, the very modernizing thrust of 'majestic' Adam 1 – who 'builds, plants, harvests, regulates rivers, heals the sick [and] is … bold in planning, daring in undertaking and is out to "conquer" the world' (p. 82), under the impression of the confrontational mind-set – is divinely sanctioned. But, according to Soloveitchik, Adam 1 tends to abnegate the transcendent meaning of his existence by deflecting his mandate to his own self-seeking ends. 'His pride is almost boundless, his imagination arrogant, and he aspires to complete and absolute control of every thing' (p. 102). Even the work community that majestic Adam 1 develops for the control of his environment is grounded in individual interests.

Soloveitchik suggests, however, that covenantal Adam 2 has the ability to complement and correct the waywardness of Adam 1. For Adam 2's Halakhic community and Adam 1's work community are akin, in that the latter bears the empirical life upon which the Halakhic community takes form. The key to the reconciliation of the two Adams is their joint ethos of mastery. For outward-directed Adam 2 is also charged with world mastery – though in a different sense. Adam 2 was mandated at Sinaitic revelation, as a member of 'a kingdom of priests and a holy people' (Exodus 19:6), to impress God's will on the world through the pattern of the *mitzvot* (the commandments). The *tikkun olam*-motivated Halakhic community constitutes the historic application of this mandate. In more comprehensive terms, Adam 1's temperament is governed by the same confrontational mind-set that characterizes outward-directed Adam 2 (see below). Thanks to this shared mind-set, the Halakhic community of Adam 2 is able to coordinate with Adam 1's work community. Soloveitchik intimates that this synergy can produce

> one community where man is both the creative, free agent, and the obedient servant of God. … The [Halakhic] norm which originates in the covenantal community addresses itself almost exclusively to the [work] community where its realization takes place. (p. 84)

In short, outward-directed Adam 2 is able to reground Adam 1's transformative ethos in a transcendently inspired religious life. To return to Toennies's terms,[50] when Adam 1's rational *Gesellschaft* is ordered by Halakhah, its affective lining renders it a *Gemeinschaft*.

The shared mind-set of the two Adams

Soloveitchik laid the theoretical background for the conceptual integration of Adam 1 and outward-directed Adam 2 in an earlier work, *Halakhic Man*.[51] In this essay, Soloveitchik juxtaposed three ideal types of personality: Halakhic man, 'cognitive man' (the scientist), and *homo religiosus* (religiose man, who constitutes an earlier version of inward-directed Adam 2). Seeking in this work 'to penetrate deep into the structure of Halakhic man's consciousness' (p. 4), Soloveitchik characterizes Halakhic man as a dual-faceted personality that synthesizes qualities of both the scientist and the religiose man.

Particularly relevant for our discussion is Soloveitchik's elaboration of Halakhic man's confrontational mind-set, which he shares with the scientist–technologist. In general terms, the two savants share a cognitive–normative definition of an intelligible segmented universe that is structured by law and subject to technological mastery. More specifically, Halakhic man, like his scientist counterpart, practices self-control and self-awareness; he 'protects his own selfhood' through 'a stoic tranquility'

(pp. 78, 77). And, conceiving the segmented world as ordered by revealed religious law, Halakhic man employs 'precise cognition and clear logic' (p. 87) – through the rational principles of hermeneutics[52] – in exploring the ramifications of the Law. Further, Halakhic man is bound to actualize the law; he 'cognizes the world in order to subordinate it to religious performance' (p. 63).

Hence, a twofold religious impulse motivates Halakhic man: to uncover new formulations of religious law – *hidushei Torah* – and to superimpose his normative system on the empirical world in order to subject it to patterns of sacredness. Referring to Halakhic man's reality-sanctifying actions, Soloveitchik spells out *tikkun olam*: Halakhic man 'fulfills the task of creation imposed on him: the perfection of the world under the domain of Halakha and the renewal of the face of Creation.' (p. 91; see also pp. 107–8). In short, thanks to the common world view of a legally structured universe and the confrontational mind-set that cognitive man (the scientist) and Halakhic man share in their respective fields of consciousness, an overarching technologically keyed rational–empirical frame of reference can be established for the two fields; and thus Adam 2 can be aligned with Adam 1.

On the other hand, the field of consciousness of *homo religiosus* is utterly at odds with that of cognitive man. To be sure, it is the intrinsic godly feeling of *homo religiosus* that sparks Halakhic man's submission to the commandments of a transcendent mode of God. But Halakhah militates against pure religiosity. In the words of Soloveitchik, Halakhah constantly demands from man that he 'translate the qualitative feature of religious subjectivity – the content of religious man's consciousness … – into firm and well-established quantities' (p. 57). In contrast, the pure type of *homo religiosus* finds himself submerged in a deepened inwardness that is 'above the rule of empirical reality' (p. 13); he seeks the sacred 'through a boundless, all-embracing ecstasy' (p. 46); 'his selfhood is inexorably extinguished inasmuch as he desires to immerse himself in the totality of existence, and to unite with infinity' (p. 78). In a word, the inward mind-set of *homo religiosus* and the confrontational mind-set of the scientist–technologist cannot mesh.

THE TWO ADAMS AND THE RELIGIOUS KIBBUTZ

We can now apply the paradigm of the two Adams to the real-life canvas of the religious kibbutzim. As we saw in the Introduction, the Orthodox pioneers who opted for kibbutz life had to justify this untraditional pattern of life in religious terms, but only the German-bred pioneers – in contrast to the East European – did so successfully.

We have noted that the point of departure for the adoption of the communal life pattern by the religious kibbutz was the secular kibbutz model. As Chapter 2 will elaborate, the secular kibbutz took shape in two evolutionary stages. The first, existential, 'Bund' stage was developed by an

affective type of secular kibbutznik who defined the world through the lens of the inward mind-set, and pointed the thrust of his (or her) consciousness toward primordial unity. Cultivating deep psychic collectives as they interrelated with one another, and focusing their activity on the perfection of the interior life, the members of the secular Zionist communes in this stage sought salvation through the ethos of pursuit of harmony. (Soloveitchik does not discuss this secular inward-directed Adam 2 type.)

The second, rational, 'Commune' stage of secular kibbutz evolution was realized by an Adam 1 type of kibbutznik, who defined the world through the lens of the confrontational mind-set, and pointed the thrust of his (or her) consciousness toward differentiation. Focusing their efforts on an action-oriented empirical collective, by means of which they aimed to transform external life, kibbutz members in this stage sought salvation through the ethos of mastery.

The German and East European streams of Orthodox pioneers, then, were challenged to come up with religious counterparts to the secular kibbutz's two types of personality that were cultivated in the Bund and Commune stages, respectively. The German stream approached kibbutz life equipped primarily with the Halakhic confrontational mind-set of the Torah-im-Derekh Eretz movement and secondarily with the inward mind-set of Hasidism. Thus, as the German-bred pioneers experienced sequentially the Bund and Commune stages of kibbutz development, they were able to tap both an inward- and an outward-directed mode of Adam 2. The East European stream, on the other hand, was equipped with the Hasidic inward mind-set alone. Thus, the Hasidism-grounded pioneers were able to cultivate only an inward-directed religious personality – a kind of *homo religiosus* – whose mind-set fit the Bund stage of religious kibbutz development, but proved incapable of accommodating the Commune stage. The upshot was the inability of the Hasidism-grounded pioneering groups to sustain a viable kibbutz life.

Let me formulate the vital difference between the two streams of religious pioneers in terms of ideal typological methodology. By extracting two ideal types of Adam 2 from religious kibbutz literature – types that correspond to the two models of the secular kibbutz member – I shall compare and contrast the Halakhah-focused and Hasidism-grounded personality types and provide a causal explanation for the disparate success of the two streams of Orthodox pioneers in kibbutz life.[53]

2 Two stages in kibbutz evolution

> That which is permissible and irresistible for every one of us in special moments of *aliyat neshamah* [spiritual elation] is forbidden, pitiable, and basically immoral for every one of us every Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday.
>
> Sha'ul Meirav [Avigur] in *The Kvutzah*

This chapter will chart the evolutionary trajectory of the kibbutz as it unfolded within the secular kibbutz movement, to which the Orthodox pioneers were to conform when they established kibbutzim of their own.

As an observer of the kibbutz movement noted in the mid-1950s, religion in the secular kibbutzim, as opposed to the Orthodox, was 'centered on … man or on a society-constituted God.'[1] This 'secular religion' was not unlike conventional religion in the sense that its ideologically inspired transcendent vision exalted kibbutz adherents beyond their natural selves and gripped them within a comprehensive community life. If this chapter, then, will not portray the two modes of Adam 2 on the same religious level that Soloveitchik treated them, it will present their silhouettes. Forthcoming chapters will flesh out these silhouettes in accepted Jewish religious terms in focusing on the two modes of Adam 2.

A word about the Adam 1 model in this chapter. In *The Lonely Man of Faith* Soloveitchik profiled Adam 1 within a liberal–individualistic cast, as one who fashions his work community rationally in order to further his self-seeking conquest of nature. The secular kibbutz in its mature Commune stage, however, set forth a socialistic Adam 1, one whose work community is integrated within his collective community and is inspired to master nature under the inspiration of 'idealistic materialism.'[2] Furthermore, the secular kibbutz extended Adam 1's ethos of world mastery to social life; it perceived its rational socialist institutions as a 'scientific' template for molding moral behavior. The socialistic version of Adam 1, then, modifies Soloveitchik's liberal version in that its ethos of world mastery is sustained by a self-contained collective. To put it another way, the confrontational mind-set may pivot on either a self primacy or a collective primacy value orientation. Thus, the confrontational mind-set of 'liberal' Adam 1 is

moved by self primacy; in the mature kibbutz, on the other hand, this mind-set hinges on the primacy of the collective orientation.

The kibbutzim of the Jewish national community in Palestine, like other enduring communal societies, evolved along the integrative axes of feeling and of rational action, through the stages sociologists of the kibbutz speak of as the Bund and the Commune.[3] This chapter will show how each stage of kibbutz life, under its own characteristic thrust of consciousness, manifested a distinctive mind-set that fashioned a cognate collective, as well as a distinctive concept of salvation. In presenting the Bund stage and its transition to the Commune stage, I shall draw on primary source material – kibbutz literature that comes largely from the 1920s, the decade in which the fledgling kibbutz movement took wing and established itself within the Jewish national framework.[4] Most of this chapter, then, will focus on the secular groups that pioneered the kibbutz movement. Toward the end of the chapter I shall return to the religious kibbutzim.

THE BUND STAGE

The kibbutz in the Bund stage is primarily a community of feeling.[5] Casting the intersubjective life world as the significant theater of social activity, and illuminating this theater by the value content of ultimate symbols – the Bund concept of human association aptly describes the intimate formative period in kibbutz life. As described by the German sociologist Hermann Schmalenbach,[6] the Bund comes into being when group members deeply empathize with one another through their shared symbols, to the point that they fuse, as it were, into one psychic entity – a psychic collective. Victor Turner's related concept of 'communitas' sheds further light on the Bund frame of mind.[7] Communitas emerges in periods of volatile social life, in what Turner calls 'liminal' (threshold) periods in the transformation of personal identity. Communitas, says Turner, is 'a transformative experience that goes to the root of each person's being and finds in that root something profoundly communal and shared.'[8] The intense egalitarian interpersonal relations in communitas result in a seamless social life, a life 'rich in symbols and poor in structure.' Let us portray the communitas-affected Bund experience of the kibbutz.

Elsewhere I have described Jewish youth's pursuit of a new integrated Jewish and human identity as the setting for the formation of the kibbutz movement.[9] The communal groups of Jewish immigrant pioneers that formed in Palestine between 1919 and 1924 were animated by the international recognition of Jewish national revival – through the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the San Remo Conference of 1920[10] – and by radical social ferment within European society, highlighted and inspired by the Russian Revolution. Fired by the sensation of national and social rebirth, the members of these groups had loosened the structural restraints of their

established social and cultural systems and sought to realize a new, integrated, self-identity within the social setting of the new pioneering communal group.[11] In the ambience of work camps, the immigrant pioneers – men and women alike[12] – opened their hearts to one another to reveal their private selves in their search for meaning and belonging.

The sense of communion that ensued within these groups led to the formation of psychic collectives that were analogous in some ways to the religious psychic collectives described in Chapter 1. A member of one pioneering group recalled two phases in the cultivation of communion. At first,

> People who hardly knew each other, and whose traits were totally different, forgathered for a common purpose and communicated with one another by means of impoverished words that were drawn from the upper layer of the soul. … What was the idea that drew us together? We designated words such as mutual aid, social justice, economic equality, and, first and foremost, fellowship. This was the objective to which our group totally aspired to dedicate itself, as one social cell amongst many. … In this vein we saw the building of the Land.[13]

That is, individuals felt drawn together by shared national and social symbols and by the desire to realize jointly the transcendent reality that these symbols projected. But then, at the root of the articulated symbols, primeval impulses welled up, as members of the group laid bare their inmost feelings and desires.

> Concentrated in a forlorn corner, bounded by communal life and a common struggle with physical labor … we came to realize how meager and wooden were the words that brought us together in one hostel. We came to realize that behind the words was the life of each individual and of his soul, which sought expression and inclusion. It was there that our shared struggle began, for understanding and communion, for trust in a group's true being. It was there that each one of us started to grow anew, adjoined to and through his [new] brother.[14]

Focused on the core value of national revival, interpersonal communion aroused a feeling of partnership in a collective consciousness. And the collective consciousness, gripping the group members in 'a sacred covenant with an exalted idea, to which we dedicate our private lives,'[15] formed a matrix of personal rebirth within a primordial context. The existential self of the Zionist pioneer reached out to a holistic world.[16] The Bund stage was to project the likeness of an inward-directed Adam 2 type of personality.

The thrust of consciousness toward primordial unity

As psychic boundaries between group members melted down, and as the individuals opened themselves up to experience one another – 'to live one another, to see the other's soul and private life to their very depth' – 'bridge[s] of love' formed between members, between them and their collective community, and between them and 'the soul of nature.'[17] The psyche, having shed its husks and seeking regeneration in its pursuit of authenticity, reverted to existential roots in the 'primal cosmic unity' or 'primordial unity' of all beings.[18] Individuals felt their expanding selfhood absorbed within the inner essence of the universe and experienced a sense of a deeper and more universal being blended within a continuous, mutually related, whole: a 'self entity that compactly includes existence in its entirety.' In the words of David Horowitz, a leading member of the *Our Community* group, 'I do not want to fragment my life [any longer] … it has had enough of pragmatism. Now I will dare to capture the greater unity of all elements.'[19] Inner time constituted the significant mode of time in this experience.

Collective coalescence constituted the group expression of the thrust of consciousness toward primordial unity. Stimulated by the intersubjective image of the pristine social life rooted in this unity – 'a beautiful, profound, and pure … social life' as against the 'impurity' of external reality, kibbutz members began to feel themselves related in a 'fraternity of spirit'[20] with a 'collective soul,' in 'a new family … [formed] on the basis of psychic closeness.'[21] This inner confluence was repeatedly consummated in the horah, the circular dance that could go on for hours, usually at night. In the horah individual members would feel that they were divesting themselves of their physical being and fusing with their companions into a single entity. 'We danced … to a state of intoxication, oblivion, insentience. … Then we were as one person, and one feeling pulsated within us all,'[22] wrote one member of the coalescing power of the horah. The particularity of the collective feeling stirred by the dance, as couched in an intersubjective boundary that set the group apart from the outside world, is well illustrated by another communard's censure of 'strangers' who joined in the horah at his kibbutz:

> In the midst of our dance, at the height of effervescence and communion, several members of the neighboring *moshav* [smallholders' settlement] joined in. When we became aware of this, the singing immediately stopped and we all abandoned the circle. … They are incapable of understanding … that the kibbutz dance is an inner act … in which strangers cannot share.'[23]

Ethos of pursuit of harmony

Attendant to the unifying thrust of consciousness in the Bund period, the pursuit of harmony characterized the communal group's prevailing state of

mind in reaching out to the intimate continuous world. In fact, group members saw salvation in terms of 'the upper harmony of the soul,': of 'beautiful' and 'harmonious' relations between the individual and his or her comrades and – as each person moved toward cosmic fusion – between the individual and nature.[24] And just as interpsychic relations fostered the rhapsodic inner life world of the group members, these relations formed the keystone of personal moral regeneration. Inspired by a belief in the innate morality of human nature, individuals, seeking the 'repair of [their] psyche' and 'integrity,' would seek their comrades' assistance – through 'mutual understanding' – in purging themselves of their impurities and uncovering thereby their assumed pristine goodness.[25] According to the prevailing view in the Bund stage of the kibbutz, not unlike that in the kabbalistic groups described in Chapter 1, the ethical input of all group members into the collective psyche was to nourish dialectically the inner transformation of the individual self on its road to moral perfection and salvation. Thus, kibbutz members of the early 1920s made frequent public confessions and public evaluations of personal conduct to smooth out differences. The statement that 'If faults and defects are embedded within the comrade, his companions must reveal them and he must repair them,'[26] expressed the belief in mutual improvement through joint exhortation. 'Mutual moral responsibility' required each person to be concerned with fellow members' intimate thoughts. The pioneers conceived of the perfected society in nominalistic terms, as an outgrowth of its innerly perfected constituent members.

Communal life constituted the societal corollary of the group's sense of coalescence. If, as Pareto states, property embodies an essential aspect of personality,[27] shared ownership of property gave tangible expression to the shared inner life. Within this perspective economic equality reflected psychic unity, and justice was perceived in terms of harmonious interpersonal relations.

It was in the Bund stage that kibbutz members made a breakthrough into physical work. Coming from a background of little experience in manual labor, the members of the Zionist pioneering movement exalted physical work, especially in nature; they endowed agricultural labor with a mystique of regeneration, a feeling that the return to the soil would lead to the mutual improvement of humankind and nature and thus enhance personal renewal.[28] 'Our relation to labor must derive from our need to solve cosmic problems,' stated a group member.[29] The pioneers focused on 'aesthetic agriculture that satisfies the psyche'; they essentially conceived of 'redemption of the soil and the Land [of Israel]' as concomitant with 'human redemption.'[30]

In sum, the unifying thrust of consciousness defined the dominant inward mind-set of the Bund stage of kibbutz development. Particularism and wholeness were the key value orientations underlying the pioneers' efforts to induce harmoniously orderly relationships among persons and between persons and nature.[31] But in the emphasis on physical labor, quality seems to

have been overshadowed by performance. This marriage of particularism and performance, grounded in the concept of 'creative love,'[32] produced an ethos of harmonious activism that was centered on mutual perfection.[33]

I have stressed the centrality of the psychic collective in the Bund stage. A rudimentary empirical collective also existed; to be sure, a loose political fabric undergirded the psychic collective. However, kibbutz authority in the early days rested in the consensus freshly forged each evening around the supper tables. Roles were undeveloped, and work assignments were subject to individual approval in deference to the spontaneous self. Indeed, the private psyche eclipsed the empirical collective as the focus of kibbutz life.

TRANSITION TO THE COMMUNE STAGE

National values, however, militated against the insular temper of the Bund stage. The mission of all Zionist communal groups was to establish settlements of their own in Palestine as a fundamental step in building a national society. In the later 1920s and during the 1930s, the Bund experience predominated within youth movements and training farms in the Diaspora. After migrating to Palestine, the communal groups consolidated in their work camps, where they awaited settlement on the land.[34] But both in the period of settlement of the veteran kibbutz builders and in the work camps of their younger counterparts the kibbutz moved on to a new evolutionary stage. Outer reality displaced inner reality as the significant theater for social action; the holistic world materially decomposed into differentiated components, and reason was acclaimed as their ordering agent; peripheral, or 'motoric,' aspects of the empirical self came to the fore[35] and nested in formal roles; indeed, the specific impersonal role displaced the total personality as the significant unit of social interaction. The stage was set for the emergence of the Adam 1 type of personality.

Demographic changes spurred this metamorphosis of kibbutz life texture. New groups and individuals were encouraged to join the established communal groups in order to broaden their colonizing potential. The growth in population called for systematic patterns of organization, and these formed within a socialistic template. Rational communal institutions took shape, incorporating the principles of equality and of collective property and management. A political ethic developed, centered on the empirical collective; formal rules were adopted to regulate the relationships between the individual and the kibbutz. A secretariat emerged, and committees were created to administer daily life. A central 'work coordinator' assigned members to economic roles according to daily expediency. 'Real' time became the principal mode of time. In a word, stable interpersonal patterns built up in kibbutz life, and the empirical collective thickened. Kibbutz members now perceived their community in realistic, rather than nominalistic, terms. In Victor Turner's terms, 'structure' displaced 'communitas' as the integrated texture

of everyday life.[36] In our terms, the Commune, embodying the pioneer–socialist empirical collective, displaced the Bund as the overriding social system of kibbutz life.[37] The Commune stage was to turn the kibbutz from a community primarily of feeling into a community primarily of action.

Settlement on the land

Settlement on the land consummated the maturation of the Commune stage. Intensive economic action became the order of the day as the kibbutz focused its attention on the transformation of its natural environment. Physical labor became the predominant feature of daily living, and the work ethic mutated to promote effective objective results. The growing farm economy ramified, spurring the vocational division of labor. 'Productive' branches were set off from 'service' branches, such as kitchen, dining hall and laundry, and differentiated roles were formalized. The growing awareness of the economic advantage of the rationally segmented and centralized work force is reflected in the musings of a literary kibbutz character:

> Regarding work, for sure we have accomplished a lot: the very organization of labor that entails everyone working in his branch and becoming thoroughly adept in it. Efficiency in work and growth in productivity through centralization enable great achievements.[38]

Indeed, dedication to the centralized farm economy that demanded 'the adaptation of all individual wills to its weal, even at the cost of their subjugation,'[39] quickened the political ethic.

As the focus of kibbutz life shifted from individual regeneration to the building of the pioneering–socialist community, role differentiation, inducing qualitative heterogeneity, joined heightened rationality in enhancing clear-headed individuation. Self-aware kibbutz members were now encouraged to view themselves objectively, as interchangeable role incumbents, whose functions dovetailed with those of others in building the pioneering community. In other words, *interobjective* behavior replaced *intersubjective* communion as the crux of social life. Deeply merging their social and vocational roles with their private selves in the process of building and sustaining their pioneering community, members were able to express their core beings in the Commune stage preeminently through these formal roles.

Organic solidarity

The transition to the Commune stage brought to the fore a new mechanism of social cohesion. Emile Durkheim's theory of the correlation between social evolution and social cohesion elaborates on such a mechanism.

Durkheim distinguished between two types of social solidarity, 'mechanical' and 'organic.'[40] Mechanical solidarity characterized the Bund

stage. Based on the likeness between the members of a group, their correlated personalities and their undifferentiated consciousness, mechanical solidarity was fed by interpsychic effervescence deriving from the common reference of interpenetrating individuals to group symbols and values. Organic solidarity that characterized the Commune stage, on the other hand, was based on self-aware individuals, who fulfilled differentiated roles in a division of labor at the empirical level. Indeed, within the Durkheimian perspective, the kibbutz as a socialistic society qualified as an epitome of organic solidarity.[41] Emerging from the psychic unity of the group in its mechanical solidarity phase, and deriving from individual commitment to the joint effort of the interdependent group in realizing its empirical collective goals, organic solidarity was anchored in the group's normative system.[42]

In effect, the normative system of the kibbutz community represented its supreme authority, and was acclaimed by kibbutz members as a moral force in its own right. That is to say, if in the Bund stage the community resided immanently within the individuals, in the Commune stage the community was projected as a transcendent authority.[43] The statement that 'two hundred people living in the framework of a communal farm economy cannot build a community on the basis of intimacy; they require a jointly recognized higher authority'[44] makes the point succinctly. Confronting kibbutz members from above, so to speak, as if sanctioned by a 'society-constituted God' (see p. 28), the normative system of rules and obligations that developed in the Commune stage possessed the kibbutznik in the character of transcendentally inspired, outward-directed, secular Adam 2. For all practical purposes the normative system translated kibbutz values into institutional patterns to regulate interpersonal conduct and the individual–collective relationship. Thus, the need to adopt a code of by-laws for the kibbutz movement was presented in 1923 as the need for a

> supreme moral element [of society] recognized and respected by the entire community as the decisive managing force, the distributor of justice that knows no partiality and safeguards the rights of individuals, as well as those of the collective.[45]

In the Commune stage, to put it another way, the collective consciousness became more abstract and impersonal – more universalistic – and its volitional component – the collective will – stiffened. Basically, logical connections among kibbutz norms determined the rationality of the kibbutz structure. Through the moral discipline invoked by the normative system the kibbutz member could dedicate himself or herself to a life of national service in the pursuit of salvation, as I shall discuss further below.

Ethos of mastery

The thrust of reason of the Commune stage was basically addressed to a new kibbutz ethos – the quest for mastery of physical and social reality through science and technology. In the terms of Soloveitchik, the kibbutz member now fits into the role of 'majestic' Adam 1. Shlomo Lavi, a leader of Kibbutz Ein Harod, encapsulated the spirit of the transformative ethos in the following passage, written in 1925: 'We must conquer everything … that is human and natural – even nature itself – on our way to our new society.'[46] The ethos of mastery drew its basic legitimation from pioneering values: Kibbutz members regarded their communities as the embodiment of the national Jewish spirit and saw their mission as shaping Jewish destiny in what they saw as the mostly barren Land of Israel. The quest for mastery found its most explicit expression in its focus on the natural environment. A character in a novel by the kibbutz writer David Maltz synopsized this disposition, asking, 'How will we be able to sustain the masses of Jews that are compelled to immigrate to our small and harsh country, if we are not armed with scientific measures?'[47] The key term of the ethos of mastery, *kibbush* (conquest), was broadly applied at the pioneering level in relation to physical labor, to the soil, and to the wasteland. Avraham Tarshish of Kibbutz Ein Harod starkly pitted the ethos of mastery against the ethos of pursuit of harmony, true to the spirit of Adam 1: 'Nature, with its [splendid] and awesome sights, is not an object for lyrical–aesthetic, basically sterile, pleasure. We wish to subjugate it, to enslave it to our wills, to our ends.'[48] Indeed, the kibbutz pioneer was enjoined to learn the technological means for shaping the physical environment to the ends of 'idealistic materialism.' As Efrayim Reiner of Kibbutz Beit Alpha put it:

> If, indeed, in our pioneering beginnings … [daily] work was focused on the individual … in effect the actual form of [self-] fulfillment is engraved in matter … which has to be approached in the language that it understands. In order to knead it and make it amenable in the creator's hands one must get to know it and its qualities. … In a word, to learn work technique … to train the hands and senses, to cultivate practical reason.[49]

At the social level, the ethos of mastery got added impetus from 'scientific socialism.' Grounded in positivist thought, scientific socialism provided the ethos of mastery with a social design.[50] Positivism bases understanding of reality on objective facts and on the 'scientific' laws discoverable from observation of the relations between facts. Scientific socialism seeks to discover the 'scientific' laws that govern social relations, whereby society would be able to fashion the moral character of its members. Thus, to adduce a prominent Marxist example, an institutional format of joint ownership of property would release people from the 'iron law' of the market and in this way would perfect interpersonal behavior and promote creativity. Writing in 1938,

Yaakov Hazan, a leader of the HaKibbutz HaArtzi kibbutz federation, traced the emergence of the scientific socialistic animus in the Commune stage:

> Our movement was not engendered through a cold, rational analysis of reality. … In the beginning there was the faith in man and the longing to free ourselves from the sordid world in which we lived as Jews and as human beings. We were attracted to the idea of a new social structure for our own sake, and not for that of others. … [However, when] we confronted reality, we began to base our way on the foundation of objective thought and science, in light of this reality.[51]

The ideological premises of the newly founded HaKibbutz HaArtzi federation (1927) expressed the application of this theory to the kibbutz:

> The kibbutz … constitutes an independent life-pattern by virtue of its being [among other things] a prototype of the future communist society. The essence of the kibbutz derives from its very social life, through which … it creates the conditions for the free development of the personality and the establishment of a new social morality.[52]

A belief in human perfectibility, then, continued to sway kibbutz members in the Commune stage; but society, rather than the individual, was seen as the specific effector of a perfected moral life. The kibbutz federations that organized in the late 1920s varied in their explicit belief in the social structure's competence to mold human character.[53] But even those federations that continued to stress spontaneous interpersonal relations and self-cultivation for moral betterment acknowledged the added value of social structure for promoting this goal. Thus, a leader of the Hever HaKvutzot federation reflected in 1946 that "'Love thy neighbor as thyself" is a great and profound moral commandment. But it is important that there be an objective framework that will enable a normal person to observe this commandment.'[54]

As to whether the kibbutz life-pattern was a goal in its own right, or a means to a higher goal, opinions differed in the 1920s. In the end, however, national revival prevailed as the ulterior value that suffused daily awareness and set the group's ultimate mission; and kibbutz members saw the rational socialist structure as an unrivaled societal vehicle for furthering national revival. David Maltz articulated rather touchingly this instrumental relationship between socialist structure and national revival: 'We have sanctified … the organization of provisions and subsistence, with the sacredness of shaping [our] people's life.'[55] In other words, it was primarily as self-disciplined members of a pioneering community rationally geared to promote Jewish 'redemption' that individuals could realize salvation.[56]

The clash of mind-sets

Our discussion of the transition from the Bund to the Commune stage has highlighted the differentiating impulse of consciousness. The wedded thrusts of differentiation and rational action contoured the confrontational mind-set. That is, as the breakdown of this mind-set in Chapter 1 indicates, collective interests subdued private interests; componentiality marked the structure of society and of the world of nature; performance of the empirical self – behavior at work and in fulfilling organizational norms – constituted the overriding criterion for personal evaluation; universalistic (rational) thought and resultant scientific laws were projected as the ordering agency of the natural and social worlds; objective roles were grasped as the significant units of social relations; and self-restraint eased adaptation to the rational life patterns.

Structural tension between the confrontational and inward mind-sets was inevitable in the transition from the Bund to the Commune stage. In meetings of kibbutz representatives, whose protocols were published in the collection *The Kvutzah* in 1925, some people decried the encroaching Commune state of mind, seeing 'commune and management as two opposites.' Such members voiced their anxiety that 'codification would introduce deadly mechanization into kibbutz life, and that would kill the supernal soul … and personal activism, and extinguish enthusiasm and dedication.' They feared that rational economics would 'cramp aesthetic farming' and foster egoism.[57] Nevertheless, the prevailing tone of the deliberations recorded in *The Kvutzah* favored autonomous roles, personal responsibility, and economic achievement, as well as the adoption of a prescribed set of regulations.[58]

Indeed, only communal groups whose members succeeded in assimilating the confrontational mind-set survived.[59] As stated retrospectively by 'old-timers' in the 1930s:

> Elation [and] … the willingness to sacrifice [were] not enough. The test came with the demands of the prosaic routine of the farm. … Only those groups with a nucleus of strong and sober-minded leaders could make the grade, for they alone knew how to direct emotional upsurge into the channels of daily work. The others, after abandoning themselves to ecstasies, were exhausted and could not cope with the exacting routine of cooperative farm life.[60]

Still, just as an unfledged empirical collective existed in the Bund stage, a subdued psychic collective existed in the Commune stage. Indeed, stimulated by the organic solidarity of the Commune stage, as well as by the low-keyed interpsychic rapport that continued to derive from the shared symbolic system, the psychic collective lined and sustained the empirical collective in the Commune stage. And in expressive gatherings, such as holiday festivities, the

'kibbutz soul' would assert itself anew.[61] At these moments the psychic collective would temporarily override the empirical collective.

Let me conclude this discussion of the differences between the Bund and Commune stages by focusing on the nature of individual autonomy in relation to the collective in each stage. In the Bund stage individual autonomy was existential; through the experience of collectivization at the psychic level individuals felt that they were being carried to true selfhood. In the Commune stage individual autonomy was rational; self-realization came through the role fulfillment of discrete, thinking, members of an operational empirical collective. Paradoxically, in other words, in the individual-oriented psychic community one's selfhood tended to be subsumed within the group; in the collective-oriented empirical community one tended to retain self-aware individuality.

THE RELIGIOUS KIBBUTZ IN THE BUND AND COMMUNE STAGES

We noted in Chapter 1 the key roles of the religious inward and confrontational mind-sets in the Orthodox pioneers' ability to accommodate to the Bund and Commune communal life patterns, respectively. This chapter has highlighted the thrusts of consciousness in secular kibbutz development. The key to religious kibbutz accommodation to the Bund and Commune stages lay in the basic tenor of these thrusts of secular consciousness in each stage.

In the secular kibbutz's Bund stage, the thrust of consciousness corresponded to that of the 'interiority' religious experience, as defined by Peter Berger – namely, toward ultimate unity.[62] Similarly, the ability of the *inward*-directed Adam 2 type to adapt to the religious kibbutz's Bund stage derived from the unifying thrust of its religious consciousness. In the same vein, the differentiating thrust of consciousness in the secular kibbutz's Commune stage corresponded to that of the 'confrontational' religious experience, again as defined by Berger. Hence the ability of *outward*-directed Adam 2 in the religious kibbutz's Commune stage to accommodate the secular (Adam 1) confrontational mind-set through a religious differentiating consciousness.

In other words, in the RKF these two 'secular' thrusts of consciousness manifested themselves as religious thrusts. But when the unifying thrust of religious consciousness encountered differentiated Commune reality in the religious kibbutz – as in the case of the Hasidism-grounded Orthodox pioneers – the jumble of values that ensued delegitimated the kibbutz.

In this chapter I referred to the positivist frame of mind of the secular kibbutz in its Commune stage of development. In the next chapter I will discuss the positivistically-toned German Jewish Orthodox subculture, Torah-im-Derekh Eretz, upon which the German-bred pioneers of the RKF were to draw when they were to encounter the Commune stage of their kibbutz experience.

3 The positivist temper of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz

> The mastery of Man over matter, in getting [and] … manufacturing the raw materials of the world, attained its highest meaning in the Temple. The world submits to Man, for Man … to submit himself and his world to God, and for him to change this earthly world into a home for the Kingdom of God, [in]to a Temple in which the glory of God tarries on earth.
>
> Samson Raphael Hirsch, *Commentary to the Pentateuch* II, 35:1

In the Commune stage of kibbutz evolution, the German stream of the Religious Kibbutz Federation drew upon the dynamic world view and transformative ethos of the German Jewish Orthodox subculture known as Torah-im-Derekh Eretz. This chapter will discuss this worldly religious subculture, focusing on the differentiating thrust of the religious consciousness of its ideologues in their rational–empirical perception of reality. Specifically, the chapter will spell out the components of the confrontational mind-set of the Halakhic personality that Torah-im-Derekh Eretz fostered – components that framed the positivist temper that resounded in this religious subculture. Indeed, Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808–88), the father of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz, adumbrated the overarching legalistic frame of reference that characterized both the Halakhic personality and the scientist – as Soloveitchik was to elaborate about a hundred years later in *Halakhic Man*. To revert to the terms of Soloveitchik, Torah-im-Derekh Eretz manifested the mental congruence between majestic Adam 1 and covenantal outward-directed Adam 2.

Freshly emancipated nineteenth-century German Jewry in its move toward acculturation adopted the positivist disposition of the German bourgeois class. Rooted in British empiricism and the rationalism of the French Enlightenment, positivism constituted 'the authoritative mode of thinking in almost all of Europe' in most of the nineteenth century.[1] In the words of Moses Hess, a contemporary of Hirsch, the positivist spirit had 'no inclination or time for theological disputes or metaphysical study … since it … [was] completely involved in creating a new life order, built on the base of positive deed and science.'[2] Apprehending the world as given to human change and

control, through the methodology of scientific positivism and under the inspiration of the idea of progress, German Jewry developed new systems of religious thought to accommodate to this vigorous cultural climate.

Torah-im-Derekh Eretz constituted an Orthodox manifestation of such religious thought.[3] Specifically, Orthodox Judaism's legalistic grasp of Judaism pointed up the positivist peculiarities of a Halakhah-centered religion. To demonstrate Torah-im-Derekh Eretz's grasp of the congruity of Halakhic Judaism with the positivist mentality, I shall draw upon the writings of Samson Raphael Hirsch,[4] who developed this new religious subculture in systematic detail, and of his grandson and spiritual heir, Isaac Breuer (1883–1946), who elaborated many of its implications.[5] Of particular importance for an understanding of Hirsch's educational influence within German Jewish Orthodoxy is his *Commentary to the Pentateuch*, which incorporated Hirsch's major ideas, and was widely and regularly studied. As evidence of German Jewish Orthodoxy's widespread internalization of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz's 'postivist' strand, I shall also refer to the popular writings of Aron Barth (1890–1957).[6] Finally, at the end of the chapter I shall briefly discuss the positivist perception of Halakhic Judaism as articulated by Moses Hess.

A DYNAMIC WORLD VIEW

Hirsch's world view perceived the relationships between God, humankind, and the world as dynamically unified by a legalistic ethic, whose cosmic trajectory would culminate in a messianic era. According to this world view, God had deliberately created the world in an imperfect state, so that humanity would become His partner in a 'dynamic creation' by mastering the world and transforming it into the Kingdom of God. The key to world mastery lay in people's realization of God's will, as expressed in His law.

Hirsch conceived Creation as ordered by an all-encompassing divine law, and he described three sequential modes of this law: (1) universal natural law; (2) universal moral law; and (3) Jewish particular law, Halakhah. Each mode of the law, differentiated from its predecessor, governs a specific sphere of empirical reality. By rationally investigating each mode of the law and applying each mode to its empirical sphere, the human may contribute to the perfection of reality. And the higher the mode of the law on the scale of differentiation, the more central it becomes for reality perfection.

Let us examine the workings of this scheme in detail. According to Hirsch, God differentiated human beings from the rest of nature by endowing them with free will and with rational and creative powers. Mandated by God to serve as 'His deputy [and partner] on earth' in perfecting Creation, humankind is charged with the investigation of the laws of nature and their technological application to the control of nature. Indeed, by casting

humans in the role of *imitatio dei*, Hirsch anticipates Soloveitchik's Adam 1 in his original religious image. In Hirsch's words:

> Man … [is] a being whose whole mission consists in his being a 'likeness of God,' but who is to effect this likeness through his own free-willed, independent energy. … All human knowledge and science is, in effect, only the effort to get at the nature and meaning of life from peering in the working of [the] thought of God. … [Man's] calling is to impress his stamp on a thing, to change it completely to his 'thing.'[7]

Thus, people can know God's works through scientific law, and they may dominate nature for their own welfare, but all in the eventual service of God. Further, while the natural order was completed at Creation, and while nature obeys its divine law of necessity, human beings have to work out their moral order by discovering the divine moral law as it applies practically to history, and obeying it of their own free will.

In short, while nature submits to the control of man as God's 'deputy on earth,' humanity, as an instrument of the divine will, submits to God's control by living an alert life in the conscious and freely willed observance of His moral law. In giving the human race a divinely inspired rational and active role in the world within the framework of objective law, and harnessing this role to the goal of reshaping the world, Hirsch fostered a religious positivist ethos.[8]

CONFRONTATIONAL MIND-SET

Drawing parallels between the scientific and Halakhic modes of divine law, Torah-im-Derekh Eretz highlighted the dual role of the Jew as *Mensch* (human) and *Yisroel* (Israel) in the mission to transform the world. The Jews fulfill their destiny in the role of universal *Mensch*, by joining their fellow human beings in the investigation of the natural and moral modes of the divine law, and acting on the world through the technological application of the law in order to improve the world. The Jews thereby take part in the realization of the Kingdom of God.

As particular *Yisroel*, the Jews are differentiated from the rest of humankind by the *mitzvot*, or commandments, that God revealed to them at Sinai. The *mitzvot* mandate Jews to set an example for humankind through obedience to God's will. And the ideology of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz enjoins Jews as *Yisroel* to employ the same rational and empirical methods that they employ as *Mensch* in investigating nature, in order to know the full complement of the *mitzvot*.[9] Just as the Jew as human reshapes reality through the natural and moral modes of divine law, so the Jew as Israel reshapes reality through Halakhah. The *mitzvot* sanctify the spheres of reality that they define by ordering them in time and space in

accordance with the patterns of conduct that express God's will. It is particularly within the framework of the Halakhic community (see below) that Jews makes their unique contribution to the realization of the Kingdom of God. And by sanctifying all spheres of reality within this framework, Jews 'bring … nature and history to completion,'[10] and achieve thereby salvation.

Let us detail the parallel between Halakhic and scientific natural law by singling out the value orientations of their common confrontational mindset and see how they join together to form a religious positivist thrust toward world mastery.

Universalistic approach

Halakhah, says Hirsch, like natural law, is grounded in facts. 'True investigation takes nature, man, and history as facts; and Judaism adds Torah to them, for it is also a fact just like heaven and earth.'[11] Both Halakhah and natural law unfold through human employment of deductive reason. Reason grasps Halakhic law through its intrinsic hermeneutical rules within the context of Oral Law (Oral Torah, basically manifested in the Talmud),[12] which – according to Jewish tradition – Written Law (the Pentateuch) enfolded at Sinaitic revelation. Once Halakhic law has been revealed, it eschews metaphysics and mystical contemplation; it is grounded in rational inference from given facts of external reality and of legal (Torah) formulations. Hirsch expressed the parallel methodology of Halakhah and natural law in the following terms:

> Two revelations are given us, nature and Torah. In nature the phenomena are facts, and we are intent on spying out *a posteriori* the laws of every one and the connection of all. … Exactly the same is it with the investigation of Torah. … For this purpose we have first to assess its many particulars to their whole extent as a phenomenon, and to trace out of them their connections among themselves and with the objects they refer to.[13]

Rational individualism complements empiricism in the Torah-im-Derekh Eretz religious ethic; only the self-aware person can investigate, and consciously choose to observe, the law. Hirsch drove this point home by evaluating the types of personalities produced by the rational and mystical modes of divine worship, respectively, and repudiating the mystical experience.

> The [true] intimate approach of the Divine to the human [takes place] without the least encroachment on the sphere of human life. … The true Jewish mind forms no visionary fanatics who extravagantly … go beyond all bounds of reality. … Not by a so-called absorption in God … do we become servants of God … [but] in using the mind and freedom of will, which God has given us.[14]

The obligation to perform

But the external world provides Halakhah not only with raw material for investigation and analysis, but also with an arena through which it could serve as a medium for divine worship and the pursuit of salvation. In other words, Torah-im-Derekh Eretz highlights the empirical self at the expense of the interior self. Hirsch pungently defines this stance by placing action-centered Halakhic Judaism in a comparative religious context:

> Other religions teach us what one has to do so that one can come to God in the next world. Judaism teaches us what we have to do so that God comes to us already in this world.[15]

Hence, the ability of Halakhic and natural law to act in tandem in their thrust toward world improvement through practical application. Hirsch states the principle of 'praxis' – in the sense of a linked relationship between researched law and legally guided action – in the following terms: 'Judaism does not attach importance to any investigation that is not designed to contribute to a life of deed and action.'[16] In the specific context of Halakhah, Hirsch adduces the passage in the Talmud that extols Torah study because of its operative implications: 'Torah study is so great [only] because it leads to practice' [*Kidushin* 40b].[17] And Isaac Breuer, drawing a scientific analogy, succinctly expressed the singular role of reason in the technological application of Halakhic law to reality:

> It is the function of reason to utilize the data of the Oral Law, so as to convert the precepts of Halakhah into practical behavior. For is science not divisible into two: theoretical and applied? Hence, the role of reason in Oral Law is the same as its role in science.[18]

A corollary of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz's religious empiricism is the religious upgrading of the the human body. 'The … Torah rests primarily on making the body holy,' says Hirsch. '[It is an] erroneous conception that cleaves asunder natural man, recognizing godlike dignity only in the spirit.'[19] To stiffen this empirical referent of his world view, Hirsch also took pains to 'objectify' irrational elements of Judaism. Thus, he characterized Sinaitic revelation as an historical event whose objective verification is grounded in its multitudinous confirmation.[20] And he interpreted 'the world to come' in a messianic-era perspective, as 'the historical purpose of the entire human development.'[21]

Self-restraint and collective orientation

Torah-im-Derekh Eretz singled out self-restraint as the critical footing for the rational, self-aware, personality – the personality that methodically organizes

its entire being to serve God through the observance of the Law. In Hirsch's words: 'Judaism turns to the intellect to guide the will, to regulate the whole of our workaday … life with its pleasures … and subjugate it to God's law.'[22] And as Aron Barth put it, by means of the *mitzvot* 'Judaism replaces the natural urge [*yetzer*] by will … [which] determines human action, after deliberation, thought, and examination … [in pursuit of] the path of the reconstruction of the world [*tikkun olam*] under the kingship of the Almighty.'[23]

Noteworthy is the collective value orientation that Torah-im-Derekh Eretz fostered in applying Halakhah to Jewish social life. Breuer singles out the Halakhic community as the operational epitome of 'the collective will of the Jewish nation, which was given expression at Mount Sinai'; 'a vehicle … for the attainment of the divine goals on earth.'[24] Hirsch detailed the particulars of the Halakhic community's religious weight as (to employ Soloveitchik's term) a 'covenantal community of action':

> Judaism attains its consummation only in and through communal life. … The task of each individual community is none other than [that of] the Jewish body politic as a whole. The Jewish people as a whole has been entrusted with the task of carrying out the divine law … and each single community is called upon to join with it in working out the same goal in its own smaller and locally restricted sphere. Where Jews live together in one place … they have to unite for the practical fulfillment of their divine law and with their joint resources to call into being and maintain those institutions which this fulfillment requires or which at any rate each individual cannot provide for himself.[25]

Indeed, it is within the framework of his realistically perceived Halakhic community that the Jew impresses his particular mode of the divine law on reality and thereby actualizes his membership in 'a kingdom of priests and a holy people,' within the general perspective of 'the foundation and glorification of the Kingdom of God on Earth.'[26] And although the comprehensive traditional Halakhic community (*kehillah*) was severely truncated and confined mostly to ritualistic institutions in post-Emancipation Germany, German Jewish Orthodoxy retained a strong awareness of the community's essential religious significance. Embodying this awareness were the 'separatist' communities that Hirsch created within German Jewry.[27]

Also noteworthy are the stark universalistic terms in which Torah-im-Derekh Eretz defined the Halakhic roles and norms within the collective framework of Jewish peoplehood. Thus, according to Breuer, the objective impersonal role outweighs the subjective personality in Jewish religious life:

> For [the Jew] personal idiosyncracy [is] valid … [only] as embodiment of the duties which have been given for his sake. … [Jewish] law recognizes the individual only as a typical member of the national body, and never as an individually peculiar phenomenon possessing inclinations,

> intellectual powers, capacities, and feelings that define him as an individual. In the eyes of the law, man himself – just as are his actions – is merely a social phenomenon.[28]

Indeed, it is the collective will that 'demands obedience in deeds,' and Jews' religious duty is to lead an active life on behalf of their community. In Hirsch's words, 'A person is not to be valued according to what he is and has, but according to what he does and produces for the general [holy community].'[29] Translated into our terms, it is performance, evaluated by objective results, rather than inner personal qualities that is religiously significant in the social context.

Our discussion has pointed up the dominance of the confrontational value-orientation pattern in the mind-set of German Jewish Orthodoxy. Stemming from the centrality of law in the religious world view of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz, this mind-set draws on the exercise of reason in a universalistic (impersonal and objective) relationship to natural and social reality; the normative obligation to 'perform' in the external world; and the self-restraint involved in observing the Halakhic precepts and cultivating the collective orientation. These value orientations nurtured the 'pedantry, exemplary order, and punctuality' that characterized German Orthodox Jewry.[30]

But within the ritualistic crust of observance, German Jewish Orthodoxy also fostered a low-keyed religious affectivity that sustained toned-down psychic collectives. Participant observers in this Jewry's religious life have noted that its 'restrained communion,' strengthened by selective aesthetic trappings, was capable of nourishing collective religious experiences in public prayer as well as in family ceremonials.[31] Hirsch characterized this piety in terms of 'passionate calm and self-possession.'[32]

INTEGRATION WITH SOCIALISM: THE THOUGHT OF MOSES HESS

S.R. Hirsch promoted the Halakhah-centered transformative ethos within a liberal world view. Moses Hess (1812–75) delineated the same ethos within a socialistic world view.

Hess is generally known as an early collaborator of Marx and as the father of German socialism. But Hess also perceived socialism in his later years through a Jewish religious lens. Indeed, Martin Buber characterizes Hess as 'the first religious socialist in Judaism.'[33] Hess's biography influenced his religious views: Born and bred in an Orthodox family, Hess rejected his Jewish heritage as a young adult, but reidentified with Orthodox Judaism in the 'national' period of his life (1862–75) – although he remained nonobservant. According to Hess, Judaism's central Halakhic component makes it the religion that fosters most effectively a personality

type that fits the socialist ideal: a community-focused individual, structured by a confrontational mind-set, who acts morally on the world through his community, in order to mend the world.[34]

Our future discussion of the religious kibbutz makes it germane to compare central aspects of the world views of Hess and Hirsch. The fact that these two contemporaries in the same German–Jewish cultural milieu, both champions of Halakhah who opposed the growing Reform movement's abnegation of religious law, hardly related to one another, may be due to the contrary ideological perspectives within which they developed their thought. Hirsch's liberal world view, his collective orientation notwithstanding, decried socialism.[35] Hess, in contrast, envisaged humanity as moving toward an inevitable socialist order. By the same token, Hirsch rejected the notion that Halakhah may undergo inner development under the stimulus of changing historical circumstances.[36] Hess, however, identified with the 'historical school' of Judaism (which was later to develop into Conservative Judaism) and regarded Halakhah as dynamically unfolding in the present.[37] Finally, while Hirsch opposed modern Jewish nationalism,[38] Hess is recognized as a founding father of Zionism.[39]

When the German-bred members of the Religious Kibbutz Movement integrated socialism and Halakhic Judaism in the course of building their kibbutz life more than two generations after Hess's death, they knew very little about Hess's religious views. Indeed, the religious confrontational mind-set that this youth had internalized, that prepared them for the Commune stage of kibbutz development, derived from Hirsch's system of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz. But this mind-set, that prevailed in socialism as well as in Torah-im-Derekh Eretz, enabled the German-bred pioneers to straddle the two cultural systems when tackling Commune reality in the 1930s and 1940s, and to actualize thereby many of Hess's insights regarding the affinity of Halakhic Judaism for socialism. And the German pioneer's activation of Halakhic dynamics within the pioneering setting was to vindicate Hess's prevision of the unique role of the Zionist pioneer in vitalizing Halakhah in face of the new national reality. This I shall discuss in Chapter 8.

The next chapter will turn from the positivist temper of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz to the mystical Hasidism of the first wave of East European Orthodox pioneers that arrived in Palestine in the 1920s. Through the experience of these pioneers, we shall observe a Hasidism-grounded subculture in action, as it sought to accommodate the dominant pioneering and labor values of the Jewish national society, and note that it fell short of doing so. A corollary of this failure, as we shall see, was the inability of Hasidic values to sustain the religious pioneering communal groups.

4 The Hasidic ethos of HaPo'el HaMizrahi

> The purpose of existence is the perfection and harmony of Creation; the purpose of man is complete and actual fusion in the wholeness of existence. … Man is not external to the world and to nature, and does not utilize them to fulfill his practical, scientific, and aesthetic needs. He exists within the world … he is part of the world's soul.
>
> S.Z. Shragai, *Netivah* 1928

This chapter will explore the Hasidism-influenced subculture of the East European Orthodox pioneers of the 1920s, as it took form in response to the secular pioneering–labor values of the Jewish national community in Palestine. The new religious subculture focused on the inner life. Pivoting on an existential core self that correlated with God and with a divinely diffused world, and appreciating the psychic collective as the social hotbed for cultivating the core self, the Hasidism-influenced subculture framed the interior life as the theater of *tikkun olam*. In terms of the two Adams typology, the religious Zionist pioneer of the 1920s embodied inward-directed Adam 2 – inlaid, however, within a popularized kabbalistic frame of reference. Hasidism's effect on the ability of the unseasoned religious pioneers to adapt to their new environment was double edged. If the religious impulse that was fostered by this spiritual renewal movement eased the East European pioneers' existential integration into their new surroundings at the volatile Bund level of kibbutz life, it also handicapped them as they sought to accommodate rational–empirical aspects of their labor world and communal existence. Stated in Soloveitchik's terms, the Orthodox pioneer experience of the 1920s demonstrated inward-directed Adam 2's inability to tally with world-mastering Adam 1.

What is it in Hasidism that enabled this mystical culture to mesh with the Zionist pioneering values that characterized the Bund stage of kibbutz experience?[1] In a word, this movement of 'kabbalah become ethos' – as Martin Buber characterizes it[2] – projects a radical image of a world that is disposed to an ever-renewing Creation. Hasidism distinguishes between a primordial 'perfected' world, in which all elements were in harmony with the godhead, and

the actual 'defective' world engendered by Creation, which precipitated the 'fall of [divine] sparks' within the world. Within this intellectual cosmic framework that features an omnipresent indwelling divinity, Hasidism inspires an ethos of pursuit of harmony. It enjoins the Jewish individual to pursue salvation by 'uplifting the sparks' – by divesting his self of its physical being and, through his devotional intentions, to commune with the divine sparks embedded within his fellows' selves and within nature, and serve thereby as a channel for restoring the sparks to their ultimate root in God. By returning the world to its pre-Creation state of primordial harmony, Jews will realize *tikkun olam*; they will 'mend' the 'defective' world and set the stage for a fresh, consummate Creation. The two-way dynamic implicated in the concept of inward-directed *tikkun olam* is formulated by Gershom Scholem as follows: 'The path to the end of all things is also the path to the beginning.'[3]

Hasidism was particularly responsive to the social thrust of the secular Zionist pioneers of the 1920s.[4] The psychic collective of this movement of religious renewal – 'a multitude of souls bound into one community' around the figure of the *tzadik* (pneumatic leader), as Buber put it[5] – set a congenial social pattern for this youth, as they formed their new communal groups. And within the frame of the individual's pursuit of salvation, the Hasidic psychic community modelled the dialectic between the self and the social; that is, the psychic collective serves as a carrier wave in returning the individual's core self to its authentic and unique being in God.

Within the mutable ambience of a new society in a state of flux, the return to nature, and the redemptive overtones of the return to Zion, the primal beat of Hasidism lent itself well to the casting of the pioneering temper as a liminal experience.

HAPO'EL HAMIZRAHI AND HASIDISM

The same existential ferment that stirred the members of the secular communal groups in the national Jewish society in the 1920s (see Chapter 2) was shared by the founding members of the religious labor organization, HaPo'el HaMizrahi (The Mizrahi Worker) in this decade.[6] This Orthodox Jewish youth, mostly young men and mostly from Poland, but also from the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania, had emerged not long before from the disintegrating East European traditional Jewish order – from 'the cloistered life of the *shtibel*' (Hasidic house of worship) – and had been 'pushed into the practical world' by the vicissitudes of World War I and by post-war Jewish political emancipation.[7] Like its secular counterpart, this religious youth was inspired by the social radicalism of the Bolshevik revolution and, especially, by the message of Jewish national redemption. Joining the post-war wave of secular pioneer immigration to Palestine, these young people were determined to take an active part in building the new national society and, at the same time, to reconstruct their personal lives.

The religious immigrants were initially attracted to the newly founded Histadrut HaOvdim HaKlalit (General Federation of Labor, henceforth 'the Histadrut'), which constituted an umbrella framework for the pioneer–socialist groups on the Jewish national scene. Many of these young people, however, felt alienated by the strong secular atmosphere that prevailed within the Histadrut. On the other hand, the leaders of Mizrahi, the middle-class religious Zionist party, which had established itself in Palestine several years earlier, looked askance at the radical orientation of the religious immigrants. The resultant of these disparate reactions was the establishment of the new religious labor organization, HaPo'el HaMizrahi, in 1922.

Following the example of the Histadrut, the fledgling labor organization formed its own labor unions, sponsored artisan and agricultural cooperatives, and supported its members' breaking into physical labor as *halutzim* (pioneers). Indeed, under a radical religious message captured in the slogan 'Torah and Labor,' the religious workers internalized the values of physical self-labor, as well as of equality, nonexploitation of others, and mutual aid. Secularly inspired labor–Zionist symbols in themselves, however, were inadequate for legitimating the new workers' organization and the new social institutions that it aimed to foster. The Torah and Labor literature of the period reflects the intense grappling of the religious workers with the problem of crystallizing a new religious identity as they strove to articulate their pioneering experience within a coherent system of religious salvation.

When these Orthodox people – almost all of whom were young men[8] – elected to adopt the active Zionist orientation on the world, they departed from the traditional passivity of institutionalized Hasidism. They felt free, however, to draw upon their Hasidic legacy for concepts and symbols for framing their image of reality – and, at the same time, to modify this legacy to undergird the active pioneering spirit. Indeed, Hasidic motifs are widely interwoven in the ideological literature of HaPo'el HaMizrahi; at times they are no more than adumbrated, while at other times they pervade an ideological discussion. By abstracting the Hasidic themes from the ideological literature of this period, I shall present the suggestive prism through which the religious workers' organization sought to legitimate its radical labor–pioneering world.[9]

Hasidic symbolic patterns

The opening statement of a memorandum of HaPo'el HaMizrahi to the 1923 World Mizrahi Convention encapsulates the congeniality of Hasidic themes with the pioneering world in a dual-leveled agenda: 'The new labor movement directs itself not only to the *tikkun* and the firm grounding of the material life, but also to the *tikkun* of the defects of the troubled and suffering soul.'[10] At one level, the statement expresses the workers' concern for the economic substructure of the Jewish national society. But at a second level, the use of the term *tikkun* in the first and second parts of the

statement suggests a corrective nexus for the religious workers' defective psychic and material worlds. *Tikkun*, or 'mending,' constitutes the key to salvation in the religious labor lexicon, and its use in this statement highlights its charged unifying thrust. And, as though to dispel any doubts regarding the cultural source upon which the founding members drew in avowing this unifying impulse, Yeshayahu Bernstein's statement of about a year later elaborates: 'We must renew what Hasidism began, by bringing inwardness and fervor to religious life. … Body and soul … mind and action [should] merge and become united in their supreme source and root.'[11]

For the metaphysical underpinning of their pioneering values, the fresh ideologues of HaPo'el HaMizrahi construed the world in terms of the Hasidic dualistic perspective, counterposing a primordial pre-Creation 'perfected' world, against the actual post-Creation 'defective' world. This world view set the agenda for the self-focused cosmic role of the religious pioneer: to redeem Creation. Acclaiming love as the prime ordering force in existence, the Torah and Labor ideologues envisaged the core self as the 'mending' agency of the deformed world. This corrective role obliged the religious pioneer to commune affectively with the divine elements embedded within the natural and human worlds, and to set the universe thereby on a restorative track leading to unity in God. In the words of a leading Torah and Labor ideologue, 'Man … who feels the sorrow of the world, the sorrow of all creation that lacks completion, perfection and harmony,' is recognized as 'the supreme creature of Creation,' who 'completes everything and restores it to its Source.'[12] There are only a few explicit references to the concept of 'uplifting the sparks' in the ideological literature of HaPo'el HaMizrahi,[13] but this motif seems to underlie the basic ethos of the religious workers' organization. In this vein Bernstein's characterization of defective reality in terms of the Hasidic doctrine of 'redemption of evil' alludes to the 'husks' encasing the manifold divine sparks scattered in Creation:

> God is the source of absolute good and supreme justice, and since He is the origin of all forces, the evil that exists in the world is not absolute, but results only from the bruteness of matter … that screens and obfuscates, as it were, the world's light.[14]

At a visceral level, the ideologues of HaPo'el HaMizrahi conceived *tikkun olam* in terms of a world restored to its primordial unity, to serve as a springboard for a fresh Creation. Hence, the invitation to man to become a 'partner of God' in Creation. Moshe Rosenbloom succinctly defined the twofold process involved in *tikkun olam* in the following words:

> [Man is enjoined] to return to himself, to the root of his soul, to God, the soul of all souls; to come together and unite with Creation, with

existence in its entirety, with nature, and become a partner in the works of Creation.[15]

Relationship to labor

As a labor–pioneering organization, however, HaPo'el HaMizrahi could not accept this unearthly paradigm of salvation. Indeed, Gershom Scholem's analysis of the Hasidic theme of 'uplifting the sparks' sees Hasidism as 'annihilating' the material world by transcending it, rather than fulfilling it.[16] To reconcile physical labor with the Hasidic outlook, the Torah and Labor ideologues modified the latter. Attributing hidden divine vitality to both the human core self and physical matter, the ideologues assigned a correlated function to physical labor: to serve as a symbiotic agent for engaging the self and matter in creative communion. This adjusted version of uplifting the sparks legitimated physical labor as a realistic improver of the created world. At the same time, the ideologues retained Hasidism's God-focused restorative trajectory of man and matter. Shragai expressed this overall scheme in the following words:

> The mission of man is not only to reveal the hidden forces in nature and activate them as a creative force that complements and perfects Creation. He is especially enjoined to give his own divinely endowed energy and talent to existence. … Self labor constitutes a decisive step forward in perfecting the existent and fusing with all existence in One Place.[17]

The resultant of the two mental vectors – of physical labor as an agent of communion and the restorative trajectory – staged the world as proceeding gradually toward a state of perfection through an ethos of active harmony.

In the ideological literature of HaPo'el HaMirahi there are a number of references to the religious unveiling power of labor in relation to matter. One member states: 'Through the opaque matter of labor shines the word of God, the soul of labor.' Another member evaluates labor in terms of its aptitude 'to perfect [matter] … refine and enhance it, and bring it to supreme consummation.'[18] And a third member elaborates:

> Only in creative labor does one see the supreme power without intermediate screens [i.e. 'husks']; and the supreme light that appears upon us sanctifies and purifies our sweat, our body, and our flesh, and we reach the highest stage of 'All my bones shall say, Lord, who is like unto Thee' [Psalm 35:10]. This is the secret of the sanctity of religion in labor and the sanctity of labor in religion; they are as body and soul. And when there is not the necessary fusion [of the two], they are like wandering souls in a world of confusion.[19]

Hence, the import of labor in the pursuit of salvation: 'The ideal of "Torah and Labor" is to remove dualism, to remove the *Weltschmerz* [the pain of the world], to attain wholeness and harmony in all of creation by labor and production.'[20]

Perception of moral society

The ideological literature of the HaPo'el HaMizrahi of the 1920s acclaimed the individual core self also as the well-spring of social morality. The psychic collective of Hasidism – minus the *tzadik* – constituted the social matrix for this morality. Originating in its members' deep-seated affective impulses, and taking shape in their reciprocal thrust toward inner perfection, the love-activated psychic collective expressed 'the highest grade of social perfection' for the Hasidism-informed pioneers. As Yitzhak Arigur put it:

> Social morality … whose sacred task is to redeem the spirit of Israel, must flow … from the internality of Israel, from the internality of each and every one, from the special corner that is reserved for religious feeling … according to the categorical imperative: 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.'[21]

In essence, this view of social morality reduced the perfected collective to its constituent members' perfected inner selves.

The kabbalistic formula for the relationship between individual and group morality that we met in Chapter 1 (p. 23) nurtured this nominalistic view of moral rectitude. In the words of Bernstein: 'We proceed from the particular to the general. The perfection of each individual will lead to the absolute perfection of all social life.'[22] And as though to refine this view, Nehemiah Aminoah spells out its details: 'Judaism bases its [moral] view by looking into the individual soul and … regards society as a kind of "collective name" that is described only according to its separate substances, for better or for worse.'[23] Indeed, Arigur, in alluding to the public confessions of the Safadean kabbalistic coteries (as described in Chapter 1),[24] underscores the religious pioneers' intersubjective life as the theater for cultivating social morality.

The self-focused social ethic of the Musar movement reinforced that of Hasidism. The Musar principles of education enjoin self-scrutiny, inner moral cultivation, and ethical behavior in one's pursuit of inner perfection.[25] Former students of Musar *yeshivot* (among them Bernstein, Aminoah and A.Y. Yekutieli), injected such Musar themes into the Torah and Labor social thought. Particularly fitting for the radical bent of HaPo'el HaMizrahi was the Novaredok stream of the Musar movement, which wittingly cultivated both a radical ethos and psychic collective for promoting social morality.[26]

The existential self within political and economic contexts

Members of HaPo'el HaMizrahi impressed the image of a spontaneously sprung moral society onto the political and economic spheres of social life. One writer articulated the direct relationship between the core self and the polity as follows:

> Just as in our socio-economic and political understanding [of the Torah] we proceed from the light to the heavy, from the individual to the public … and we deny the coercive rights of the public over the individuals, thus our cultural and religious–national and social understanding in general – it is a cardinal principle and postulate that it is the individual who constitutes the foundation for the political and social edifice. It is not the political convulsions and the revolutions that matter; the main thing is the convulsions of the heart and revolution of the psyche.[27]

And another writer, in a discussion of economic productivity, highlighted the existential self's creative disposition as the mainspring of social industry. Perceiving a productive group in terms of its constituent cocreative spontaneous members, all resonating with a pulsating harmonious universe in the discharge of their divinely charged roles, this view postulated the coordination of natural talents through prearranged harmony.

> A man should investigate his talents … and engage in that labor to which he is inclined. It is an inexpiable sin if one engages in work that does not give him the proper satisfaction … . It is a great misfortune for the world when 'physicians are cobblers and cobblers are physicians' … because the interchange of roles creates disharmony, confusion, and spoilage. If every man would play the instrument that befits him … we would hear a wonderful symphony … . Then we would not consider ourselves the masters of nature, nor its slaves, but [each of us would be] a component of nature, who fulfills everything with which his Creator has charged him.[28]

Explicitly juxtaposing the ethos of active harmony and the ethos of mastery, the author of this passage depreciates the latter.

THE GENERAL LABOR SCENE

The Torah and Labor ethic that I have hitherto presented fitted a narrowly confined social framework. And, indeed, as we shall see below, this ethic obtained in the communal groups that HaPo'el HaMizrahi sponsored in the 1920s. But HaPo'el HaMizrahi was not only a religious settlement

movement; it was primarily a labor organization, and it was involved in the capitalist mode of economic production of the society at large. Indeed, the religious workers vigorously clashed with employers over social justice. These confrontations, however, did not dampen their attempts to frame the conflict within a self-centered social ethic.

Thus, the ideologues projected both employer and employee as morally mutually responsible for one another. 'By obtaining better working conditions,' says Shragai, 'we are strongly serving justice, inasmuch as we are preventing people from doing evil.'[29] And mutual understanding was to be the prime mechanism for regulating labor relations. In contrast to the Histadrut, which championed strikes to promote workers' interests, HaPo'el HaMizrahi in the 1920s favored compulsory arbitration for settling labor disputes.

In this vein the term 'socialism' was proscribed in the ideology of HaPo'el HaMizrahi during most of the 1920s. The primary reason for repudiating socialism was the members' resentment of Marxist hostility toward religion, but the religious workers also seem to have been repelled by the socialist ethos. The Hasidism-informed members were not prepared to recognize the abstract division of mankind into hostile economic classes, nor were they ready to award primacy to the empirical collective over the spontaneous core self. 'The social doctrine that we champion addresses itself not to class struggle, but to the continuous struggle between impulses … which is an inner, psychic struggle,' states Aminoah.[30] What is more, the idea of 'class hatred' and the message of social revolution clashed with the Torah and Labor vision of a harmonistic world. As one member poignantly put it:

> If people have deviated from the track, and largely erred, we do not believe in class struggle. … We regard humanity as a sick patient that needs a lot of care, healing, and education. … Love is the existential primum mobile that orders society, not hatred. If you hate your brother – heal thyself.[31]

Put in programmatic terms, 'HaPo'el HaMizrahi does not advocate the social repair of the world in the manner that one repairs a shoe at a particular moment, but conceives it as a gradual and persistent moral development.'[32]

It follows from our discussion that the inward mind-set predominated in the religious workers' organization in the 1920s, matching that of the secular kibbutz in its Bund stage. We shall see in the next section that the preeminence of the inward mind-set proved consequential for the ability of the religious pioneering settlement groups in this decade to firmly establish kibbutz life.

APPROACH TO COOPERATIVE SETTLEMENT

The religious and pioneering vectors of HaPo'el HaMizrahi's value system coordinated effectively in the organization's work camp communities in the 1920s. Following the example of the secular socialist Zionists, HaPo'el HaMizrahi awarded prime value to cooperative settlement. The religious labor organization, however, legitimated this life pattern through a synthesis of Hasidic and Musar values: 'The Hasidic concept in the sense of mutual influence and fusion of one member with the other and with the collective, and the Musar movement in its emphasis on a moral ethic.'[33]

But it was in the *moshav* (cooperative smallholder settlement) rather than in the kibbutz that these Orthodox settlers actualized their ideals. The twenty or so pioneering groups sponsored by HaPo'el HaMizrahi in the 1920s adopted the communal format for their initial consolidation in their work camps – but did not extend it beyond the Bund stage of kibbutz life. The differentiated structure of kibbutz life in the more advanced Commune stage, and its sweeping centralized authority, particularly in economic production, repelled these Hasidism-informed settlers. The empirical collective, with its formalized role components and regularized collective restraints, was incompatible with the quest for a spontaneous uplifting of the existential self. In a letter written from Kvutzat HaNatziv in 1925, Bernstein states: 'In the large Commune the individual is no more than a cog in the whole machine … there are no psychic connections among all members, and the possibility of self-development is automatically voided.'[34] Aminoah put it starkly in terms of existential individualism: 'We address ourselves to [cooperative living] not from the absolute approach of shared living, since we emphasize individuality … which connotes the personal freedom that we seek.'[35] In short, the values of the *moshav* were felt to be more congenial to the privacy of the self, personal freedom, and spontaneous uplift than those of the developed kibbutz.

The one departure from the *moshav* settlement pattern within HaPo'el HaMizrahi in the 1920s was Kvutzat HaNatziv.[36] Established in 1924 as a pioneering group intending to pursue the communal life format, Kvutzat HaNatziv was, however, oriented solely to the psychic mode of communalism. Its members explicitly dissociated themselves from the political dimension of communal life and downplayed the economic dimension; they perceived the commune as above all a framework for cultivating the inner life. In the words of Bernstein:

> One should seek the path leading to the perfection of the individual in the social body, not in the political but in the communal sense. … A collective group that is permeated by the idea of moral purification and improvement of character traits, and is united in its life pattern to the extent that its members feel a friendly, familial relationship toward one another and even more – such a group by common effort can reach the height to which it aspires. 'Every one will help his

> neighbor and encourage his brother' [Isaiah 41:6]. Egoism is dissolved and faults and imperfections are corrected and improved by mutual criticism.[37]

But the few extant descriptions of daily life within Kvutzat HaNatziv strongly suggest that from the beginning its psychic collective proved inadequate for the differentiated reality of pioneering life. Indeed, the external and objective challenges of pioneering life appear to have sapped the group's religious ethos. In 1925 a member wrote: 'Religious feeling weakens anew every time. … I hardly pray with devotional intention. … Everything has become a matter of rote.'[38] Two years later Kvutzat HaNatziv dissolved.

THE HASIDIC ETHOS BLUNTED

In a sense, this first glimpse of the inability of the Hasidic-inspired Orthodox pioneers to sustain a viable kibbutz life concludes this chapter. But it is noteworthy that toward the end of the 1920s the pervasive influence of the inward mind-set began to wane. As the center of HaPo'el HaMizrahi's significant reality increasingly shifted to empirical life, its members became more and more aware of the wide disjunction between their ideology and their workaday interests. Forming labor unions and other rationally patterned groups, such as a trust fund and a political party on the Jewish national scene, HaPo'el HaMizrahi could not remain indifferent to impersonal principles that dominate modern social life. And turning at last to strikes in labor disputes, HaPo'el HaMizrahi could not help but recognize that objective factors may influence interpersonal moral relations.

The Hasidic image of reality began to lose focus in the ideology around 1927. This year marked the consolidation of HaPo'el HaMizrahi, after its major 'left wing' had returned to the mother organization, after having spent three years in the Histadrut. In 1927, too, HaPo'el HaMizrahi became the largest religious political party on the Jewish national scene, having outstripped Mizrahi in the elections to the Fifteenth Zionist Congress. Also in this year the Histadrut recognized HaPo'el HaMizrahi for the first time as a legitimate rival on the labor market.[39] In light of all these developments, practical reality undercut ideology, and the confrontational mind-set increasingly sought legitimation.

An early indication of the waning of the inward mind-set was Bernstein's 1927 article expressing qualms about the nominalist perception of society:

> Although we recognize that the general is no more than its parts – that is to say, the public is no more than the sum of individual persons, and their essence is its essence – this cannot be a factor in the affiliation of individuals into a public. In the final analysis, the psychic reasons of each individual differ, while the affiliatory goal is general.

> [The nominalistic] view, with all its significance, can produce no more than sectarianism. But we are involved in the general public.[40]

Four years later the tension between the inward mind-set and the ripening awareness of labor organizational interests had not abated, as the following two passages attest:

> In effect, HaPo'el HaMizrahi identifies with all the slogans that were created by the Histadrut and gets on its bandwagon. Self labor and mutual aid may have originated in the Histadrut, but since they basically derive from Judaism, HaPo'el HaMizrahi is enjoined to adopt them. But 'organized' labor, which our members everywhere take to heart and intrepidly defend – is this '*mitzvah*' also enjoined by the Torah?[41]
>
> We are beset by ideological confusion. Everyone perceives the idea of 'Torah and Labor' in a different light. … How do we create favorable work conditions? … One member says, 'By strikes, by real class conflict.' … Another says that strikes are totally opposed to 'Torah and Labor.'[42]

It is likely that the appearance of the German stream of religious 'socialist' pioneers in the early 1930s legitimated a socialist identity. Or perhaps it was the adjudication of then Chief Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Kuk in 1933 that workers might strike against their employers for enhanced working conditions.[43] In any case, by the mid-1930s the term 'socialist' had become accepted in Torah and Labor ideology.

But despite the change in mentality of HaPo'el HaMizrahi's leaders, Hasidic themes, particularly those that concern the perfection of the inner life, continued to crop up in the ideological literature of the religious labor organization throughout the 1930s. Such themes were to find ready acceptance among the second wave of East European Orthodox pioneers, who immigrated to Palestine in this decade and who were to constitute one stem of the Religious Kibbutz Federation. On the other hand, Hasidism-inspired themes were to be directly contested by the second, major, German stem of the RKF, which bore the cultural hallmark of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz. Particularly through the RKF influence, elements of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz would increasingly penetrate the religious labor ideology in the 1930s. And by 1941, in a revamped statement of Torah and Labor principles that was published in a leading periodical of HaPo'el HaMizrahi, the symbols of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz predominated.[44]

5 The two strands of the religious kibbutz in formation

> The basic question that confronts the religious kibbutz is its raison d'etre: Was the religious kibbutz created for the sake of the individual … or was it created to establish a healthy cell of the perfected society?
>
> Yitzhak Werfel [Refael], *Ohaleinu*, Sivan 5695 (1935)

This chapter will lead us into the religious kibbutz movement. It will discuss the formation of the two cultural strands of this movement, in Germany and in Eastern Europe, as they took shape in new face-to-face primary groups, from which the first religious kibbutz nuclei were to emerge. The chapter will highlight the role of Hasidism in religiously undergirding the affective interpersonal relations that coalesced the new groups – both in Eastern Europe and in Germany – and in shaping the unifying thrust of their members' religious consciousness. But we shall see that while the Hasidic symbolic system gave predominant weight to the inward mind-set in determining East European Orthodox youth's approach to the kibbutz, German-bred youth, affirming the centrality of Halakhah in their religious disposition, invoked confrontational value orientations to curb the inward mind-set. In terms of Soloveitchik's Adam 2, East European youth embarked on its kibbutz experience through the sanction of an inward-directed Adam 2; German youth embarked on this experience through the sanction of an outward-directed, as well as an inward-directed, Adam 2.

Conceived in the Diaspora around 1930, the religious kibbutz movement was fed by numerous rivulets and streams. Some of these originated in the World Torah and Labor Movement, the umbrella movement of Religious Zionist youth organizations. Other streams flowed from non-Religious Zionist groups. In Germany the Torah and Labor movement embraced Tze'irei Mizrahi and its youth movement, Brit HaNo'ar HaDati.[1] But in Germany the group called Bachad (Brit Chalutzim Datiim), which was to constitute the major tributary of the religious kibbutz movement, formed independently of Religious Zionism.[2] Bachad included graduates of Brit HaNo'ar HaDati, as well as members of the breakaway pro-Zionist group of the Ezra youth movement.[3] In Eastern Europe the Torah and Labor

movement embraced the general HeHalutz HaMizrahi pioneering organization and the HaShomer HaDati and Bnei Akivah youth movements.[4]

Elsewhere I have described the creation of the new religious primary groups that formed in these organizations in the 1920s and 1930s.[5] Basically, these religious groups, like the founding cohorts of HaPo'el HaMizrahi, formed along the lines of the secular youth groups that we discussed in Chapter 2. Seeking personal regeneration amidst the social upheavals of the post-war period, inspirited by the messages of Jewish national revival and radical social reform, and also, stimulated by the model of secular youth movements, Orthodox Jewish youth in Germany and in Eastern European countries banded together to validate one another in probing the meaning of their existence as Jews and as human beings. And influenced by the social patterns and emotive mechanisms of youth movement culture, under the overarching canopy of revitalized Jewish national symbols and ideas of social reconstruction, Orthodox youth cultivated a transcendent image of a renewed national, and an authentic human, life. The collective consciousness that evolved in these religious primary groups, in the ambience of the youth movements and *hakhsharot* (training farms), and the charged sense of a collective mission to realize a religious pioneer life within the kibbutz setting, welded the group members together, as prospective partners in actualizing their transcendent vision.

I have also noted elsewhere the differences in the cultural bases from which the German and East European strands proceeded to build religious kibbutz life.[6] After several generations of Emancipation, German Orthodox Jewry, impressed by the universal values of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz, felt integrated in German society and in the world at large. As a result, German Orthodox youth had a broad universal footing from which to embrace the socialist life pattern. And although the religious pioneering movement in Germany included many second-generation immigrants from Poland, it was the rational value orientation of the established German members that set the final religious tone of the German religious pioneering movement. (For example, many members of Brit HaNo'ar HaDati came from Polish immigrant families, but the leaders were from established Orthodox families.) East European Orthodox Jewry, on the other hand, had come into Emancipation only in the wake of World War I and was still grappling with modernity; East European youth had to revert to particular traditional culture to justify the kibbutz form of living.

We shall see, accordingly, how the parental religious culture of each strand shaped its world view. Hasidism, seeing existence as a divinely sparked seamless fabric, led East European youth to frame their communal life world within an affectively charged symbolic scrim. Torah-im-Derekh Eretz, on the other hand, defined existence in realistic terms, through the screen of a Halakhically pointed legal grid, and induced the German-bred pioneering element to project a rational setting for its life world.

THE BUND PHASE IN GERMANY

The influence of youth movement culture on the formation of the future religious kibbutz nuclei was particularly evident in Germany, the cradle of this culture. As I noted in Chapter 2, the sociological term Bund, used to characterize the incipient stage of kibbutz development, was originally coined by Hermann Schmalenbach in his analysis of the intense interpersonal relations that typified the German youth movement. Ironically, German Orthodox Jewry's identification with the general society sanctioned its youth's joining the generation revolt of native youth – whereupon the Orthodox youth proceeded to reject not only the excessive objectiveness and formalism of modern life but their parents' bourgeois living style as well.

Seeking out their intrinsic roots, Orthodox youth reached through their rational poise to probe the inner depths of their core selves and deepen their subjectivity. In the words of Avraham (Rudi) Herz, a founder of Bachad and its initial leading ideologue: 'With clear cognition we depart from contemporary objective science, and devote ourselves to the depths of human existence. … To find a way to relate to the meaning of one's existence is the content of all religious aspirations.'[7] While Herz and other older members of the German religious pioneering movement had originally fostered the inward mind-set in general Jewish youth movements, the bulk of future German-bred religious pioneers cultivated this mind-set in the two Orthodox youth movements, Ezra and Brit HaNo'ar HaDati. Through the crucible of the *Gemeinschaft*,[8] the key companionship format of German youth culture, Orthodox young men and women also sought to attain personal regeneration by means of the spontaneous self – by opening up and attuning themselves to one another and to nature, and moving together toward primordial unity. Through empathetic communion within their peculiar symbolic world, German Orthodox youth strove to renew their roots and identity as comrades in a transcendently toned psychic collective.[9]

The *Gemeinschaft* experience

An exposition of a 1929 Mizrahi Youth summer camp opens a window on the expansive *Gemeinschaft* experience.

> Life in the *Gemeinschaft* fused the comrades, boys and girls, together. We found the true human role in living a life of purity on earth. The camp was built by those who participated in it; but even more, the participants were built by the life in the *Gemeinschaft*. Academics, workers, eastern and western Jews, rich and poor alike – all differences vanished. … To experience the *Gemeinschaft*, to experience the other … could swing people together and create them anew. … We formed a partnership for creating a true scale of values that releases a person

> from petty desires and trains him to partake in an idea. … Life on the outside no longer interested us.
>
> We were [also] in close touch with the infinity of nature. Against the backdrop of the forest, the rapport with the totality of all those who shared our aspirations, with all Jews, was an experience. … Perhaps even more, it was an expression of the *Gemeinschaft* living between us and within us. This experience cannot be described by words; one has to take part in it to grasp it.[10]

German Orthodox youth cast its existential ferment within familiar religious patterns. While some of this youth had been taken with the Musar code that was mentioned in Chapter 4,[11] it was particularly Hasidism that provided the templates for shaping the *Gemeinschaft's* religious posture. Orthodox youth bred in Torah-im-Derekh Eretz had become familiar with doctrines of Hasidism through the works of Martin Buber, and had discovered Hasidism's social rites for heightening religious experiences, mainly through frequenting the *shtibels* (Hasidic houses of worship) that East European Jewish immigrants had established in many German–Jewish communities after World War I. Under the effect of the *shtibel* exposure, the *Gemeinschaft* was to find its integrative focus in God. Efrayim Ya'ir, later a member of Kibbutz Tirat Tzvi, evaluates retrospectively the *shtibel* experience that he underwent at the age of fifteen in Berlin. This initial encounter with the Hasidic community enabled him 'to feel close to the godhead and to the imperceptible,' Ya'ir writes. 'When the huge contrast between my rationalistic education and my religious longing reached a summit, I was able to overcome the former and experience closeness to God through the exaltation of my total feeling.'[12] And Moshe Unna, who was to become the leading ideologue of the religious kibbutz movement, designates the Hasidic-tempered training farm in Herrmansberg, Bavaria, as the social milieu in which he reached memorable religious heights.[13]

Thanks to the Hasidic refinement of the *Gemeinschaft* experience, the precept of neighborly love invigorated interpersonal relations in the youth movements and *hakhsharot*. 'We live here as one big family, like brothers and sisters,' writes Werner Baum, a member of Bachad and later of Kibbutz Yavne, at the Geringshof training farm. 'Our life is characterized by Hasidic religiosity, which influences each of us with its purity, its clarity, and its fervor.'[14] And Baum proceeds to enumerate uplifting group activities on the Sabbath – prayer services, communal meals, Torah classes, singing and dancing – that 'foster the *Gemeinschaft*.' The collective experiences that were engendered by such activities nourished the group consciousness and this, in turn, kindled the religious regeneration of the individual core self, as it was carried by the collective momentum toward its Supreme Source.

Drawing on the existential teachings of Franz Rosenzweig as well as on those of Martin Buber,[15] Orthodox youth also directed its affective thrust at the legal formalism of German Orthodox life. These young people decried

the 'frozen Orthodoxy' embodied in the stereotyped adherence to the *mitzvot*. They sought to sustain an immediate rapport with God through intent awareness in observing the *mitzvot*: 'The *mitzvot*,' in the words of Herz, 'not as a "burden", as something to be passively observed out of obligation, but as a joy on the path that God set for us.'[16]

Curbing the Hasidic ethos

But the German religious pioneering movement's identification with Hasidism was no more than skin deep, and even at that was confined to the social sphere. Thus, the movement's ideological literature is devoid of Hasidic cosmological elements. Furthermore, German Orthodox youth were wary of what they regarded as the pitfalls of emotional collectivism. They were apprehensive of closure to the external world; a youth leader in Brit HaNo'ar HaDati, for instance, exhorted members to perform social services such as visiting the sick and the aged, so as to connect themselves to the surrounding society.[17] German Orthodox youth were particularly concerned about how psychic coalescence might impair rational individuality and clear thinking.[18] As leaders of Brit HaNo'ar HaDati put it:

> The individual should be at the fore. *Gemeinschaft* implies mutual aid of individuals on their path to shared goals. Individuals should belong to one another internally, but we do not seek collectivism.[19]
>
> The ability to identify with the other calls for preparation that can take place only when a person is by himself. One can develop spiritually only individually. It is possible to share feelings together, but it is impossible to think together. The true *Gemeinschaft* is built on true individuality.[20]

Indeed, individual disengagement from the social matrix clearly tempered the coalescing thrust of the precept 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' Thus, Rudi Herz invoked this precept precisely in order to set a hedge around rational individuality and in this context to implicate egalitarian individualism: '*Kibbutziut* [kibbutzism] connotes not maximum uniformity but rather the manifestation of the private self whose individuality is curtailed by "Love thy neighbor as thyself," by the recognition that all men are of equal worth.'[21]

What is more, in character with the general youth movement, Orthodox youth extended the concept of *Gemeinschaft* beyond its emotive context to connote a self-sustaining empirical community – with members psychically linked to one another by common transcendent values that motivate them to shape and sustain the community's institutions. This perception of the *Gemeinschaft* was consonant with the concept of the Halakhic community. For, the volatile religious mood of Orthodox youth notwithstanding, Halakhah, divine law, remained central to this youth's grasp of Jewish religious

life. 'Torah means law to us,' says Eugen Michaelis, a leader of Mizrahi Youth, when defining the substance of this organization in 1927. 'It refers to that rich fashioner of Jewish life that proved itself in shaping the realistic life sphere.'[22] And another figure of Mizrahi Youth, Ernst Hepner – disputing the positions of Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig that a person should perform a *mitzvah* only if he or she identifies with its meaning – urges Mizrahi Youth members to rid themselves of the spurious idea that the observance of the law is contingent on the individual's aptitude for belief. Mizrahi Youth, Hepner writes, has a role to play amongst Zionist youth: to fight for the recognition of religious law as the basis for Zionist work.[23] In fact, sensitive to the wide gap between the Torah-im-Derekh Eretz ideal of a 'complete' life governed by Torah and the actual circumscribed domain of religion in Jewish life in the Diaspora, German religious pioneering youth projected the concept of the Halakhic community onto the image of a renewed Jewish national society. Through the confrontation between Halakhah and the functional needs of such a society, they imagined, religious law would eventually be able to re-establish its sway over community life. An emerging corollary of this notion was an increased awareness of the dynamic nature of Halakhah *vis-à-vis* historical change.[24]

Religious socialism

The perception of the empirical community as the central stage for Jewish religion was also consonant with the socialist identity of the religious pioneering movement.[25] The system of Christian socialism that figures like Paul Tillich developed in the radical ferment of post-World War I German society, together with the social thrust of Torah and Labor ideology, inspired Jewish Orthodox youth to ground socialism in the Torah. 'The Torah cannot be fully realized in every Jewish collective, but only in a *Gemeinschaft* of free workers in which there is no exploitation,' declares a 1933 manifesto of Brit HaNoar HaDati.[26] Orthodox youth nebulously conceived the socialist community, too, in Halakhic terms, as the preeminent expression of the social–moral thrust of the Torah.[27]

The German religious pioneering movement's dominant realistic orientation was further upheld by the occupational skills that its members were encouraged to develop. The movement's *hakhsharot* (training farms) were professionally managed, and trainees were able to diversify their farming experience in various branches of agriculture. Bachad members were also encouraged to learn manual trades. It is noteworthy that three members of the first Bachad kibbutz nucleus were agronomists with university degrees.

To summarize: In the incipient Bund stage of kibbutz development in Germany, the inward set of value orientations made deep inroads into the rational mentality of German Orthodox youth and opened this youth to mystical recesses of reality; but it did not displace the ascendancy of the key confrontational set of value orientations of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz. While

the existential ferment in the youth groups was directed particularly toward personal regeneration, it also put forth the ideal of a renewed Halakhic community. In short, Bachad members conceived of the kibbutz as a social medium for integrating innovative religious goals at personal and community levels alike.

Bachad immigration to Palestine began at the end of 1929 and was to continue for ten years. The first group of Bachad farm trainees – eight men and four women – established Kibbutz Rodges in their work camp, prompted by a vague sense that the rational structure of the kibbutz could effectively further religious community goals.[28] By 1941 four other predominantly Bachad-influenced communal groups had formed in Palestine; three of these were trained in the frame of Youth Aliyah.[29] In a sixth communal group, Kibbutz Tirat Tzvi, Bachad trainees consituted half of the membership. And in a seventh group, formed by the local Bnei Akivah youth movement and later to be known as Kibbutz Saad (see also page 69), almost half of the members came from German Jewish Orthodox families.

THE BUND PHASE IN EASTERN EUROPE

In the ideology of East European Orthodox pioneering youth of the 1930s, the Hasidic dimension is thinner than in that of HaPo'el HaMizrahi of the 1920s. Growing up under the conditions of recent political emancipation, members of the second wave of East European religious pioneering were more involved in the surrounding general society of their countries of origin; virtually all of them had received a secular education in government schools, and some had graduated from gymnasium. But in the rapidly disintegrating Jewish traditional order of Eastern Europe, where these Orthodox young people were bent on preserving their religious identity in the face of the corrosive impact of the secular world, the radically new social order that the kibbutz represented had to justify itself from the outset in religious terms.[30]

Hasidic–Musar symbolic world

As was the case with Hapo'el HaMizrahi in the national Jewish community of the 1920s, a joint Hasidic–Musar symbolic pattern proved apt for religiously sustaining Orthodox youth's radical disposition in Eastern Europe of the 1930s. For, despite their spurning of their Hasidic milieu, the members of the religious pioneering movement in this region fell back on Hasidic symbols for legitimating the kibbutz. And Musar values, which were popularized in an offbeat mode in the two decades after World War I through the network of the Novaredok *yeshivot*,[31] reinforced the ethical thrust of Hasidism, especially among Polish religious youth. What is more, the knowlege of Hebrew of these young men and women enabled them to

discern at first hand an interwoven tissue of Hasidic–Musar and pioneering values in the ideological literature of HaPo'el HaMizrahi. In short, the religious ideology of the Orthodox pioneering movement in Eastern Europe in the 1930s basically conformed with that of HaPo'el HaMizrahi in its initial decade.

But in contrast to HaPo'el HaMizrahi of the 1920s, which from its outset had to recognize the external realities of the Jewish national community's labor market, East European youth groups of the 1930s could enclose themselves almost entirely within their Hasidic–Musar symbolic world in their youth movements and training farms, fostering their psychic uplifting within an otherworldly climate. The upshot was a sharp dualism in their consciousness – between their ideal world picture and an immediate outer reality that they totally rejected. In this vein, a member of the HaShomer HaDati youth movement could write, 'I come to the branch [of the organization] to breathe fresh air, to purify myself from the filth of the street, to become exalted.'[32]

Tikkun olam in a Hasidic perspective

East European pioneering youth of the 1930s cultivated its world view by remaining attuned to the Hasidic trajectory of cosmic repair, but the track of this trajectory comes through more faintly and its coordinates more intermittently than in the ideology of HaPo'el HaMizrahi. On the other hand, the basic ethos of Hasidism – namely, a 'world-correcting' impulse that pivots on a harmony-pursuing self – comes forth distinctly. Conceiving the 'defectiveness' of the world as deriving from the impairment of the inner harmony between its components, East European pioneering youth held that the world's 'correction' can proceed only gradually, 'from stage to stage,' through the 'raising of the holy sparks'[33] – through the affectively charged inner life and behavior of the individual.' Summarily stated in the ideological literature: 'The pioneer knows very well that everything in the world can be elevated to a supreme stage,' and thus even 'evil [may] elevate itself and find its correction.' Hence, the agenda of the religious pioneer: 'To bring correction to base matter, improvement and perfection, and to become [thereby] exposed to a note of the eternal divine melody.'[34] Musar symbols enhanced the theme of 'correction.' A trainee at the Kosov *hakhsharah* encapsulated the tone of these symbols through allusion to Musar classics: 'Life here is so pure and refined that *The Track of the Righteous* hits squarely home and authentically reverberates within you. … *The Duties of the Heart* obligates you as a kibbutz figure.'[35] In short, East European pioneering youth conceived *tikkun olam* in terms of the enhanced inner life.

The inordinate religious weight that East European youth awarded to the inner life determined the key role of the psychic collective in shaping East European youth's concept of community. Encouraged by the Hasidic ethos

to cultivate collective experiences to the point that they could feel 'the unity of the group soul,' East European youth tended to devitalize their rational selves and to lend their individual psyches to recasting in a common revamping matrix. Indeed, the symbiotic relationship between the psychic collective and its individual members was intended to cultivate the inner perfection of the individual. Members were to help one another to refine their core selves so as to cultivate a perfected collective whose composite moral stature would rebound to them. A member of Kibbutz Kfar Etzion retrospectively summarized the dynamics of the internal life in terms of the interpenetration of the self and the psychic collective:

> In the Diaspora we understood a full shared life … in terms of a close social life, which, through mutual understanding and reciprocal influence of ethical traits and morality, a new public psychology would emerge. … Through repetitive feedback [such a psychology] would educate the individual and root out his evil inclinations.[36]

In contrast to the German groups, which invoked individual bounds to delimit the ethic of 'Love thy neighbor,' the East European groups invoked this ethic for 'waiving the private "I" in favor of the collective "I".'[37] Also in contrast to the German movement, which furthered the religious education of its members through Torah classes, the East European pioneering movement centered its educational thrust on psychic enhancement.[38] Emotive get-togethers heightened the feelings of exaltation and of collective unity. In group discussions devoted to Musar themes, in *Kabbalat Shabbat* (welcoming the Sabbath) ceremonies, and in the Hasidically fashioned Sabbath late-afternoon *seudah shlishit* (third meal), 'the supernal soul would … take wing and elevate us from the materiality of the lower world.'[39]

Rationale for the kibbutz

East European pioneering youth accordingly focused social betterment on the individual core self. In the spirit of HaPo'el HaMizrahi of the 1920s, HaShomer HaDati and its cognate groups favored the revamping of society not through class struggle (as envisioned in classical socialism) but through a 'gradual-evolutionary' process that hinged upon 'preparation of the hearts' of the society's constituent members. Religious pioneering youth of the 1930s repeated the nominalistic formula for the individual–community relationship that we have met several times, 'The general contains no more than its particulars.'[40] Hence, the central role of Hasidic and Musar values in religiously legitimating collective life. Fixing on the symbiotic relationship between the psychic collective and the core self, East European religious pioneering leaders presented the kibbutz essentially as 'a unified frame of life that leads to the purity, improvement, and perfection of man, the sole social structure that enables complete equality.'[41]

The perception of the kibbutz through the lens of the psychic collective invoked historic Jewish mystical roots of collective living (see Chapter 1). Indeed, collectivism was hailed as a cardinal, albeit dormant, strain of Judaism. In the words of the Religious Zionist writer Yehudah Yefet, writing in the bulletin of HaShomer HaDati:

> The collective concept is part of our flesh and bones. It was our seers and men of piety who created this social experiment. But they regarded it as deriving from a divine psychic, rather than a social and material, source. … All attempts to live according to a pattern of collective living were made and realized by Jewish mystics. Collectivism and mysticism went hand in hand.[42]

And, in a series of short articles, Yefet discusses the Essenes' communism; calls attention to sixteenth century's Isaac Luriah, 'who renewed original Hebrew collectivism'; goes on to quote one of the 'deeds of the covenant' of the eighteenth-century Ahavat Shalom group in Jerusalem (see pp. 22–3); and finally treats Hasidism, which, although 'animated by the spirit of *kibbutziut* [in the literal sense of collectivism]' did not realize this spirit because the social conditions in which Hasidism developed 'were not amenable to a full and complete collective life.'[43]

Dissenting voices

The overwhelming sway of the inward mind-set and emotive interpersonal bonding within the East European religious pioneering movement did not go unchallenged. There were voices that decried the abnegation of discursive thinking and the repression of rational individuality by the pervasive psychic collective.[44] There were others who decried the 'uprootedness from life' and the 'leveling of thought' that resulted from the lopsided psychic educational focus.[45] And there were leaders who drew on reports of the Commune stage experience of the kibbutzim already in existence in Palestine to dismiss the long-term relevancy of the romantic Bund stage of kibbutz life.[46]

But to no avail. East European pioneering youth throughout the 1930s doggedly regarded the psychic collective as the significant community template for the kibbutz. These young people accordingly grasped Halakhah predominantly through the perspective of the personal *mitzvot*. A typical statement regarding the *mitzvot*: 'Torah life connotes persistent and consistent education through the *mitzvot* of the Torah and good deeds that obligate the individual at all times.'[47]

The Slavkov training farm

Slavkov in Upper Silesia, the leading religious *hakhsharah* in Eastern Europe (1933–40), poignantly epitomizes the collective disposition of a pioneer

group within a quasi-Hasidic–Musar perspective.[48] Formed by selected members of HeHalutz HaMizrahi training farms, some of whom had studied at the Novaredok Musar *yeshivot*, Slavkov developed mechanisms of its own to cultivate the collective matrix. The highlights of Slavkov's weekly emotive cycle were the evening meals, at which idle talk was forbidden; lyrical ceremonies 'welcoming the Sabbath' and at the Sabbath 'third meal'; and enthusiastic celebrations of *melaveh malkah* (literally 'escorting the [departing Sabbath] queen') on Saturday nights. What peculiarly characterized Slavkov were the quietistic pauses that punctuated group activities. In the words of a visitor to the training farm, 'They sing and turn silent; they eat and turn silent; they dance and turn silent. This is the method for sifting the intense feelings through the rarified stillness.'[49] The mystical ambience of Slavkov would cast members into the grip of 'absolute fusion,' to the point that any manifestation of an egoistic disposition would be interpreted as an act of treason. In fact, as a onetime member of Slavkov told me, the training farm would not accept *lamdanim* (Torah scholars), because they tended to be individualists. Slavkov, like the other religious *hakhsharot* in Eastern Europe, hardly fostered agricultural skills. The trainees of Slavkov got their introduction to manual labor as workers in a neighboring metal factory.

East European communal groups

In contrast to the German strand of the religious pioneering movement, whose thrust toward the kibbutz sprouted through Bachad, the East European religious kibbutz strand was multiheaded. Its first communal group in Palestine, Kvutzat Shahal, was instituted in 1930 by a Mizrahi Pioneer group and was to absorb several groups of Slavkov trainees. In 1937 the Shahal collective became one of the three groups that merged in the founding of Kibbutz Tirat Tzvi (see below). Kvutzat Avraham, another East European communal group, was founded in 1933 by members of the Eastern Galicia Bnei Akivah youth movement. After migrating to Palestine two years later, it, too, was to absorb several groups from Slavkov. Kvutzat Avraham settled on the land in 1942, as Kfar Etzion. Another East European religious kibbutz, Massu'ot Yitzhak, was founded in Palestine by young people from Hungary and Slovakia who were also, for the most part, from a Hasidic background. Massu'ot Yitzhak settled on the land in 1945.

Let me also note the attempts of the religious pioneering youth movement in Palestine, Bnei Akivah, to found a kibbutz of its own. Formed in 1929 within a combined educational matrix of the Novaredok Musar principles and Baden-Powell scouting,[50] Bnei Akivah established a communal group in 1931, adjacent to Bachad's Kibbutz Rodges. This group, too, focused its activities on the cultivation of the inner life; it disbanded after two years. In 1937 Bnei Akivah founded a second communal group, which endured and eventually settled on the land as Kibbutz Saad. An additional Bnei Alivah kibbutz was founded in 1945; it settled on the land a year later as Ein Tzurim.

Table 5.1 Distribution of members in the kibbutzim of the RKF by country of origin, 1 August 1944 (in percentage)[a]

	Germany	*Poland*	*Czecho-slovakia*	*Romania*	*Austria*	*Other*	*No. of members*
Yavne	62	9	4	4	7	14	138
Tirat Tzvi	45	32	–	12	3	8	130
Sdei Eliyahu	60	3	5	2	9	21	114
Be'erot Yitzhak	67	1	26	–	4	2	88
Kfar Etzion	2	73	18	2	–	5	98
Emunim[b]	77	3	2	–	14	4	90
Alumim[c]	43	14	10	9	4	20	70
Shluhot	67	2	5	–	26	–	39

Source: *Toward the Third Council: Report of the Secretariat of the Religious Kibbutz Federation 1941–44*, Tel Aviv 1944.

a When this survey was made, Massu'ot Yitzhak was not a formal member of the RKF.
b Name later changed to Ein HaNatziv.
c Name later changed to Saad.

Table 5.1 breaks down the membership of the religious kibbutzim that existed as of 1944 according to countries of origin.

THE TWO STRANDS MEET IN THE RKF

In 1935 leaders of Kibbutz Rodges (German) and Kvutzat Avraham (East European) came together, while still in their work camps, to form the core of a religious kibbutz alliance that was to become known as HaKibbutz HaDati, the Religious Kibbutz Federation. An observer summed up the deliberations at the founding meeting by contrasting the rationales of the East European and German communal groups for kibbutz life: 'Was the religious kibbutz created for the sake of the individual … or was it created to establish a healthy cell for the perfected society?'.[51] The two types of groups were left to themselves to work out the relationship between ideology and the reality of kibbutz life.

Development of the Religious Kibbutz Federation[52]

The self-identity of the new kibbutz federation heightened in 1937, after the members of Kvutzat Shahal joined up with a group from Rodges (and a third group, Kfar Yaavetz, also from Germany) to settle on the land as

Kibbutz Tirat Tzvi. In 1939, a second group, Kvutzat Aryei, composed of former members of Brit HaNo'ar HaDati in Germany, moved from its work camp to settle on the land as Kibbutz Sdei Eliyahu. In 1941, the rest of the Rodges group settled down on its permanent site as Kibbutz Yavne. This transitional process, from work camp to permanent settlement site, continued in the other religious collective groups; by the eve of the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, the RKF numbered ten settlements.

Until 1948, most of the religious kibbutzim settled on the land in relatively isolated areas, where there were few, or no, other Jewish settlements. The basic reason for this was the RKF's desire to create blocs of kibbutzim that would enrich the economic, educational, and social framework of its individual settlements. But the choice of outlying regions was also stimulated by the desire of religious youth to prove its mettle in undertaking primary pioneering roles. Indeed, the founding of Jewish settlements under uncertain security conditions, in regions that were unknown to agriculture, and, in some cases, in unusually acute climatic conditions, put to test not only the economic proficiency of the settling groups, but their religious culture as well. In any event, by extending the pre-1948 borders of the Jewish national community, in the Beit Shean Valley, and in the southern Negev, as well as in the Hebron Hills, the religious kibbutzim placed themselves in the forefront of the Zionist enterprise. The peripheral location of these settlements stood out in bold relief in the Jewish–Arab war of 1948. Six of the ten existing settlements were destroyed; five of the six were later rebuilt in other parts of the country.

After 1948 nine more religious kibbutzim settled on the land within the framework of the RKF.[53]

6 The psychic collective of the religious kibbutz

> It is man who makes monarchies and establishes republics, but the commune seems to come directly from the hand of God.
>
> A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I, 5

In the last chapter I recounted how Jewish religious youth in Germany and Eastern Europe established new face-to-face primary groups with the intent of living a pioneering life within a communal framework. This chapter will discuss the religious ties that the members of these groups fostered in their Bund stage of kibbutz development, as they tuned in to one another's consciousness to weave their psychic collectives. In the terms introduced by Joseph Soloveitchik, this chapter will feature inward-directed Adam 2 in the cast of a religious kibbutz member. Sparked by its indwelling divine element to build a communal life pattern enlivened by God and focused on God, this manifestation of Adam 2 will experience the communal pattern as a social articulation of the community's thrust toward religious unity.

Structurally, the psychic collective of the religious kibbutz resembled that of both the kabbalists (Chapter 1) and the secular kibbutz (Chapter 2). The theater of action of this collective was located in the depths of the interior life; its building material, spontaneous individual sentiments. Its interpersonal channels of communication were intuitive; its bonding substance was love; and its protean interpersonal texture ranged from amorphous congeniality to fusion. The psychic collective of the religious kibbutz adopted the original ideological values and life world of the secular kibbutz, but accommodated them within the religious frame of reference of the kabbalistic collective. In other words, the psychic structure of the Orthodox kibbutz – in contrast to that of the secular kibbutz – embraced God as an essential component, in His role of 'comrade and fellow member.'

This chapter will draw upon the theories of Emile Durkheim to expand upon Soloveitchik's intimations regarding the role of religion in giving rise to, and sustaining, social life.[1] We will discuss the collectivizing force of religious impulses, as they joined observant youth intimately together in a divine community of affection that translated into the communal life pattern.

We will also analyze the Sabbath prayer service in the religious kibbutz as the vitalizing core of its psychic collective. But there is another classical sociologist of religion whose theories are peculiarly apposite to the collective tone of kibbutz life: Our study will substantiate some of Georg Simmel's insightful analogies between religion and social life.[2] Durkheim focused his studies on the relationship between religion and society; Simmel focused on the personal and interpersonal aspects of religion.

In presenting the unitive thrust of the religious kibbutz's psychic collective, I shall draw upon kibbutz literature of all four periods in the social development of the communal group: the youth movement and the training farm, where the structural lines of the psychic collective were boldly formed; and the work camp community and the permanent settlement, where the psychic collective was subdued in relation to the empirical collective, but continued to nurture kibbutz viability.[3]

TRANSCENDENCE AND COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS

As in the case of the secular kibbutz, the beginnings of the psychic collective of the religious kibbutz go back to the like-mindedness that the founding members sought out in each other, as they were to embark upon the Bund stage of kibbutz development. We noted in Chapter 5 that in the two decades after World War I, radical notions circulated in the general society and in the Jewish community, in Germany and in Eastern Europe, and stirred young religious Jews to join together in youth movements and training farms, to seek out their common existential roots and cultivate a new identity. Against this background of social volatility, as in the secular kibbutz, the psychic collective of the religious kibbutz formed in a state of 'communitas' – a state 'rich in symbols and poor in structure.'[4] Affirming collectively their common sentiments, and inspired by a transcendent vision of pristine communality and Jewish national regeneration, the members of the religious youth groups felt drawn to one another in bonds of solidarity as morally allied comrades. And melding their inner beings by means of effervescing mechanisms such as ideological and religious songs – and especially in the horah dance, which expressed 'confidence and hope in building the Land in the spirit of the Torah and on the basis of labor,' in the words of a member of Kvutzat Shahal[5] – group members fostered a heightened sense of the oneness of the community. A collective consciousness crystallized, and this cohesive community of mind and spirit formed the matrix of the religious kibbutz. An RKF emissary at the Slavkov training farm in Poland, in 1936, reflects upon the unifying effect of the transcendent vision on the farm's social group:

> When you sit at the dining room table a number of hours and regard the various people around you, you face the severest kibbutz problem.

> You must always ask: What ties me to these people, why do we all sit together? The inability to escape this question leads you to collective thinking. We all possess the aspiration to live a more beautiful life, a life of equality and comradeship. Can each of us reach such a life by himself? The answer is no; our strength … lies in our integration, in our fellowship.[6]

And at times, as we saw in the last chapter, the collective consciousness enveloped the individual consciousness, to the point that individuals felt that they were fusing into a singleminded being, possessing 'one soul and one thought.'[7] Typifying the pervasive sway of the 'collective I,' the first communal group of Bnei Akivah in Palestine made a practice of reading all personal letters aloud in public.[8] With the passage of time, accretions of community experience expanded the psychic cohesiveness. Each group's sense of unity was also nurtured by the culture of origin of its members. 'It is only natural that the influence of the country of origin, the common past, and the specific common language will bear heavily on the inner consolidation of the group,' comments Naftali Bar-Giorah, of Sdei Eliyahu.[9]

The collective consciousness imparted to group members a sense of metaphysically engendered kinship. Referring to his comrades on the training farm as 'brothers' and 'sisters,' Ben Zion Grodzhensky, a member of the religious pioneering movement in Poland, describes the impression of an 'elective fraternity': 'I am filled with a strange, unfamiliar feeling of intimacy, one of blood and soul … that displaces the intimacy of my [biological] family.'[10] The collective consciousness also transformed individual identity, as it expanded the self and grounded it in the transcendent vision. And the collective consciousness set the life course for the group, as a community of resolution bent on the realization of transcendence. 'One feels an upheaval of the spirit … the stirring of the blood for action and deeds,' exclaims Grodzhensky: 'I am being born again.'[11] Linked to one another in joint commitment to collective action, through new roles and norms, members of the communal groups saw themselves as 'brothers in aspiration and fate.'[12]

Rudi Herz defined the rousing power of such a community of resolution:

> When a hundred people one beside the other observe the *mitzvot* and believe that they thereby actualize themselves, all they can aspire to is to broaden their knowledge and advance economically. But the psychic aspiration of a hundred comrades who share a common goal … can lead to the living synthesis of Torah and labor.[13]

In other words, drawing upon a transcendent vision of a 'synthesis of Torah and labor' in the new national and social existence, the collective consciousness defined the community in terms of its members' mutual religious

commitment to the ongoing mental vitalization, and realization in practice, of ideal reality. And although members in this incipient stage of kibbutz development integrated only nebulously the disparate elements of the transcendent vision,[14] this exalted world constituted the significant actuality of the Bund stage.

CORRELATED RELIGIOUS CONTINUUM

Religious love and social coalescence

Initially, then, the coalescing interpsychic sentiments in the new primary groups stemmed from the common symbolic system. As the collective consciousness came into focus, however, the notion of God asserted itself as a master symbol and became the anchor of the psychic collective. Put differently, the collective consciousness, plotting its way into a religious streambed and drawing on elemental sources for inspiration and valorization, stimulated awareness of 'the divine spark that resides in [every] human psyche'[15] and heightened religious sensitivity. And this quickened religious awareness suffused the Bund's life world and embedded the individual self within an ambience of sacredness.The fundamental tone of the Bund was set by an expansive self that pursued harmonious continuity with a divinity-diffused creation. The keynote of this tone was religious love.

Indeed, religious love, gripping the members and melding them together, provided the vital underpinning for communal life in the Bund phase of the Orthodox kibbutz. The essential social interactive pattern crystallized as a triad of correlative affective relations: between individual group members and their fellows, and between each individual and God. As Efrayim Ya'ir characterized this intimate course: 'Soul will softly touch soul and fecundate it, and a most delicate bridge will link … person and person and, more than all, person and God.'[16] Indeed, as personal psyches correlatively opened up to God and to one another, they expressed the mutuality of the triadic relationship: The interpersonal affective relations between group members stimulated the love of God; and this, in turn, was refracted to the interpersonal texture. Pinhas Rosenblueth, when a member of Kibbutz Rodges, defined this affective synergism in familiar normative terms: 'The religious demand, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God" is grounded and interwoven in the demand, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." One command obliges the other; the two commandments are really one.'[17] But God constituted not only a 'neighbor' at the personal level and an inspiration for the love of others, but also, as we shall see below, the integrative focus of interaffective sentiments. Originating in God, religious love was enhanced as it lined the channels of interpersonal communion, and returned to God, heightened and enriched.

Primordial religious ambience

The interpersonal circulation of religious love sanctified the communal life pattern. Tapping the common metaphysical roots of the Bund members, religious love melted down the borders between 'mine' and 'thine.' and effected thereby a divinely impressed social rebirth. A community of equality, stemming from affective interpersonal coalescence in the divine, was grounded in the conception of God as the common source of all individuals. 'For we all have one Father, for one God created us,' writes Shalom Karni'el of Kfar Etzion, echoing Malachi 2:10,[18] as he acclaimed the oneness of the communal group. Indeed, within the ambience of the volatile social life the very readiness to share one's being with others expressed the restoration of primordial interpersonal ties to their original innocence in a freshly created world – 'a world at "Genesis"' – in which all are equal in status and in their entitlement to the bounty of the earth; a world in which there is no oppression and exploitation; a world marked by simplicity and direct interpersonal relations, guided by the ethic of 'love thy neighbor.'[19] A Bachad leader encapsulated the primally inspired communal temper in the following statement:

> Men are brothers, with equal rights and standing, and with an equal claim to enjoy the fruits of the soil; obliged to cooperate and help, not to compete and fight each other; 've-ahavta lere'acha kamocha' [Love thy neighbor as thyself].[20]

But communal life not only expressed pristine interpersonal love; communal life also promoted interpersonal love, for it 'creates the psychic tie between one person and another, without any hindrance, for Satan as an economic factor is also absent.'[21] In short, Bund members conceived interpersonal love and communal life as interpenetrating.

The pervasive affective mood induced a rudimentary sense of justice. Linked by a sense of fellowship and kinship, members of the Bund conceived justice as intrinsic to the love-regulated 'organic' relations within a living organism. The slogan 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs,' expressed a self-regulating mechanism for ordering a just society.[22]

Analogies between religious and communal life

Georg Simmel's analysis of the 'remarkable analogy' between the individual's disposition toward the divinity and his disposition toward society enhances our understanding of the structural affinity between religion and communal life. For the communal life pattern fits Simmel's definition of a type of a 'sociological formation … whose structure predestines [it] … to be ideal raw material for the development of religious life.'[23] Simmel's analysis focuses on the elements of faith and unity[24] – elements that communal life keenly elicits.

Thus, in the spirit of Simmel's comments on faith, collective ownership of material possessions in the kibbutz parallels divine ownership of all on earth – 'all wealth ultimately belongs to God, who only lent it to man; "ki li haaretz." [for the land is Mine (Leviticus 25:23)],' states Yosef Heinemann.[25] And the belief of commune members in the reality of their higher, pervasive, intangible collective parallels their faith in a pervasive nonempirical divinity that is higher than they.[26]

Also, just as individuals entrust their entire being to God through selfless devotion regardless of God's indeterminate response, but all the while believing that God will provide for their needs, so kibbutz members entrust their entire being to the commune through faith, and discharge their social roles out of a sense of commitment, without commensurate material rewards. Religious goals and communal life goals are equally noncompetitive and open to everyone,[27] independent of specific and defined exchange between giver and receiver. In this vein, one may grasp God and commune as two sides of the same coin.

In his reflections on unity, Simmel parallels social unity and divine unity; the sense of unity in social life mirrors the sense of unity in God. Members of a communal society are particularly aware of the unity of their social group. Simmel links the theme of unity to the two types of collective – the empirical and the psychic – that are treated in this study.[28] Each type of collective is built by the reciprocal action of its members, and such action requires an integrative focus for its unity. This focus, says Simmel, lies in the concept of God. The two collectives, the psychic and the empirical, take shape along diametrically opposite dialectical courses, between the poles of differentiation and unity. The dialectic of the psychic collective, Simmel suggests, proceeds from unity toward differentiation. Like-minded people fulfilling similar roles have faith in one another as comrades in building a psychic collective through reciprocal inner action; the emotional momentum of the psychic collective carries the individual self toward the collective's integrative focus and qualifies it for salvation as a particular, differentiated, being in God. The dialectic of the empirical collective proceeds from differentiation toward unity. People who build this collective are dependent on one another in a division of labor, as incumbents of differentiated roles whose external interaction integrates in a projected unity in God. And the faith in God of these individuals reverberates in their faith in one another – their faith that their fellows will live up to their communal roles.[29] 'The kibbutz is not a "natural" form of life,' declares an editorial in *Amudim*, an RKF organ. 'It charges a member to trust his [fellow] man and to believe in a life of companionship and brotherliness.'[30]

In the religious kibbutz God constitutes the integrative focus of the social interaction that builds the psychic and empirical collectives alike. In effect, the religious kibbutz merges these two collectives into a unified community, and turns thereby into a societal personification of God's unity. Leah Sapir succinctly expressed the affinitive unity between communal and religious

life in the religious kibbutz in the following statement: 'In the kibbutz religious life is expressed more fully than in the *moshav*. A single spirit rests on all the members of the kibbutz.'[31]

Religiously attuned wholistic world

The thrust of the group's collective consciousness toward primordial reality in the Bund stage also tapped a hidden resonance between the self's indwelling divine element and nature. In their disposition to foster an harmonious balance with their physical environment, kibbutz members grasped 'the bliss of nature as blending with the love of God.'[32] Manual labor, especially in the cultivation of the land, interwove an active element into this harmonious mood. At one level, manual labor symbolized participation of the individual member in divine reality as 'a partner of God in Creation.'[33] In this vein, Me'ir Or's description of the first plowing at Kibbutz Tirat Tzvi – 'With a quiver of holiness the tractor opened the new land' – affirms Eliade's characterization of the first plowing as a religious act that transforms cosmic chaos into a meaningful order. At a second level, working the land aroused in kibbutz members a religious mood of 'soul cleaning and body purification,' and thereby of moral rejuvenation. Yosef Lutvak expressed the ongoing religious effect of physical labor on the inner life in the following statement: 'The cosmos is a song of glory to the Creator, and man is enjoined to partake actively in the cosmic symphony by creative harmony in his life and by sanctifying and purifying himself in honor of his Lord.'[34] But the urge to perceive outer reality in terms of an active religious continuum seasoned performances other than physical. In the words of a member of Tirat Tzvi: 'Every farm activity, every cultural activity, every stroke of the spade should be a continuation of morning prayer, the fusion of synagogue roles with economic and social activities.'[35]

The sense of a religiously attuned correlative world that characterized the Bund temper is poignantly echoed in the following perception of the fluid boundaries between the sacred and the secular in the everyday life of Kibbutz Rodges in 1938:

> Life in the big collective is as varied as the hues of the rainbow in the clouds, and is composed of many elements. There is no sudden, felt and recognized transition from one element to another. … Labor and culture are intertwined. Society and self-education of the individual are blended into one another. The [talmudic] tractate of *Hulin* [literally 'secularness'] is interwoven within the [talmudic] order of Kodoshim [literally 'sanctities']. One does not know where to demarcate domains and set boundaries. All elements are entangled, and one does not know where one ends and the other begins.[36]

And in 1949, nine years after Kibbutz Rodges had settled on the land as Kibbutz Yavne, when the general assembly of the kibbutz approved the use of its new *beit midrash* (a study house for sacred literature) for secular studies, the rationale underlying this decision was that

> We, the members of the new generation, could not remain content with sacred studies alone. The concept of 'culture' has expanded. … We have elevated a life of labor and kibbutz living, the serious pursuits of a person, to a level of 'sacred worship.'[37]

A nebulous continuum between the sacred and the secular persisted in the religious kibbutz in the everyday life of its Commune stage.

Metaphysical time as significant time

Inner time constituted the central mode of time in the Bund experience. The major component of this mode of time was the primordial time that communal life inspirited. But within the perspective of the Bund experience, communal life also mirrored the divine reality of final time. In an echo of the messianic era, kibbutz members perceived their communal experience as constituting an extramundane leap into a realized transcendent order that reflected the primordial past.[38] In 'Ode to the Kvutzah,' a member of Kfar Etzion captured the kibbutz phenomenon as enfolding utopian periods of the primordial past and messianic future:

> For thou art a song; and thy profound depths
> And all of thy existence, a hint of the future to come.
> For thy taking root in the gray soil of the homeland
> Denotes primordial letters set to a melody of zeal and freedom
> That will be sung in the dewy fields of a society
> Tilled in furrows of justice, labor and love.[39]

As the stream of collective sentiments flowed along a perceived divinely charged axis of time, the primordial and final poles were grasped as blending in a sense of timelessness.

National sentiments also tended to merge past and future in the collective psyche of kibbutz members. The return of the Jewish people to the Land and its resettlement evoked national messianic undertones. The particular and cosmic streams of feeling converged in sentiments about the Land. 'The Land is dear to us,' said Dov Rappel, a member of Kibbutz Yavne, 'because the spiritual life that its landscape arouses within us leads us to inner harmony, to a feeling of true freedom.'[40] And, drawing upon the pregnant concept of 'love of [the people of] Israel,' religious pioneers felt themselves to be part of an enterprise of national relief for Jewish suffering. Indeed, the religiously inspired pioneering endeavor also fed the settlers'

faith in one another. 'The singular goal of upbuilding the Land elevated people to such a moral level that they … entrusted one another with their major and minor concerns,' mused a former member of Kfar Etzion.[41] In the final analysis kibbutz members perceived their collective psyche as merging into the timeless past and future of the Jewish people. A member of Massu'ot Yitzhak pointed up this union by an epigram: 'Our soul is tied to the Eternal of Israel and the eternal, too, exists in the present.'[42]

Exaltation of core self

In the organic relationship between the self and the social in the psychic collective – a relationship highlighted in the Bund stage – the social took ontological precedence over the self; however, the self had priority as a value. In effect, reality in the Bund stage focused on the private self. The elevating thrust of the Bund's collective experiences toward God centered substantially on the salvation of the individual psyche – the realization of the self's 'innermost being, the pure image of itself,' in the words of Simmel.[43] The integral relationship between the social and the self was evoked metaphorically by a member of the Slavkov training farm: 'The trunk of the tree has many branches, but they cannot all be bent in the same direction. The kibbutz enables each individual to advance himself according to his ability.'[44] Affect constituted the medium of interchange that harmonized the core self with the collective. At one level, members would seek to engage one another's moral being, and, through a spiral of reciprocal affective feedback that related to God and to their fellows, to deepen their selves and to fall in tune with their real innermost being. At a second level, members would strive to realize their true identity as allied moral agents acting in unison in their particular symbolic world, in the mental realization of a vivid, innerly tangible, transcendent reality. At both levels the psychic collective constituted a vehicle for exalting and expanding the core self and renewing its true identity in God.

The exaltation of the existential self within the social context was enhanced by the affective relationship with nature. Undergoing the experience of melding into its natural environment through harmonious continuity, the self also unveiled its innermost being through a blissful sense of oneness with the divine.

MECHANISMS OF SOCIAL COALESCENCE

Let us turn now to the kibbutz's built-in mechanisms for promoting religious union, to see how these mechanisms interact with the psychic collective. While the historical evolution of the religious kibbutzim will continue to furnish examples and individual testimonies of these mechanisms, I shall often be referring to dynamics of kibbutz life that are as fully operative

in the 1990s as they were sixty years ago; therefore, portions of this discussion will be in the present tense.

Emile Durkheim elaborated upon the need of all human societies for recurrent periodic assemblies, particularly rituals, to nurture the interpsychic coalescence of their members.[45] How much more so does an 'unnatural' society, such as the kibbutz, need ceremonial occasions to fuel its viability. And in fact, the kibbutz's communal structure does provide it with built-in coalescing mechanisms for energizing its psychic collective. In this section I shall explore the operation of such mechanisms, indeed, in the Commune stage – the crystallized, 'prosaic,' stage of kibbutz development. As I indicated in Chapter 2, the psychic collective generally plays a secondary role in the Commune stage; but even in this stage there are times when the psychic gains ascendency over the empirical collective, to the advantage of the entire kibbutz social system.

The theoretical point of departure for my discussion is Durkheim's insight that collective religious experiences stir social coalescence. Such effusive events were common in the religious pioneering context in the youth movements and the training farms, occurring in informal get-togethers as well as in conventional patterns of Sabbath (and holiday) celebration, and constituted far-reaching catalysts in bonding prospective kibbutz members in a collective unity, as I described in Chapter 5. The frequency of the informal gatherings, however, tended to decline in the work camp communities, and particularly after settlement on the land. Conventional patterns thus took on greater importance in absorbing and generating feelings of religious oneness – although generally these feelings no longer attained the pitch of exaltation of the early Bund stage.

PYRAMIDAL PATTERN OF COALESCENCE

Indeed, as the structure of kibbutz life congealed in the Commune stage, the weekly cycle of kibbutz life tended to foster a pyramidal pattern of psychic coalescence. The setting for the pyramid is the transcendence-charged social landscape of the kibbutz: Its base rests in members' everyday encounters, and its apex is attained in the regular Sabbath celebration.

Footpath-generated sentiments

Georg Simmel has suggested that interpersonal human contact constitutes the very stuff of religion.[46] Kibbutz life is largely conducted in public, and thus it creates favorable circumstances for the frequent interaction of community members. Indeed, as kibbutzniks meet face to face, time and again, on the footpaths that connect living quarters, work areas, and public sites, and as they define one another as comrades in the realization of transcendent reality, they spark off mutual religious sentiments. A member of a

training farm in Poland expressed the essential attraction of members for one another in the following words: 'Here you are not a stranger, for everyone is a brother in a uniform opinion and uniform action. They all understand you and you understand them all. Oh, how good it is to be with such people.'[47] And even if the routinization of daily life in the Commune stage tends to cool the fervency of interpersonal feelings at offhand encounters, the mere contact between like-minded individuals who share common ideal interests continues to stir religious undertones.

Footpath-generated interpersonal religious sentiments heighten and intensify in the kibbutz as members join together in work groups, in informal meetings and in classes, and weave 'a live and sensitive communal fabric, responsive to every occurrence, from day to day.'[48] Such gatherings may be seen as intermediate foci in the weekly cyclical buildup of social coalescence. Bar-Giorah, of Sdei Eliyahu, appreciated the integrative power of such gatherings in the following statement:

> Every meeting in good spirits at … a task conference of the workers of a particular branch, or the exchange of views around the [open sacred] book while attending a class – all this enhances the fabric of shared life.[49]

The major mechanisms of social coalescence in religious kibbutzim involve the congregating of the entire kibbutz population – for common meals and public prayer. Let us review these agencies as they relate to the spatial and temporal foci of the weekly coalescing cycle: the communal dining hall (the focus in space) and the Sabbath (the focus in time).

The communal dining hall

Regular communal meals in the dining hall punctuate the collective rhythm of daily kibbutz life. Several statements in religious kibbutz literature allude to the coalescent function of the communal dining hall. Shalom Karni'el, of Kfar Etzion, reviewed this function:

> The place where members meet four, five times a day … induces a sense of … 'brothers dwelling together' [Psalm 133:1]. During the meal a conversation develops that draws the hearts together. The large dining community inspires an atmosphere of unity and awareness of partnership in life and fate.[50]

Similarly, Malkah Haas, of Sdei Eliyahu, saw the communal dining hall itself as a focus of the oneness of the kibbutz community; she described the dining hall as 'the expression of our uniform desire.'[51]

However, in the Commune stage of religious kibbutz development the structure of common meals in the workaday week slackened under the

intensifying pressure of the work schedule. Members continued to eat together at communal mess tables, but not in concert; morning and noon meals were shortened by being taken individually, and the evening meal became informal. By the same token, until the mid-1950s the public prayer service on weekdays was hurried and often took place with a bare quorum, as most members prayed singly.[52] (I will further discuss this subject in Chapter 7.) In the decisive period of kibbutz maturation, then, the weekday common meals and prayer services may also be seen as no more than intermediate foci of crystallization of interpersonal sentiments.

The Sabbath

It is on the Sabbath, the periodic manifestation of sacred time, that the interpsychic sentiments that build up among religious kibbutz members during the week tend to consolidate and peak. Harvey Cox characterizes the Orthodox Jewish Sabbath as 'a whole day of … appreciating the world rather than fixing it up.' He further defines the Orthodox Sabbath as 'a form of consciousness' that takes the human back to Creation in the wake of the six working days; by imitating God, who rested on the seventh day, man and woman renew themselves.[53] The religious kibbutz experience confirms and expands upon this evaluation. By suspending the structural role differentiation and the network of instrumental activities of the workaday week, and by baring members' minds to expressive goals of the inner life that are equally open to all, the Sabbath, inducing religious kibbutz members to tap their common existential roots, reverses the forward flow of time. Put differently, the unifying thrust of the religious consciousness on the Sabbath temporarily overrides the differentiating thrust of the workaday week. Thus, Rudi Herz, in 1934, foreshadowed Harvey Cox in perceiving the holy day as 'a "Sabbath of Genesis" – the Sabbath of creation, the source for psychic and spiritual renewal.'[54] The Sabbath revivifies the members' inward relationship with nature; in the eyes of the kibbutz population, the Sabbath transmutes the fields and orchards from objects of practical cultivation to avenues for psychic uplifting. A widely prevalent practice in the religious kibbutzim on the Sabbath is rambling in the settlements' fields and orchards – an experience that members feel interweave them, their community, and nature in a communion of 'wonderful harmony, a shared will to exalt life.'[55]

The Sabbath prayer service

The pinnacle of religious activity on the Sabbath is the public prayer service, which constitutes the apex of the pyramid of coalescing communal sentiments. To appropriate an expression attributed to Marcel Mauss, the Sabbath prayer service constitutes 'the acme of the sacred and the social.'[56]

In the religious kibbutz, the Sabbath service actualizes the centrality of Joseph Soloveitchik's covenantal prayer community in the social system, in that the prayer community acts as the very heart of the kibbutz's psychic blood stream. Indeed, religious–social themes that Soloveitchik introduces in his discussion of public prayer resound in religious kibbutz literature.

For many years after settlement on the land, Sabbath services in the religious kibbutzim took place in the communal dining hall and thus integrated the spatial and temporal foci of the weekly coalescing cycle of the kibbutz. (Only in the 1950s did the religious kibbutzim begin to construct separate synagogue buildings.) The homogeneous Sabbath dress (white shirts or blouses and khaki trousers or cotton skirts), the simple ceremony, and the lack of status differentiation in seating and in the honorific *aliyot* to the Torah created a fitting ideological frame for the kibbutz prayer service.[57] And as personal devotion made its way into the collective service, men and women of the kibbutz, sitting around the white-draped tables – in separate but unpartitioned areas – reaffirmed their common bonds and the religious unity of their group.

Else Rokah, of Kibbutz Rodges, reflects on the centrality of the collective motif in prayer:

> The individual who prays alone is as though shorn of his rights. General participation, a sharing of hearts and psyches, the union of spirits – this is what the structure of our prayer demands. And whoever does not partake in the experience of collective prayer plucks out from the prayer part of its spirit.[58]

Indeed, the individual's approach to God as a member of a fused group demonstrates the dialectical workings of the psychic collective. That is, it is in group prayer, on the crest of collective exaltation, that the self can truly plumb its own unique individuality. In this vein an external observer of the kibbutz scene commented in 1956 that thanks to public prayer, the religious kibbutzim, unlike the secular kibbutzim, afford their members 'the most private of all action.'[59]

The Sabbath prayer service, further, freshens and revitalizes the group consciousness. It gives expression to the community's aspirations and supplications. The prayer formula provides a porous texture for engaging ideological *kavvanot* (devotional intentions) and crystallizing them with *kavvanot* intrinsic to the text; the service reviews the events of the week through the lens of the ideological *kavvanot*, and draws the appreciation of these events into the group consciousness. Thus, a kibbutz member described Sabbath prayer as 'a religious reaction to that which occurs around us.'[60] And, noting the spontaneous interpsychic stream that flows beneath the Sabbath fixed prayer service, another kibbutz member commented: 'The same program week after week, but it never tires or bores us.'[61] Finally, flowing as it does from a textual bed that spans the temporal

poles of Jewish existence, the Sabbath prayer service enlivens the inner time dimension of the the collective consciousness of the kibbutz in that it brings the latter into confluence with the larger stream of the Jewish collective religious consciousness.[62]

Two Durkheimian statements by religious kibbutz members corroborate this analysis of the socially coalescent power of the prayer service. Shlomo Bombach (Nahli'el), a leader of a training farm in Germany, employing the language of the German youth movement, states that the prayer service 'imparts to the individual, every time from anew, the psychic tie to our *Gemeinschaft*.' And, in the words of Dov Rappel: 'The synagogue does not serve the public; it creates the public.'[63] The Sabbath service, then, reflects and gives voice to the united community's consciousness of its unified life. And one may say, following Soloveitchik, that the religious kibbutz's prayer community regularly renews the solidarity and motivation among kibbutz members for realizing the Halakhic community.

The communal meals on the Sabbath constitute secondary peaks of the pyramid of interpsychic coalescence. In contrast to weekday meals, Sabbath meals are taken by all the members in concert and possess a ritualistic pattern, opening with the *kiddush* (ceremonial blessing), interspersed with *zemirot* (hymns), and concluding with the public 'grace after meals,' also accompanied by song.

Several years after his kibbutz had settled on the land, a member of Massu'ot Yitzhak summarized the crowning position and coalescing effect of the Sabbath in the religious kibbutz system. The writer focuses on the *seudah shlishit* ('third meal') that this Hasidism-grounded group strove to hold even after they settled on the land.

> If you wish to know the soul of our kibbutz, search out those moments when the soul has the floor. On regular days our kibbutz is no more than a religious settlement in the Hebron Hills, with its merits and shortcomings. The days of the year flow in their regular course: in the morning the routine and, at times, cursory prayer, followed by breakfast. … One hurries the 'grace after meals' and goes out to work. After work there may be a free hour or two for study or reading, and then one goes to sleep in order to repeat the agenda on the morrow. …
>
> There are manifestations of love for fellow man in every moment of our shared life, but there are also times that this precious trait reaches a degree of devotedness for the other or for the community. The 'I' becomes null and void, and the individual who frees himself from his personal aspirations devotes himself to something exalted and holy. This is the revelation of the divine soul that is implanted in us.
>
> Enter the dining hall on the Sabbath after the *Minha* [afternoon] service, when the sun is already immersing itself in the ocean and darkness is filling up the world's space – when the Sabbath Queen is about to depart. Then you will see members sitting around the tables, lifting up

> their voices in song. Listen to the soul's outpouring in the singing that fills the room, and you will feel that it is replete with yearning for *devekut* [communion] and exaltation. That singing, which emerges from the depths of the heart, unites the hearts and elevates our soul on its wings – to its Sacred Source.[64]

Religious holidays also constitute a major artery for social integration in the religious kibbutz, as they restore kibbutz members to their national and cosmic existential roots. A 1949 editorial in the central periodical of the Religious Kibbutz Federation stated that 'An occult and exalted tie links together elation and holidays. The memory of the big thing with which the holiday is concerned heightens feeling and elevates the psyche.'[65] The interpersonal sentiments of kibbutz members that crystallize in holiday prayer services and festive meals. strengthen the inner bonds of community life.

In the next chapter I shall discuss the transition of the religious kibbutzim from the Bund to the Commune stage of development, and the inability of the groups grounded in Hasidism to sustain the Commune stage effectively.

7 The psychic collective encounters Commune reality

> Should a donkey suddenly take off and disappear, the entire kibbutz will fret, for we have lost one of the pillars of our enterprise. But should a member pick himself up and leave, the kibbutz will not be devastated, for some one else will fill in for him in the work roster.
>
> Moshe Hayim, *BeMahaneinu* (Kvutzat Avraham), Sivan 5701 [1941])

When the religious pioneering groups set up their communal work camps in Palestine in anticipation of settlement on the land, their paramount sphere of meaning began to shift from the inner to the outer life. Social intimacy began to yield to social organization and rational action superseded feeling as the prime integrative agent of group life; the work ethic intensified and the expanded self contracted. Indeed, the empirical collective displaced the psyche as the focus of group energies. In short, as the Orthodox kibbutz disengaged from the Bund matrix of its European beginnings and came to grips with the building of its Commune, the confrontational mind-set began to assert itself at the expense of the inward mind-set.[1]

In this chapter I will examine the clash that took place between the confrontational and inward mind-sets in this transitional phase of religious kibbutz development. In terms of Soloveitchik's two types of Adam, the clash derived from the incompatibility of the elemental mentality of inward-directed Adam 2 and the modern mentality of Adam 1 in its socialist actualization.[2] Indeed, the rational–active Adam 1 type of pioneer became the protagonist of religious kibbutz life, setting the pace of the maturation of the kibbutz as a pioneering–socialist Commune. At one level, the kibbutz member would constitute a functional component of the economic system of a rational pioneering settlement geared to transform the material base of Jewish national existence. At a second level, the kibbutz member would partake in building a moral community by acting out the group norms of equality and shared living within the socialist context. At both levels the confrontational mind-set would predominate.

The brusque inroads of the Adam 1 ways of thinking and acting into the Bund's intimate world upset the equilibrium of the religious kibbutz system. To restore its footing, the Orthodox kibbutz had to shift its religious gears; it had to dull the perceived embrace of an all-pervasive immanent God projecting a holistic reality, and switch its focus to a precept-binding transcendent God projecting a differentiated reality. Indeed, the pivotal shift in the social relationship between the community and its constituent members, from one of immanence to one of transcendence, sensitized the religious consciousness of the Orthodox pioneers to the transcendent mode of the divinity. In the first half of this chapter I will describe the fracturing of the holistically structured life world of the religious kibbutz as its Commune stage unfolded. The second half of the chapter will describe in relative detail the welter of discordant values that ensued in the Hasidism-grounded East European groups. In the story of one communal group, Kfar Etzion, we shall see how this inward-directed Adam 2 type of personality dominantly persisted in the Commune stage of this kibbutz, thus setting it on a course of dissolution. Chapter 8 will show how the Halakhic traits of the German Orthodox pioneers enabled them to restore the equilibrium of the religious kibbutz system in its Commune stage.

OBJECTIFICATION OF THE LIFE WORLD

The transition to the Commune stage in the maturation of the religious kibbutz followed the general pattern of kibbutz evolution seen in the secular kibbutzim, as delineated in Chapter 2. Let us review briefly this development in the religious kibbutz, telescoping a process of rationalization and objectification that took place over several years.[3]

Tangible realities and the rational frame of reference

As the founding nuclei of the religious kibbutzim took in new pioneering groups and individuals in their work camp communities, the population of each kibbutz grew to many dozens. Quantitative demographic change prompted qualitative structural adjustment: systematic behavioral patterns, enforced by specific impersonal role definitions, emerged from the amorphous social reality to organize and stabilize interpersonal relations and flesh out the socialist structure. And as the farm economy became the center of the social system, occupational roles became more specialized and the work ethic became the all-absorbing element of daily activity. Under the spur of the diversified role interaction, and particularly under the pressure for efficiency and increased production, kibbutz members deepened their self-awareness and proceeded to objectify their personalities. Indeed, under the cutting pressure of the organizational–economic thrust the divinely-touched holistic reality of the Bund world receded and broke up. In short,

as rational patterns of organization and behavior overlaid the affective field of consciousness, the collective consciousness came down to earth, bringing into focus a differentiated physical reality that was framed by 'real' time.

Once the kibbutz settled on the land and tackled its adverse environment, the rational cast of mind became more sharply focused. We noted that most RKF settlements were located in remote areas, often within severe climatic conditions and dubious agricultural potential.[4] These unusally harsh conditions made rational calculation and action all the more crucial for the kibbutz's viability. In fact, the typical transformative ethos of 'majestic' Adam 1 came to the fore in religious kibbutz life, expressed by one member in terms of a 'colonizing instinct [which] none of us can, or indeed, wish to shed, [which is directed] to the arch-precept of Zionism … building up the land … working the soil and redeeming it from its wilderness.'[5]

The organizational–economic exigencies of the farm system flew in the face of the individual members; the transformative drive blunted their religious sensibilities and curbed their psychic outreach. Hard-edged patterns in the workaday sphere of daily life tended to secularize the pioneer's life world, centrifuging the social fabric and neutralizing personal bonds with the natural environment. And the all-absorbing physical labor dulled the individual's emotional world. 'Impatience of spirit and hard labor' [Cf. Exodus 6:9] did not dispose the religious pioneer to commune psychically with his (and her) fellow workers and with nature. 'Labor, with all its sacredness, has coarsened our lives and thinking,' complains a member of Tirat Tzvi in the first year of that kibbutz's settlement on the land.[6] Setting the kibbutznik within a grid of a multibranched productive enterprise, the 'collective will' demanded the member's 'complete being,' projecting the individual as a 'labor force' obliged to invest his or her 'total self in the accomplished deed' 'that does not require *kavvanah* [devotional intention],' throughout long days of work.[7]

It was inevitable, too, that the growing rationalization of the social network would dampen the affective tone of reciprocal relations among individual kibbutz members and between the individual and the collective. As the religious pioneer increasingly engaged his (and her) comrades in calculated and purposive activity, ideological symbols replaced personal qualities as the principal interpsychic bonding force. The Orthodox pioneers now focused on their comrades' objective features, but interaction primarily through roles, rather than through personalities, demarcated distinct boundaries between individuals, and sapped intimate communion. For all practical purposes the 'surface' personality of the Adam 1 type supplanted the 'in-depth' Adam 2 type in daily interpersonal relations.

Hence, the Bund stage ideal of cultivating the inner 'perfection' of the individual through interpsychic group action lost its potency. To be sure, groups with a Hasidic–Musar background tended to study Musar literature together in their work camps;[8] however, the objective material focus and the

bustle of daily life did not encourage introspection and meditation. And within a population of many score, members could hardly begin to plumb the inner life of their numerous comrades. In effect, kibbutz members sublimated their personal sentiments in their impersonal roles.

On his description of the deadening effect of objective life patterns on the mental life, Eliezer Goldman minces no words:

> With appalling speed we have adopted the rustic mentality that cannot concentrate on what is beyond the tangible in the course of daily life. Habit and routine overshadow free thinking, alert sentiment, and active imagination. … Our practicality [even] leads us to disparage reflective thinking.[9]

Concomitantly with the change in the mode of interpersonal relations, the collective consciousness of the religious kibbutz, as in the secular kibbutz, became more impersonal. The kibbutz collective now regulated its relationship with its component members through a rational normative system supported by a managerial structure, committees, and by-laws. Thus, the values of equality and shared living were now encoded in formal regulations. Reviewing the structural evolution of the kibbutz, Rudi Herz succinctly expressed the transformed give-and-take between the individual and the collective in the Commune stage:

> The individual gives according to his ability, but ability is now determined by a machinery of rule-making committees; the individual receives according to his needs, [but] needs are now [also] determined by the committees and often by established norms.[10]

Neutralization of coalescing mechanisms

On the face of it, it would appear that a highly centralized religious society could allocate ample time for the coalescing mechanisms we considered in Chapter 6, such as prayer services and communal meals, the emotive uplift of which could offset the centrifugal pull of the organizational–economic thrust. But the rational scheduling of daily work in diversified economic roles made it difficult for the kibbutz to convene all members simultaneously at any one time. Hence, the prescribed thrice-a-day prayer service often took place with a bare quorum, as most members prayed by themselves. And there were times that the workday public prayer service did not take place at all.[11]

The changed patterns of weekday meals were emblematic of the raveling of the collective fabric. These meals – particularly the morning and noon meals – became shorter as members, though dining on the same table, took their meals severally in order to accommodate the schedules of the various work branches. The fact that these meals usually did not conclude with the

mezuman group grace – required to be recited by three Jewish male adults who have broken bread together – attests to the increased individualization of kibbutz life.

On the Sabbath and holidays, as we saw in the last chapter, the prayer and dining assemblies continued to stimulate the psychic life. Inevitably, however, these days were influenced by the desensitizing effect of the week's intensive labor regimen. Another member of Tirat Tzvi complained in the first year of the kibbutz's settlement on the land: 'Our Sabbaths [and holidays] have become mere days of rest; their sacredness is not felt; even for the singing of *zemirot* [Sabbath hymns], it is very difficult to open one's mouth.'[12] In the course of time, members did become adjusted to the hard physical work; but even then the patterns of Sabbath celebration remained restrained. The earlier religious exaltation was all but gone. Nor were there patterns for summoning up the interior life at the end of the day's work. In time, even the evening meal became informally structured. Torah classes held on weekday evenings and on the Sabbath were attended by only a minority of members.

The severing of the synagogue from the dining hall poignantly demonstrates the attenuation of the film of sacredness that had originally enveloped the kibbutz members' life world. We noted in the last chapter that in the Bund stage the meal and prayer assemblies in the communal dining hall jointly cultivated the kibbutz's psychic collective and that this building, accordingly, symbolized the religious unity of kibbutz life. In the Commune stage, however, the boundary between worship and communal dining, as avenues to invoke the sacred, became sharply delimited. Already in the early 1940s members were beginning to express misgivings regarding the convergence of the dining and worship functions in the same assembly hall. Over the course of the following two decades, most kibbutzim built separate synagogue buildings.

The ebbing of the sacred from the everyday world, as symbolized by the trend of divorcing the synagogue from the dining hall, led a member of Sdei Eliyahu, in 1949, to lament the passing of the kibbutz's expansive divinely touched world: 'It would be a severe mistake if we were to liquidate with our very hands the only sign that remains for us to symbolize the presence of sacredness in every place and minute in our life, and to confine sacredness to the four cubits of the synagogue.'[13] However, the differentiating thrust of the organizational–economic ethos induced the formation of marked divisions between the institutionalized sacred and what had become the dominant secular reality of daily life.

Organic solidarity in the religious kibbutz

While the ambience of the Commune tended to attenuate major sources of psychic unity, the building of the empirical collective did afford a source of its own for fostering such unity. In Chapter 2 we discussed the functional

relationship between personal participation in sustaining the pioneering–socialist Commune and collective coalescence, or 'organic' solidarity.[14] We noted that when self-aware individuals interlocked rationally in their interdependent roles to build the pioneering–socialist community, they also thinly coalesced as value-laden partners in their mutual commitment to realize transcendent reality. Naftali Bar-Giorah, of Kibbutz Sdei Eliyahu, outrightly spelled out the nature of organic solidarity within the context of the religious kibbutz:

> The relationship between fellow members as owners of a joint enterprise that grew out of their united will, on the one hand, and their individually developed, autonomy-bent personalities, on the other hand, indicates the crux [of the Commune]. For that very mute agreement of accepting the communal yoke and responsibility for the enterprise draws together people of different characters.
>
> The premise of the religious kibbutz is that religion is capable of ordering all practical and spiritual matters in life. Whoever merges with this aspiration within the group framework, feels himself expressed by the shared life created with his help.[15]

In other words, organic solidarity nourished the religious kibbutz's secondary psychic collective in terms of Commune reality. (In Chapter 8 we will discuss the nature of organic solidarity in the religious kibbutz within the perspective of the Halakhic community.)

Thus, interpsychic sentiment continued to flow in the routinized patterns of workaday activity in the Commune stage, as well as in the interstitial areas not captured in a rational pattern. However, the pitch of this ardor abated. Indeed, the statement by a religious kibbutznik that 'There is no romance in kibbutz life, but a lot of drabness and difficulty, and only occasionally does one draw a full measure of contentment,'[16] is an accurate representation of Commune reality.

DIFFICULTIES OF EAST EUROPEAN GROUPS

'From the religious standpoint, the future man in our society will be rigorous, dry, lacking in religious succulence and warmth,' declares Moshe Kroneh in a critical tone upon observing the extant Commune reality.[17] But rigor, rationality, and practicality were the very traits that abetted accommodation to Commune life; indeed, they fit the profile of the Torah-im-Derekh Eretz-bred personality. We shall soon see that when German Orthodox pioneering youth encountered the environmental challenge of the Commune stage, they had no misgivings about discarding the Hasidic pattern in which they had grounded their Bund stage and reverting to the confrontational mind-set of their prototypical religious culture.

In contrast, the exclusive reliance of the East European groups on core Hasidic values for legitimating kibbutz life barred their successful adjustment to the Commune values. Perceiving the inner, rather than the outer, life as the arena for perfecting the world, these groups referred their ideas and beliefs to an imaginary ideal reality – an ideal reality alive in the mind, but divorced from everyday life and incapable of creating practical norms to penetrate and refashion the everyday world.[18] In fact, the Hasidism-grounded groups downgraded practical action. To be sure, these groups regarded ethical behavior as the medium for bringing transcendent reality down to earth; however, their behavior focused on inner moral perfection rather than on social betterment. For that matter, their mutual affective disposition ran counter to the institutionalized impersonality of socialist equality and shared living. And to compound the imbroglio, the overriding primacy of the interior life severely handicapped these groups in their efforts at rational economic activity – the central sphere of pioneering endeavor.[19]

The Hasidism-grounded groups did not seem to have been aware of the possible effect of such handicaps at the time. In a pungent expression of their depreciation of everyday material reality, members of the East European groups would write the word 'reality' ('*metziut*') within quotation marks and often used the pejorative '*metziutnik*' ('realitynik') to discredit those of their members who called for a realistic perception of everyday life.[20]

The example of Kfar Etzion

The biography of Kfar Etzion, the one religious kibbutz whose members were almost all from a Hasidic background, vividly exemplifies the clash between the inward and confrontational mind-sets in the kibbutz's Commune stage. Expressed in the surviving bulletins and other writings of the kibbutz members, that clash is perceptible from the time the group set up their work camp in 1935, as Kvutzat Avraham, until the kibbutz settlement was destroyed in 1948.

In its first year of independent existence in its work camp, Kvutzat Avraham minimized the pioneer work ethic because it impaired cultivation of the inner life. In the words of a 1936 letter from the group to the mother movement in Poland:

> In Palestine, physical labor takes up most of one's time. Our outlook, however, is not grounded in this reality and … we must wage an offensive against such a trend. … If we are unable to remove this evil reality in its entirety, we must weaken its influence as much as possible.[21]

Two viewpoints articulated in the Kvutzat Avraham bulletin four and five years later suggest – from opposing perspectives – that the general membership had not yet internalized the rational organizational–economic kibbutz ethos.

> I look through our bulletin. … Again a lyrical article … nature, God, the renewal of the soil. … Is it a healthy phenomenon that … such a publication is full of lofty ideas and does not deal with some of the most necessary considerations, such as those of the farm economy? … Interestingly enough, we cannot find anyone who will write about a plan for our economic future.[22]
>
> By instituting mathematical equality in duties and rights, the community, for all practical purposes, has almost ceased to constitute a collective oriented towards shared living, and has become an association of individuals… . Due to the lack of appreciation for the individual … he experiences a sense of isolation… . Instead of warmth and sympathetic intimacy, the member often finds an exaggerated formalism that borders on bureaucracy.[23]

Not only were the members of Kvutzat Avraham unable to adapt to Commune reality, but the environmental input of that reality acted to devitalize their core religious field of consciousness. Kvutzat Avraham fostered the study of Musar for a few years and, in different periods of its existence, held a Hasidically fashioned *seudah shlishit* ('third meal') late on Sabbath afternoons to stimulate both quiet meditation and ecstatic enthusiasm through lyrical hymns and wordless tunes. Such study and ritual, however, could not offset the muffling effect of the organizational–economic ethos on the inner life. Thus, the laments:

> The external factors throw us into the whirlpool of life until it appears that one cannot halt for a moment to listen to the stirrings of the soul, which demands an internal moral stocktaking.[24]
>
> Dry realism has cut off every possibility of following the thrust of a vision. We have forgotten that there is truth transcending [empirical] 'reality,' which has become the yardstick of our thinking. … We do not know how to integrate the dream into reality through everyday conduct.[25]

After the Kvutzat Avraham group settled on its permanent site as Kfar Etzion in 1943,[26] its vigorous application to the development of a full-fledged farm economy muted the characteristic Hasidic value orientations still further. One young member complained to a group leader that overemphasis on economic activities 'comes at the expense of the inner content, the soul.' The leader's response, highlighting the salience of practical pioneering values in the group's culture, alludes to organic solidarity as an alternative source of fulfillment: 'The very construction of the first Hebrew settlement in the area between Jerusalem and Hebron can also provide inner satisfaction and content.'[27] However, the settlement's specific workaday roles – roles that required rational, self-aware individuals, oriented to an empirical collective – could not be justified in religious terms.

The inability of the Hasidic cast of mind to legitimate rational individualism, and the general malfunctioning of the social system were made evident in one of the last issues of Kfar Etzion's bulletin:

> We are confronted with the undermining of our partnership in fate and in mutual responsibility. … Individualism gains in strength from year to year. … The romantic past with its vision of the divestment of the self will no longer return.
> . . .How our farm economy suffers because the member lacks psychic satisfaction! It has been said that every branch of the farm has some member who is concerned with it, but the quintessential farm – man – is left to himself.[28]

The editorial in that same issue summarizes the crisis: 'For us, kibbutz life is becoming increasingly divested of its essence, and there is no one to imbue it with new content.'[29]

The inability of Hasidism to sustain a meaningful kibbutz life in the Commune stage led those RKF pioneers of Hasidic background who wanted to persist in kibbutz life to assimilate into the German-bred groups. As for the Kfar Etzion group, it met a tragic end when it was annihilated in the Arab–Jewish War of 1948.[30] But even before this ill-fated outcome, Kfar Etzion seemed destined for dissolution as a kibbutz. A survivor of Kfar Etzion told me that had it not been destroyed, its members were certain to have converted the settlement into a *moshav shitufi*.[31] Indeed, Massu'ot Yitzhak, the other religious kibbutz whose members originated almost entirely in Eastern Europe and were largely of Hasidic background, converted into a *moshav shitufi* in 1950.

KIBBUTZ RODGES CONFRONTS COMMUNE REALITY

In 1931 Kibbutz Rodges became the first German Orthodox communal group to set up a work camp in Palestine. Unlike the Hasidism-influenced groups, Kibbutz Rodges encountered the dour social realities of the Commune stage from the very outset. For several years after its founding Kibbutz Rodges had a largely transient population, inasmuch as it then constituted virtually the sole absorption framework for religious pioneers who opted for kibbutz life.

The pedestrian quality of life in Rodges in those early years is vividly brought out in a comparison between this kibbutz and its neighboring (first) Bnei Akivah communal group, which was grounded in the Hasidic–Musar ethos.[32] A Bnei Akivah leader observed at the time that there was a 'constant turnover' at Rodges, where 'the heart is bleak and the weary face dejected, where people live together … but nevertheless are alone on holidays, on the Sabbath, on the six work days.' The writer contrasted the 'cold' atmosphere

at Rodges with the 'hot, seething' Bnei Akivah group, with its 'youthful enthusiasm and faith.' He concluded that 'the future belongs to Bnei Akivah,' as 'it is evident that sentence has been passed' on Rodges. The Bnei Akivah group disbanded in 1933; Kibbutz Rodges settled on the land as Kibbutz Yavne in 1940. Sixty years later Yavne continues to thrive.

The downgrading of the inward mind-set in Kibbutz Rodges comes through in a 1934 report by one of its leaders, Rudi Herz:

> What … we find in our circle is no more than a weak image of an already decadent Hasidic milieu complemented by youthful memories that are incongruent with the nonromantic reality of the Jewish worker. As long as our group … consisted of twenty to thirty members and everything, as they say, took care of itself, there was at least an atmosphere of *Gemutlichkeit*. But the moment that we passed the hundred mark all that changed. Then the problem of shaping the life of the *Gemeinschaft* confronted us mercilessly, in all its acuteness.[33]

And Herz goes on: 'There is a certain measure of helplessness here. One is not contemplating instituting a set of by-laws; at the same time, this option should not be ruled out.'[34]

Invariably, it was the confrontational mind-set that prevailed in Kibbutz Rodges throughout the 1930s, as evidenced by numerous written statements. For example, in a letter to the parent religious pioneering movement in Germany, in 1933, a member of Kibbutz Rodges singles out self-discipline and self-awareness as necessary elements for kibbutz life:

> A person [in the kibbutz] should … show a cheerful face even when he is not in a good mood. A lot of this depends on his possession of self-discipline that will enable him to adjust to the local order. Especially in the kibbutz it is important that one should not wear the same uniform as everyone else, so that he will not be spiritually confined; so that he will not rely entirely on the group and forget to ask questions.[35]

In addition to self-discipline and self-awareness, a strong collective orientation possessed Kibbutz Rodges. At the end of 1936, after the group suffered a fatal typhus epidemic, one member wrote: 'The misfortune strongly affected the members. Before [the epidemic] the prevalent bonds in kibbutz life were between individual members and the kibbutz. Now the bonds among members have been tightened.'[36] A month later Pinhas Rosenblueth spelled out the nature of this collective orientation:

> A circle of people who are united by the ultimate purpose of their lives are in no need of frequent social get-togethers. Feelings of closeness or remoteness make no difference in relation to responsibility and dedication to the common goal.[37]

Lastly, the members of Kibbutz Rodges underscored the economic dimension of the national pioneering mission and played up the impersonality of pioneering roles within the collective context. As one member expressed these motifs in 1938:

> We must enjoin the [new] member firstly to know how to perceive the kibbutz as a farm economy – as a complete and comprehensive economic body. Secondly, to fulfill any task with which he is charged in work positions inside and outside the kibbutz.[38]

Let us proceed then to examine the overarching religious motif that successfully accommodated Commune reality in religious kibbutz life: Halakhah, or religious law. Halakhah afforded religious validation for necessary dimensions of a socialist life pattern – self-discipline, rational individualism, performance and collectivism – within an empirical context. Halakhah also constituted the heart of a religious transformative ethos that accorded with the organizational–economic thrust of the Commune. In other words, the Halakhically influenced personality – the outward-directed Adam 2 type – would prove capable of accommodating socialistic Adam 1. This will be the subject matter of the next chapter.

8 The Halakhic–socialist collective
The religious kibbutz and Moses Hess

> Through the study of Torah and the observance of the *mitzvot* man frees himself from bondage to the physical world, learns to control it and render it sacred, as a means for divine worship, … to perfect the world and its fullness in the Kingdom of God.
>
> Gedaliah Unna, as quoted in the miscellany in his memory[1]

We have noted that Soloveitchik cast the image of Adam 1 within a liberal mold. Fashioning his 'majestic' work community rationally in order to further his control of nature, this is an individualistic Adam 1. But in Chapter 2 we met Adam 1 of the secular kibbutz's Commune stage in another guise, as a collective-oriented socialist, who, under the spur of the positivistic outlook, is impelled to transform not only nature but society as well. This model of Adam 1 integrated his typical work community within his collective community. When the religious kibbutz adopted this socialistic model of Adam 1 as it moved into its Commune stage, it conjoined outward-directed Adam 2 with the socialistic model, and thereby compounded its members' transformative impetus. Indeed, outward-directed Adam 2 converted the Commune into a 'prophetic' Halakhic community that was bent on transforming the world under the inspiration of the ideal of *tikkun olam*. In other words, the Commune of the religious kibbutz embodied the working alliance between positivistic Socialism and Halakhic Judaism in their common thrust toward the perfection of the world. Essentially, the key to the synergy between the work and Halakhic communities of the religious kibbutz resided in the socialistic structure of the Commune.

The major theme of this chapter will be the congruence between the ideal types of socialistically modified Adam 1 and outward-directed Adam 2 in the religious kibbutz. It was this congruence that enabled the German wing of the Religious Kibbutz Federation to sustain kibbutz life successfully. To elaborate this congruence, I shall interlace the discussion with the ideas of the nineteenth-century thinker Moses Hess, a progenitor of modern socialism, who anticipated the RKF endeavor in discerning the structural and motivational congeniality of Halakhah to socialism. Specifically, this chapter

will spotlight the identicalness of the confrontational value orientations of socialism and Halakhah, thanks to which the religious kibbutz was able to mesh the two systems in an overarching definition of its reality.[2]

Various threads leading to this chapter's theme were spun in previous chapters. In Chapter 2 I spelled out the confrontational mind-set that dominated the field of consciousness of the secular kibbutzniks as they adopted a positivistically toned culture in their Commune stage. In Chapter 3 I discussed the positivistic vein in Torah-im-Derekh Eretz, the Halakhah-centered Orthodox Jewish subculture within which the German-bred members of the RKF had been reared. In that chapter I also noted that there was a close conceptual relationship between Hess's 'positivistic' Halakhically centered religious outlook and that of his contemporary, Samson Raphael Hirsch, the father of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz. In Chapter 5 I briefly discussed the religious socialism of the German Orthodox youth movements. Finally, in Chapter 7 I sketched the basic socialist–pioneering Adam 1 figure of the religious kibbutz's Commune stage.

I will pull these threads together in this chapter by juxtaposing Hess's insights on the congeniality of Jewish religious law to socialism with the values of the mostly German Halakhah-centered pioneers of the RKF.[3] The RKF ideologues invoked the Halakhic traits that resonate with socialistically structured Commune reality inadvertently, partly in response to Hasidic values,[4] and they no more than loosely integrated these Halakhic traits within a disjointed socialist perspective. Moses Hess, by contrast, allied Halakhic Judaism with socialism deliberately, albeit obliquely. Taking a wide range of socialist parameters as reference points for comparing the two systems, Hess's effort enables us to form a systematic paradigm for specifying this comparison in the RKF experience. The Orthodox pioneers were unaware of Hess's insights; if there was one figure to whose teachings the RKF ideologues referred for grounding socialistic motifs in rabbinic culture, it was not Hess but the medieval Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides (1135–1204).[5] But in its kibbutzim the RKF did in fact build a 'positivistic' and operationally valid Halakhic–socialistic subculture. The religious kibbutz experience on the ground, taking place some sixty to seventy years after Hess's death, attests to the cogency of Hess's perceptions.

I will begin this chapter by setting Hess's advocacy of Halakhah within its intellectual context and linking it to themes in the work of Max Weber. Then I will consider the legalistic world view and structural traits shared by socialism and Halakhic Judaism as they figure in the thought of Hess and emerge in the ideology and experience of the RKF. Next I will explore the motivational aspects – the transformative ethos – of socialism and Halakhic Judaism in both systems. At the end of the chapter I will briefly discuss a second point of convergence between the thought of Hess and of the RKF: the link between Jewish national revival and the reinvigoration of innovative Halakhic legislation.

HESS'S ADVOCACY OF HALAKHAH

The 'first religious socialist in Judaism'[6] worked out the alliance of Halakhah Judaism with socialism within an elaborate intellectual setting. A precursor of modern Jewish nationalism, Hess was sensitive to what he considered the undervaluation of Judaism within the perspective of universal history by contemporary Western European thought. He sensed the need to grapple with the general depreciation of Judaism in the writings of his fellow radical Hegelians – a depreciation that culminated in Marx's contemptuous appraisal of Judaism as a religion whose spirit had been consummated and played out in modern bourgeois society. Hess's assertion of the viability of Halakhah was also affected by the then newly formed Reform Judaism's disparagement of Torah law as anachronistic. Sharply aware that European life in his day was in the process of transition from traditional to modern society, and believing the advent of socialism to be imminent and inevitable as the final stage of the historical development of mankind, Hess examined the ability of traditional religious cultures to accommodate to a positivist socialist culture. In this vein, he compared Judaism to other religions – particularly to the inward-directed faiths of Hinduism and Buddhism – and sought to demonstrate that Halakhic structural and motivational elements render Judaism the religion most congruent with a socialist civilization.[7]

Hiatus: elaborating on Max Weber

Hess's comparative study of the affinity of rabbinic Judaism for socialism extends our study of the RKF beyond the particular confines of Judaism and sets it on a world stage. For Hess's analysis, and its later afffirmation by the real-life phenomenon of the religious kibbutz, attaches to a suspended cultural theme in intellectual history. It was Max Weber's (1864–1920) seminal analysis of the major world religions that constituted the point of departure for comparative studies of the potential for modernization of traditional religious cultures. According to Weber, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Calvinists made the direct breakthrough to the modern world thanks largely to their religious value orientations; to wit, self-restraint, rationalism, and activism, which compounded an ethos of world mastery. The Calvinist's everyday world, says Weber, became a theater for the pursuit of salvation.[8] Weber focused his study on the link between religion and the rise of modern capitalism, but other scholars have shown that the 'Protestant ethic' could also have given rise to a socialistic system.[9]

Significantly for our study, Weber attributed to Judaism origins of the breakthrough of human culture to the modern world, thanks to (a) the Jewish conception of a transcendent God who created the world *ex nihilo*; and (b) the Jewish people's Sinaitic mission to constitute 'a kingdom of priests and a holy people' through the observance of the precepts of

Halakhah.[10] In fact, rabbinic Judaism, according to Weber, bears the general value-orientation pattern of Calvinism. If the Jews did not realize their modernization potential through the creation of a new capitalistic (or socialistic) system, says Weber, this was primarily because they were a 'pariah people' that had taken a marginal stance toward the world since the Babylonian exile.The Jews' borderline disposition toward the world precluded their perceiving it as an arena for working out salvation.

Weber's analysis of rabbinic Judaism remained suspended at the early capitalist era and did not extend to the period of nineteenth-century Emancipation, which removed the 'pariah' status, enabling West European Jewry to relate to all aspects of universal life in an integrated fashion.[11] Moses Hess, who had experienced Emancipation, outstripped Weber in projecting to the world at large the modernization potential of rabbinic culture. Indeed, Hess's specification of what we may term the 'Jewish ethic' in the framework of socialism, and the actualization of this ethic by the Religious Kibbutz Federation, can be seen as elaborations upon Weber's analysis of historic Judaism and modernization.

LEGALISTIC WORLD VIEW AND CONFRONTATIONAL MIND-SET

The features of the 'Jewish ethic' that Hess and the RKF manifested echo the religious 'positivism' of Samson Raphael Hirsch that we met in Chapter 3. Spinning this ethic mainly out of the legal system and the messianic goals of Judaism, Hess (and the RKF) regarded Halakhah and the messianic vision as reference points for unifying the relationship between God, humankind, and the world. Instrumental in the attainment of this unified relationship would be a community working toward *tikkun olam* through a system of Halakhically grounded practical ethics.[12]

According to Hess, biblical Judaism generated the motivational thrust toward world moral transformation by setting forth a legal ethic that would culminate in the ultimate perfection of humanity in the messianic era – thereby anticipating society's evolution towards socialism. The structural characteristics of particular rabbinic law embodying this legal ethic were, Hess found, uniquely congruent with the character traits the human would need in order to build and sustain a positivistic socialist civilization. According to Hess's analysis, the type of individual man cultivated by rabbinic Judaism fits the socialist personality in that he is a rational individual who operates within a legalistic ethic; relates objectively to empirical reality under the guidance of the Law; is motivated to exercise self-restraint and to act concretely so as to improve social reality; and has an intensely collective orientation toward his community. In short, rabbinic culture, according to Hess, tends to produce a personality governed by the confrontational mind-set and inspired by its derivative transformative ethos. Let us look more closely at each of these Halakhic qualities, as elaborated by Hess and seconded by the RKF ideologists.

Universalism

Underlying the explicit world view of Hess (and the less explicit world view of the Halakhah-centered pioneers of the RKF) is the notion of a rational universe that is structured by divine law. Subdivided into scientific and Halakhic disciplines, the legal order evokes human rationality to bring its laws to light. (We touched upon this notion in our discussion of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz.)

Scientific law, according to Hess, originated in Creation and is enfolded in reality in two suborders: laws of nature and laws of human society. Human beings are able to discover the laws governing nature by positive enquiry and, armed with this knowledge, through the technological application of these laws, they are able to reshape nature and utilize it for their own purposes. The social laws, on the other hand, cannot yet be discovered since the social suborder is still in a state of historical development. Once social life reaches maturity, however, it will be possible to discover the laws enfolded therein by the very same positivist method employed by the natural sciences. The German Orthodox pioneers of the 1930s and 1940s, as we shall see, under the influence of nineteenth-century socialist thought, also perceived ethical behavior in terms of 'scientific' social laws.

Halakhic law originated in revelation. Hess's view of revelation departs from Jewish traditional belief in that he saw revelation as personal experience rather than as a public event.[13] However, Hess's view does follow tradition in its differentiation of Halakhah into two modes: Written and Oral Law. The latter, enfolded within Written Law, develops throughout the ages by means of rational investigation – the thirteen rules of exegesis for expounding the Torah – and thereby expresses creative legislative power. Put differently, the positivistic methodology that governs science in revealing the legal order of the universe, according to Hess, governs Halakhah as well. Guided by reason, then, Halakhic legislation unfolds according to its inner logical rules, independent of extramundane intervention.

On this positivistic key, Hess highlights the prominent standing of reason in Judaism, as the cardinal means to gain knowledge of God. Says Hess, 'The religious devotion of the Jew concentrates on the study of the Law'; 'The Jew is not commanded to believe, but to search after the knowledge of God'; 'The free development of his knowledge of God through diligent study and conscientious investigation is the holiest religious duty of the Jew.' Whereas 'knowledge of God' is a broad category in Hess's thinking, he implies that in Judaism the institutionalized core of knowledge is Halakhah – the study and detailed observance of which constitutes 'the unique national cult' of the Jewish people.[14]

Similarly, the appraisal of reason as the essential constitutive factor of Jewish religious life resounds extensively in the RKF ideological literature. 'Reason, rather than natural emotion, is the governing factor of a religious way of life,' states Aharon Nahlon.[15] 'Pinhas Rosenbueth extols the religious quality of reason in cultivating rational individualism: 'Not by

voiding the self can the human prove himself [in relating to God] … . Man's reason and ethical concepts are … implanted in him by God, and demand to be cultivated.'[16] And Eliezer S. Rosenthal, the spiritual leader of Kibbutz Rodges at the time, places reason on the wavelength of the divine in the revelation of new religious laws:

> Exegesis is subject to rules. … We have been given an investigative key that alone may be used for interpreting the divine word: the thirteen rules for expounding the law. … In the same revelation of Torah He has given us its laws and the method to interpret them as explicit law. For whatever human perusal may discover through the faithful use of this investigative key is in itself absolute Torah.[17]

In the RKF the religious grounding of reason was particularly noted with regard to Torah study. Credited with combining rational and affective elements in the vein of 'intellectual love of God' conceived by Maimonides [*Mishneh Torah* (*Code of Law*), Book One: *Knowledge*, 'Repentance,' 10:6], Torah study was extolled as a down-to-earth medium for communing with the divine, as well as for promoting social coalescence.[18] Gedaliah Unna quaintly expressed the cognate relationship between transcendent Torah and positivistic science in the following words: 'If science treats the world's body, Torah treats the world's soul.'[19] Torah study, then, constituted an affectively lined rational pursuit that fitted the Commune temper. The educational ideal that the RKF adopted, 'Torah scholar and pioneer'– a slogan coined and expounded by Ernst Simon in 1934[20] – highlighted the rational affinity between the Halakhic and pioneering–socialistic personalities.[21]

To conclude, the rational structure of Halakhah provided a religious frame for the overriding universalistic cast of mind of the Commune stage.[22]

Performance

In his essay 'The Philosophy of the Act,' Hess highlighted the notion that social human beings affirm the empirical world as the 'real' world through concrete action.[23] At the socialist level, Hess expatiated upon the importance of the value-guided act for the realization of a moral society. At the Halakhic level, he pointed to Judaism's analogous sanction of the practical deed. In Hess's words: 'Judaism never claimed to serve as a policeman supervising man's conscience. … Jewish law is concerned not with man's beliefs but with his deeds.' It is through the behavioral dimension of the legalistic ethic, says Hess, that religious belief and feeling are actualized in Judaism.[24]

In RKF literature, the primacy of the Halakhic act over the inner-directed religious experience was sharply marked by Aharon Nahlon of Sdei Eliyahu. Nahlon integrated the individual act with the Halakhic community in its manifestation as a 'community of action,' to use Soloveitchik's term:

> We cannot rest content with uplifting religious experiences. We who seek to realize the Torah and its precepts in the life of the individual and the community must value the actualization of our feelings in [empirical] reality. We favor the act of the individual in his community, for his community, and together with his community in the drabness of everyday life. … If one can add a deep feeling and an exalted intention [*kavvanah*] to the act, so much the better. But we will not forgo the act, even if it is not always accompanied by exalted thought.[25]

Let us note this passage's allusion to the ambiguous state of *kavvanah* (devotional intention) with relation to the Halakhic act. The writer endorses the accepted Jewish religious approach to the performance of a *mitzvah*; namely, that the validity of the external performance is contingent on its accompaniment by an inward intention of obedience to God's specific commandment. However, the writer also intimates that even the perfunctory performance of a *mitzvah* has a borderline religious standing. Indeed, Halakhic acts devoid of inwardness fit the 'surface' level of the pioneering actions that characterized the Commune stage, and could obliquely provide such a level with faint religious vindication.

Religious valence of empirical reality

Our study's focus on the contrasting outward- and inward-directed modes of Judaism warrants pointing up the empirical referent of performance in the thought of Hess and the RKF.

Hess highlighted worldly reality as the preeminent arena for Jewish religious devotion, and concomitantly singled out 'positivistic' attributes of Halakhic Judaism: The legal mode of Judaism shies away from speculative metaphysics and mysticism, and it is concerned primarily with the objective facts of formulated law and the observable phenomena of everyday concrete situations. In Hess's words, 'Jewish law is concerned not with mysteries that force themselves upon the intellect, but with obvious matters'; 'Judaism never neglected the body for the sake of uplifting the soul.' Indeed, Judaism regards this world as the theater for working out salvation.[26]

In the same manner, the RKF affirms the religious relevance of empirical reality. Contrasting (by intimation) this perspective with the inward focus on religion that prevailed within HaPo'el HaMizrahi in the 1930s, Rosenblueth states:

> Jewish religion reveals itself to us not through the fulfillment of the individual's psychic needs, but as a law given to us by the supreme Lawgiver. … It neither cancels out [empirical] reality, nor belittles its importance. Its purpose is to order reality and found the Jewish people on permanent elements.[27]

And Moshe Unna confirms the religious validity of concrete reality in his discussion of the ideal character that Judaism seeks to breed:

> The inclusion of material life within the sphere of Jewish religion signifies the affirmation of that life. … Just like the 'spirit' and the 'soul,' man's body is part of the divine image. Accordingly, Judaism determines man's way of life and the tasks incumbent upon him. … This is expressed in the determination of Halakhah as the basis of religion.[28]

In other words, the norms of Halakhah bridge religiously the human body and other aspects of empirical reality, turning the former into an instrument for divine worship.

The Halakhah-focused pioneers' espousal of practical action enabled them to make a clear-cut distinction between transcendent vision and concrete social facts. In contrast to the unrealistic transcendent vision of the Hasidism-influenced pioneers that we encountered in Chapter 7,[29] the transcendent vision of the Halakhah-focused pioneers referred to a down-to-earth life.[30] The idea of a distinctive RKF pioneering mission – namely, to create the modern Halakhically ordered community – was the practical upshot of this performance value orientation (see below).

Self-restraint

Both Moses Hess and the ideologues of the RKF singled out self-restraint as a key trait in the observance of social and religious law. Hess projects self-restraint to a socialistic vision of the future. In Hess's view, once rational individuals know the 'scientific' social laws, they will suppress their natural impulses and desires and will systematize their lives by consciously obeying these laws. At first glance, human obedience to the law appears to subjugate personal expression. However, says Hess, the individual who obeys the social law is uplifted thereby and enjoys freedom and a moral life.[31]

At the Halakhic level, Hess noted that Jews internalize self-restraint in order to observe religious law and derive a sense of satisfaction and freedom from its observance. In this connection Hess alludes to the covenant theme that Soloveitchik was later to highlight. In his obedience to the Law, says Hess, the Jew acts as a member of a people who willingly and with self-awareness assumes the obligation to live according to 'a covenant that was freely contracted' with God.[32]

In the spirit of Hess, RKF ideological literature delineates the ideal type of religious pioneer as one whose personality is based on self-restrained and self-aware submission to the injunctions of Halakhah. A recurring theme in the RKF literature states that one who assumes 'the yoke of the *mitzvot*' abides by the talmudic adage, 'He who is commanded and performs a precept stands higher than he who performs and is not commanded' (Tractate *Kidushin* 31a). Halakhic discipline offers 'true freedom' from the sway of

irrational impulses, thus enabling Jews to dedicate their lives to higher purposes.[33] 'The practical *mitzvot* oblige man to direct life on the basis of a [conscious] idea, rather than allow its development according to natural law,' says Moshe Unna.[34] Put differently, through methodical self-mastery a person can engage in disciplined action, under the direction of constant purposeful thought, toward mastery of the world.

The Halakhically disciplined kibbutznik adapted well to the rigorous exigencies of socialistically structured Commune life. Both systems, the Halakhic and the socialistic, are built on the individual's effort to sustain a purposeful life – an effort necessitating a perpetual tension between natural impulses and one's 'unnatural' transcendent aims. Eliezer Goldman expressly alluded to this correspondence: 'The entire kibbutz endeavor is unnatural. … Here we are contesting nature, contesting our inclinations. … Who knows more than us that a meaningful life cannot be normal? [For] is the observance of the *mitzvot* something normal?'[35] Curbed by self-restraint, kibbutz members relinquished their individual desires and inclinations, out of a conscious intent to accept collective discipline, as well as to obey God's will.

Collective orientation

Moses Hess placed the value of the society above that of the individual, inasmuch as it is society that elevates a person above nature and transforms him, or her, into a self-conscious human being. He accordingly grasped the socialist society as an entity in its own right that warrants its members' collective orientation. Hess also saw Judaism as saliently agreeing with socialism in its firm collective orientation. Devotions, for instance, are focused primarily on the collective. 'Jewish prayers are thoroughly collective prayers. … The pious Jew is above all a Jewish patriot,' says Hess in *Rome and Jerusalem*.

More specifically and operationally, in Hess's view, the collective orientation linked to the legalistic ethic of Judaism corresponds with the socialist ethic in its focus on the community. The very centrality of law in Jewish religious life focuses religion on the public domain rather than on subjective faith, and individual Jews are enjoined to fulfill themselves religiously by participating in the empirical life of a realistically perceived community ordered by the Law. In Hess's words, 'The basis of Jewish religion is an organized society,' by means of which it is possible for Jews 'to worship God as a nation through institutions.' This community, sanctified by virtue of the Halakhic template that orders its life, imparts its sacredness to its constituent members who build and maintain its institutions. Thus, according to Hess, 'Judaism, both ancient and modern, is the only religion that from the very outset does not separate individual faith from social law'; 'Judaism sanctifies not only man's individual being … i.e., not only the organic, but the social life of man as well.'[36]

The religious collective orientation in the religious kibbutz is manifest in the ascendency of the Halakhic community over the individuality of its members in defining the true religious life. As Efrayim Ya'ir explicitly states: 'As religious Jews we emphasize the religious principle of "cultivation of society as against the cultivation of the individual." The moment that one establishes society as a preferred value, the individual must forgo his private demands.'[37] And Rosenblueth elaborates:

> The purpose of the *mitzvot* … is to establish a social and political regime based on the Torah. These laws therefore reveal the general guidelines for establishing an ideal society. … According to Judaism, only by creating a certain type of person, living and educated within the framework of such a society, can man approach God.[38]

The religious kibbutz built its Halakhic community by impressing the Halakhic template on all spheres of its pioneering–socialist Commune life. And it was as a Halakhic community drawing on its members' mutual commitment and responsibility – a 'prophetic' covenantal community, to use Soloveitchik's concept – that the religious kibbutz Commune gained its basic legitimacy.[39] The concept of 'organic solidarity' is particularly relevant here. In Chapter 2 (p. 35) I noted that organic solidarity prevailed in the secular kibbutz's Commune stage, based as it was on self-aware and committed individuals who interacted in their differentiated societal roles to realize their transcendentally inspired pioneering–socialist community. In Chapter 7 (p. 92) I alluded to the religious footing of organic solidarity in the religious kibbutz. Let me round out this theme. Members of the religious kibbutz who fulfilled their differentiated roles in jointly building their pioneering–socialistic community, lent a religious dimension to their organic solidarity by adding an Halakhic normative charge to their vocational roles. Thanks to the realization of their interrelated Halakhic roles 'in the community [and] for the community,' the Commune worshiped God as a solidary social entity that refracted personal religious fulfillment.[40]

THE TRANSFORMATIVE ETHOS

I have thus far discussed the structural traits of the confrontational mind-set that Halakhic Judaism shares with socialism, as grasped by Hess and affirmed by the Orthodox pioneer mentality. Let us turn now to the motivational traits common to the two systems that emerge from the confrontational mind-set. Deriving from an ethical conception of the human task on earth, these motivational traits were governed by the notion of world transformation through legally guided 'technological' reshaping. Hess spelled out the motivational traits and the RKF affirmed them at both the socialist and Halakhic levels, in three analytical spheres: those of culture, personality, and society.

'Praxis' at the cultural level

In the cultural sphere, Hess held legally guided action within socialism to be – as in experimental science – 'theoretical and practical at the same time.' This is the concept of 'praxis' that Hess developed in his socialist writings in the early 1840s, in relation to 'active consciousness.'[41] Legally guided action establishes a dialectical relationship between law-focused consciousness and empirical reality. That is, action makes possible the precise knowledge of reality; and knowledge, in turn, passing through the working of experience, enables the discovery of new laws that people can 'technologically' employ in reshaping reality. Legally guided action, according to Hess, will do away with the dualism prevailing between empirical reality and transcendent reality within human consciousness, and will lead to the eventual unification of these two spheres of reality.

Analogously, Hess implies, Torah law, by means of its Oral mode, unfolds through a dynamic relationship with changing empirical reality. Says Hess, 'Judaism is not a passive religion but active knowledge'; Judaism holds that 'knowledge and deed, or lore and life, are inseparable from one another.' In other words, just as the scientist questions nature in order to uncover its laws, so the student of Halakhah, when confronted with the data of a new reality, questions the Law so as to come up with a new religious formula for accommodating this reality. In this vein, Hess says, Jewish sages in every generation engaged in 'the living development of the law.' If there is a dualism in Judaism, it is between the imperfect earthly reality of the present and the image of a transcendent perfected earthly reality of the future – and this can be surmounted by human action.[42]

The dynamic relationship between theory and practice in the world view of the RKF emerges in broad contours, at the analogous levels of Torah and science, in the following statement by Gedaliah Unna:

> Just as the natural sciences are not of theoretical concern to the farmer, but are practical studies that are closely related to the reality of the community that earns its livelihood through knowledge of the plant world, so knowledge of the religious laws and understanding of Jewish ethics embrace … the first principles for establishing a religious society.[43]

More specifically, the RKF expanded upon the classical Jewish concept of the interrelatedness of Torah study and practical action – 'Torah study is so great because it leads to practice'[44] – in assertions such as the following joint statement by a member of Tirat Tzvi and a member of Sdei Eliyahu:

> Study [of Torah] lacks influence and an abiding validity if one does not participate in creating social life in its entirety. … Study lacks purpose if it does not lead to action. According to our outlook, study exists for its practical application to all aspects of practical life. … The only form of

> Torah study, 'for its own sake,' [Tractate *Taanit* 7a] that we acknowledge is that of the working man.[45]

The Orthodox pioneers pursued the dialectical relationship between the Law and practical action particularly in their vigorous effort to reconcile adjudicated Halakhah and their new pioneering environment. Innovative Halakhic legislation had ceased since the disintegration of the pre-Emancipation traditional Jewish society in the early nineteenth century; and the environmental realities of a Jewish national pioneering community in the 1930s posed normative Halakhic problems – such as prohibitions against engaging in security activities or milking cows on the Sabbath – that threatened the viability of the Orthodox kibbutzim. It was the assumed rapport between religious law and changing historical reality that braced the kibbutzniks' faith that they would be able to come up with solutions to Halakhic problems that the pioneering experience posed. Indeed, the Orthodox pioneers adopted the stance that by coming to grips with the hard facts of the pioneering enterprise through practical action, they would find solutions to the Halakhic problems. A member of Sdei Eliyahu alluded to this stance several years after his group had settled on the land:

> By assuming the roles imposed on every pioneering community in the reality of the farm economy and general settlement, we confront Halakhah with all the problems deriving from that reality, and create thereby the first conditions for the domination of our life by Torah.[46]

And Rosenthal, referring to particular Halakhic problems that would confront a religious kibbutz that was preparing to settle in uncharted hilly terrain, alluded to the praxis disposition as a key to the solution of such problems: '[Halakhic] questions of that sort will not be solved … as long as they are not put to practical test.'[47] Such practical tests enabled the RKF to come up with solutions to many of the Halakhic problems that beset its kibbutzim as national pioneering communities.[48] Indeed, by taking an active part in the building of the modern Halakhic community the Orthodox pioneer pursued the major medium of his (or her) salvation.[49]

Socialist and Halakhic personalities

The ethos of transformation through legally guided action also obtained in the sphere of personality, again within a dialectical context. We have seen that Hess projected the finished socialist personality to the final stage of history, when the 'scientific' social laws would be revealed. The self-restrained individuals who would fashion the new socialistic institutions through submission to the social laws would, in turn, subject their character to moral fashioning by participating in these very institutions. Such individuals will

not only fulfill themselves as self-aware moral beings, but also overcome the dualism between their private and social personalities.[50]

Hess's view that 'scientific' social laws constitute the key to individual amelioration resonates in the Commune stage of the religious kibbutz. Rosenblueth drew on the Marxist concept of social 'iron laws' to authenticate this perception: 'We must get to know the special factors that operate in the contemporary social regime … that determine one's social class and relation to society. These iron laws are more decisive than one's [personal] character in determining behavior – whether one is righteous or evil.'[51] At the popular level amongst the Orthodox pioneers such social laws were grasped in terms of socialistically fashioned institutions: 'By abolishing economic disparities and instituting equality in work and consumption, the kibbutz regimen removes the principal cause for immoral behavior in the relations between a man and his neighbor,' says Me'ir Or.[52] And Moshe Unna draws on Maimonides' conceptualization of the self's inner perfection as a function of the perfected community [*Guide for the Perplexed* III, 27]:

> We are enjoined to establish the perfected society, in which the individual will find his place by his adjustment thereto. That is to say, by subordinating individual will to the needs of the public and working for its welfare. For that purpose one must acquire the ethic that is useful for society; on this basis one can advance toward inner perfection.[53]

In other words, it is through its communal roles that the individual self can realize its true nature. In short, in the Commune stage of religious kibbutz development – as in the secular kibbutz – the objective patterns of social organization displaced the subjective individual as the focus of efforts at personal moral improvement.

Legally transformed society

The third analytic sphere where Judaism and socialism converge through legally guided action, according to Hess, is the societal sphere; it is in this sphere that the transformative purpose of legally guided action in the realms of culture and personality attains its consummation. The scientific social laws will reveal a system of scientific ethics that will explain the moral purpose of history and enable people to govern and restructure society according to the socialist pattern.

Within the context of the Jewish religion, according to Hess, the Halakhic community constitutes a vehicle for historic action toward *tikkun olam*: 'the historic calling [of Judaism], to shape and reshape the social life according to divine design,' 'to invest life with morality and sanctity; that is, to heal it, improve it, and to bring it to consummate perfection' and to realize the messianic ideal. For, according to Hess, it is through Halakhah that

the divine plan in relation to history becomes manifest; this is demonstrated by the protosocialist institutions shaped by Mosaic Written Law, which anticipates scientific (socialist) moral law. The cultivation of Oral Law, furthermore, is destined to reveal the socialist laws enfolded in Halakhah. In a word: Halakhic Judaism, centered on a legal code of ethics, channels its motivational thrust toward moral reshaping of the world in the context of socialism. In Hess's words:

> The Jews … from the outset of their existence … recognized and retained their historic world mission … which is to sanctify not only the individual [organic] life of man given by nature, but also the social life of man; to further the development of humanity through autonomous action and to prepare it for a messianic kingdom.[54]

Hess, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, projected the socialist community to an ideal future. The Orthodox pioneers in Palestine in the 1930s, on the other hand, adopted a ready-made socialistically modeled society from the secular kibbutz movement as they moved into their Commune stage. At one level, RKF ideological leaders drew upon the religious socialism that they had absorbed in Germany for legitimating the socialistic Commune. Viewing socialist society as the 'implementation of scientific advancement in the war waged by mankind for a just order,'[55] these leaders, as we have seen, pointed up 'scientific' laws to confirm that individual moral behavior is a function of society's institutions.

At a second level, a stream of thought crystallized in the RKF in the late 1930s and early 1940s that grasped the kibbutz socialist community as the epitome of the moral thrust of Halakhah – as the 'reality-perfecting and social aspiration of the Jewish religion, [which] was most pronouncedly expressed in the words of the prophets [and which] Halakhah in its entirety aims to validate and actualize in daily life'.[56] This stream of thought clearly paralleled the ideas Moses Hess had articulated two to three generations earlier. However, the RKF leaders contended – and, as we shall soon see, Hess, too, argued – that because the Torah could not receive its true and essential expression in Jewish life in the Diaspora, 'the framework of Halakhah today has lost much of the [social] realistic significance it once had.'[57]

Hence the unique social role of the religious kibbutz: Since the 'precepts of the Written and Oral Torah are meant to establish a perfected social order, "kibbutz life" must reveal and develop the profound social reality-grounded message embodied in the Torah for our own time and for all time.'[58] The kibbutz life pattern, then, anticipates the realization of the 'socialist' precepts veiled in Halakhah, which Torah hermeneutics have yet to reveal.

What is more, by applying Halakhic law in its socialist garb to social reality, the Orthodox pioneers singled out their kibbutz community as the felicitous social instrument for realizing divine will in transforming the

world – by perfecting it under the inspiration of the ideal of *tikkun olam*. Rosenthal captured this mood in the following eloquent passage:

> It is evident that we have … effected a change … in the interpretation of the religious value of the *mitzvot*. … Traditional religion regarded them as a means to the final end, to refine man. … But we cannot accept this view. … We aim not at man alone, but at the world. … 'Fill the earth and subdue it' [Genesis 1:28] is the mission of man who instates his King's reign over the world. … 'To perfect the world in the Kingdom of God' [from the daily *Aleinu* prayer] is the sincere wish of our religious outlook. The world, the real world. To perfect, for there is no perfection in the heavens above for creating the new heavens and earth [cf. Isaiah 65:17], until *we* perfect and renew below. This theocratic view expresses nomocracy … for this King … rules only by His Torah … as was made clear at revelation: 'You shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy people.'[59]

The Orthodox pioneers, then, were able to see themselves as cooperating with God in perfecting the world on both the scientific and the Halakhic level. At the former level, as we have seen, the thrust of science was focused on social betterment. At the Halakhic level the thrust of religious law was focused on *tikkun olam* through the Law's social ethos as epitomized in the kibbutz's socialistic institutions. Thus these two transformative dispositions – the autonomous/human and the heteronomous/religious – which are ostensibly mutually exclusive, converged on the level of the confrontational mind-set. The human religious mission on earth, to constitute the partner of God in Creation by perfecting Creation – which we met both in Torah-im-Derekh Eretz and in Hess's work – received its fullest Jewish social expression in the religious kibbutz.

What is more, the religious kibbutz members also directed the thrust of science toward nature in the original religious terms of Adam 1's mandate, to master the physical world. The divinely sanctioned scientific–technological drive of 'majestic' Adam 1 to harness nature was manifested in the RKF in universal terms as

> the pioneering spirit that beats in every human heart, which seeks to prevail over the nature's inflictions and to subdue them for the sake of the public weal. 'He created [the world] not a waste; He formed it to be inhabited.' [Isaiah 45:10][60]

The consistently outstanding economic record of the RKF during the greater part of its existence, which I shall discuss in the concluding chapter,[61] seems to attest to the vigorous integration of the autonomous human and religious tempers in this pioneering community in mastering nature.

To return to Soloveitchik's conceptual framework: In the Commune stage of the religious kibbutz we witness an efficacious meeting of the two

Adams: majestic Adam 1, who employs science and technology to discharge his original religious mission to transform the world through his work community, affirms his mission through a working alliance with outward-directed, Halakhically defined Adam 2, in a majestic covenantal community – 'one community where man is both the creative, free agent, and the obedient servant of God.'[62] The religious kibbutz qualifies both Adams to realize their human identity in divinely mandated terms.

REINVIGORATING HALAKHIC LEGISLATION: HESS PRESAGES THE RKF

This exploration of the correspondences between the views of Moses Hess and those of the RKF regarding the application of Halakhah in the modern era would not be complete without mention of Hess's ideas on the influence of Jewish national revival on innovative Halakhic legislation. For Hess was not only a progenitor of modern socialism but also a forerunner of modern Jewish nationalism. In his perspicacity he synthesized Zionism and socialism and – in the later spirit of the RKF – Halakhah as well.

In *Rome and Jerusalem* Hess called for Jewish national regeneration, arguing that a restored national polity would be the vehicle for reinvigorating the religious social ethic of Judaism, thereby enabling the Jewish people to fulfill its ancient role of promoting social moral legislation. According to Hess, the discharge of this role was impeded after the destruction of the Second Temple, when the Jewish people went into exile; the Law could not develop social institutions in the spirit of the socialist ethic because of 'political social servitude.' National regeneration, Hess contended, would endow the religious creative force with new strength and lead to 'the living development of Oral Law.' The Jewish people, living on its own land in a restored Jewish state and once again inspired by the prophetic spirit, would be the first to realize the institutions of the socialist society. Aware that the rigid Halakhah of his day was incapable of sustaining a self-sufficient national society, Hess envisaged that in a new Jewish state the reinvigoration of innovative Halakhic legislation would enable religious law to meet 'the needs of the time and the nation.'[63] A national society, then, would make possible the 'full unity between lore and life.'[64]

What is particularly striking is the religious role that Hess imagined for the farming 'pioneers' of Jewish national awakening. Conceiving these pioneers as working within a cooperative framework after having taken possession of the soil of the Land of Israel,[65] Hess delegated to them a creative religious 'mission': to catalyze Halakhic legislation. In 1864 Hess wrote:

> We have no right or authority to modify our religious tradition before the first Jewish pioneers [*Pioniere*] take hold of our ancient homeland and begin to cultivate its soil with the overt and explicit intention to lay

> a foundation for a political and social establishment. Only those who … take part in this sacred enterprise will have the unreserved right, which is included in their very mission, to convene a Great Sanhedrin in order to modify the Law in accordance with the needs of the new society.[66]

That is to say, it was the builders of the national society's infrastructure, who would engage immediate empirical reality by their performance – it was they who would have the authority to initiate new Halakhic legislation.

The RKF did not convene a Great Sanhedrin for the reinvigoration of the Law. But the Orthodox pioneers were unique in the story of Jewish national revival, in that they constituted the most effective social agency for energizing Halakhic legislation at the level of workaday community life.[67] By obliging Halakhah to confront directly the new empirical situations that they created by their practical action, the Orthodox pioneers acted in the spirit of Hess in furthering the 'unity between lore and life.' Rudi Herz exemplified this spirit when he wrote in 1934:

> It is not ideologies or theories, schools of thought or lectures, that are decisive in creating the national-religious reality in the Land of Israel. It is the life that one lives that calls for a practical solution to all of its problems and activities – only such a life can determine the form of the synthesis between Torah and labor.[68]

9 An evolutionary–functional perspective[1]

The development pattern of the kibbutz as a communal system may be regarded as an ontogenetic manifestation of the evolution of human society from a primitive to a modern stage. The development of the religious kibbutz highlights the crucial role of a value system in the evolutionary process. By way of summary, the present chapter will analyze the development of the religious kibbutz within the perspective of Talcott Parsons's theory of social evolution.[2] This theory helps to explore the evolution of the kibbutz in a functional perspective, as well as to evaluate the pivotal role of a religious culture in sustaining this social system. For that matter, the present chapter will also elaborate upon the disparate ability of the two divergent Jewish religious subcultures featured in this study to promote viable kibbutz life. At the end of the chapter I will touch upon the Religious Kibbutz Federation today, about sixty-five years after its founding.

PARSONS'S THEORY APPLIED TO KIBBUTZ EVOLUTION

According to Parsons's evolutionary theory, the social system in its primitive state forms the central constituent of a composite mass; it embeds the behavioral, personality, and culture systems at the human level of its environment, while natural and transcendent realities infuse the social system at a second level. The key concept of the evolutionary process is 'differentiation;' that is, the social system as a whole depends on the process of differentiation for exercising control over its personal–natural environment.[3] And once the cultural system gains autonomy from the social system, it plays a superordinate role in controlling it and its environment. This is particularly true of a religious culture, which provides ultimate meaning to the social system.[4]

The Bund stage

New communes arise out of their founders' dissatisfaction with the existing order and represent attempts to recreate society from its very beginnings, in accordance with utopian standards. This is usually accomplished by reverting

to the largely undifferentiated state of reality that is manifest in the Bund stage of kibbutz evolution. The Bund – formed as it is by individuals drawn together by a common vision of national and social regeneration who decide to join together in the effort to realize their visions in a pioneering framework – constitutes a close-knit solidary group embedded within transcendent and natural realities. While the Bund experience focuses on the inner life of the individual personality, the shared ideological symbols of group members stimulates intense interpsychic relations that lead to a psychic collective with a consciousness of its own; this group consciousness then goes on to cultivate the values and commitments necessary for kibbutz life, and dominates individual consciousness. By participating in the psychic collective the individual seeks personal regeneration and 'perfection.' In this vein, physical labor is conceived primarily as a means for communing with the natural world and cultivating the inner life. The dominant ethos of the Bund stage is the pursuit of harmony with fellow group members and with nature.

In the Bund stage the cultural system is embedded within the collective consciousness; that is, intense interpsychic relations, mediated by shared symbols, cause transcendence to become 'real' in the collective consciousness. Indeed, transcendent reality constitutes the significant reality of the social system in the Bund stage, and communal life is conceived as both a means of cultivating transcendent reality and an empirical extension of that reality. The 'family' feeling induced by the shared experience of transcendence establishes the criterion that only those who embody the transcendent symbols are considered worthy of membership. And membership calls for commitment to roles that render individuals capable of merging psychically with their fellows, thereby intensifying the transcendent reality in the collective consciousness. At this stage, the solidarity of the group is 'mechanical' solidarity, that is, based on role homogeneity, diffuse social relationships, and an undifferentiated consciousness.[5]

The Bund addresses two functions basic to the kibbutz social system: (1) cultivating values within the nascent cultural system and motivating members to realize them; (2) integrating members into the larger life of the kibbutz through the psychic collective.[6]

Transition to Commune stage

But the exigencies of the evolving kibbutz social system, reinforced by the pressure of national and social values, led the accent of reality to shift to external life. When this happened, the natural–behavioral environment began to assume major significance and the work ethic to intensify and focus on objective economic results. The primary manifestation of this development was the emergence of differentiated behavioral roles – mostly economic – from the personality, and intensification of the work ethic. And as kibbutz population grew in size, and as formal roles were adopted for regulating and defining relations between individual members and between

the kibbutz and the individual, rational patterns were formed to organize these behavioral roles. A corollary of this development was the cultivation of individual awareness.

This process led to the emergence of an empirical collective – the Commune – from the psychic collective of the Bund stage. Based on differentiated roles and norms, and managed by a centralized authority, the Commune, as we noted, displaced the inward-oriented personality as the focus of kibbutz life. The Commune addressed another two functions basic to the kibbutz social system: (1) the development of a polity and (2) the development of an economy.[7] These two structures set the kibbutz on a modernizing track. The polity of the Commune penetrated the economy through its control of the means of production and of economic roles, while a vigorous work ethic encouraged the economy to develop an autonomous dynamic of its own. The functional interdependence of self-aware individuals fulfilling differentiated organizational and, particularly, economic roles fostered 'organic,' as opposed to 'mechanical,' solidarity as the prime integrative mechanism of group life. Thus, the Commune stage was characterized by a rational organizational–economic ethos aimed at transforming the natural–personal environment.

The cultural system becomes autonomous

I noted in the Introduction that Siegfried Landshut, in attempting to account for the viability of the secular kibbutz social system, argued that Jewish national revival constituted for this system the functional equivalent of a conventional religion.[8] While it is beyond the framework of this study to analyze the 'religious' role Zionism played in the secular kibbutzim, we should note that, as part of the transition from the Bund to the Commune stage, national and social values were abstracted from the psychic collective and eventually attained ideological autonomy. Severally delineated socialist and national values became the prime movers of the organizational–economic ethos. At the socialist level, the shift in focus from individual psyche to empirical collective was translated into terms of moral institutions of equality and shared living, particularly as expressed in the rational patterns of production and consumption. But, at a higher level, the ideological system grounded the empirical collective in the superordinate value of national revival. That is to say, the socialist structure constituted a collective community vehicle for the pursuit of national goals; rationalized behavior was cultivated in terms of national duty and service. Indeed, at both levels the political ethic constituted the preeminent means for pursuing salvation. The fact that the kibbutz conceived itself primarily as a pioneering community induced it to place greater weight on performance in organizational, especially economic, roles than on personal qualities as criteria for group membership. Thus, in the Commune stage the cultural accent shifted from personal values to universalistic norms of behavior. The now autonomous cultural framework

enabled the social system to coordinate and control the personality and behavioral systems of kibbutz members, and to accommodate those systems to the severe structural constraints of communal life. In sum, the move toward greater differentiation between the kibbutz social system and its environmental constituents advanced the social system's evolution by enhancing its adaptive capacity in relation to its environment. Kibbutzim in which such differentiation did not take place simply disintegrated.

Parsons conceptualizes a number of processes that supplement differentiation in enhancing the social system's capacity to adapt to its environment.[9] As our analysis implies, the transition from Bund to Commune stages also involved the enhancing of the system's efficiency and productivity through the heightening of individual awareness and the specialization of collectives and roles; broadening the scope of membership by giving greater weight to behavior; fostering a qualitatively higher mode of integration via a universalistic normative system that allowed for more efficient interrelation and coordination of social roles; and modifying the original societal values to legitimate differential roles, the polity and the economy, thereby extending the scope of commitment to a wider range of activities.

TWO TYPES OF JUDAISM ON BELLAH'S EVOLUTIONARY SCALE

When the Orthodox pioneering groups opted for kibbutz life, they proceeded to apply their religious culture to the existing communal system via two evolutionary modes of this culture – Hasidism and Torah-im-Derekh Eretz. The respective states of differentiation of these evolutionary modes are, as we have seen, congruent with those of the kibbutz in its Bund and Commune stages, and these evolutionary modes also correspond, respectively, to the 'historic' and 'early modern' stages on Robert Bellah's scale of religious evolution.[10]

Bellah theorizes five stages in religious evolution: primitive, archaic, historic, early modern, and modern. Each stage is distinguished by its relative state of differentiation at three levels. In Bellah's own summary:

> First and most central is the [1] evolution of the symbol systems which … move from 'compact' to 'differentiated.' In close conjunction with evolution, [2] religious collectivities become more differentiated from other social structures and [3] there is an increasing consciousness of the self as a religious object.[11]

Religions of both historical and early-modern stages are salvation religions that conceive of the world as dualistically structured between empirical and transcendent realities. These two types differ markedly, however, in their relative states of differentiation. The historic type downgrades the personal organism and the empirical world, and blurs the boundaries between the

latter and transcendent reality; it conceives of salvation as mediated through ritual or mystical experience and as realized by a core self with a relatively weak self-awareness. The early modern type of religion, on the other hand, makes a distinct separation between the empirical and transcendent worlds, regarding the former as an arena for working out salvation through earthly activities performed by autonomous individuals and collectives.

De-differentiating Hasidism

Although Hasidism came into being much later than rabbinic Judaism, it constitutes a 'regressive' mode of Judaism on Bellah's evolutionary scale. Derogating the world, Hasidism interweaves a heavy residue of the mythological patterns characteristic of the primitive type of religion into its basic historic type. This mode of Judaism exercises de-differentiation. Focusing on the spontaneous core self in the personality, Hasidism perceives the elements of the social and natural worlds as disposed to merging with the self into a seamless religious cloth. In this process the individual achieves salvation by means of a fused psychic collective.

We have seen that Hasidism played a superordinate role in legitimating the Bund stage of kibbutz evolution for the religious pioneers of German and East European origin alike. But Hasidism proved incapable of undergirding religiously the Commune stage. Indeed, when the kibbutzim of the German-bred pioneers moved on to the Commune stage of their development, these pioneers invoked the cultural recipe of world-affirming Torah-im-Derekh Eretz to stabilize their social system.

Differentiating Torah-im-Derekh Eretz

Torah-im-Derekh Eretz, at Bellah's early modern state, is a highly differentiated mode of Judaism. Positing a distinct gulf between a transcendent Lawgiver and self-aware man, Torah-im-Derekh Eretz relates to a discretely structured empirical world, which is subject to sanctification through differentiated law. Thus, Torah-im-Derekh Eretz legitimates the physical environment of the autonomous behavioral and personality systems, as well as of the empirical collective and its component roles. Indeed, Torah-im-Derekh Eretz specifies the empirical community of daily life as the preeminent field of action of Halakhah, and regards active participation in the Halakhic community as the singular means to achieve salvation. Many passages in the ideological literature of the German-bred pioneers demonstrate their ability to upgrade their environmental and societal elements in religious legal terms. It was the religious legitimation of the empirical collective and of the rational personalities that composed it that encouraged the German-bred pioneers to cultivate organic solidarity in religious terms in the Commune stage.

The ability of the German religious pioneers to generalize their kibbutz culture proved to be a crucial factor in their capacity to cope with the differentiated reality of the Commune stage. By placing the accent of religion on the practice of the law, they were able to disengage pioneering and socialist values from religious values and to rationalize the former in a unified and integrated system of ideas around a central Halakhic core. Such rationalization enhanced the autonomy of these ideas in relation to the social system, thereby bringing the pioneering and socialist values of the secular empirical collective within the parameters of the religious culture, which, in turn, strengthened commitment to these values. The end result was that the socialist and pioneering dimensions of the secular empirical collective became invested with the valence of the Halakhic community.[12] In short, for those grounded in Torah-im-Derekh Eretz, it was rationalization, through conscious ideas, that enabled religious culture to exercise its superordinate role in controlling the Commune system and its environmental constituents and to influence social action thereby.[13] In effect, the imposition of the Halakhic order upon the secular collective constituted a de-differentiating process. The awareness that the two were distinct entities, however, promoted their functional interpretation and interaction. The secular collective provided the comprehensive differentiated social life upon which the Halakhic order could be imprinted. In turn, the ultimate value represented by Halakhah legitimated the secular collective, thereby enhancing the motivation for its effective functioning. The secular collective thus constituted an instrument for reshaping the world in accordance with religious ideals.[14]

To sum up, shifting the dominant component of the Orthodox core of RKF culture from Hasidim to Halakhic Judaism – from a love ethic to a legalistic ethic – enabled the German-bred pioneers to reaffirm the superordinate role of religious culture in the religious kibbutz system and qualified religion to sustain and legitimate the Commune stage of this system. This shift enhanced the environmental–adaptive capacity of the religious kibbutz system in accordance with Parsons's aforementioned processes.[15] It provided a religious grounding for rational individuals, as well as specialized collectives and roles, thereby enhancing their efficiency. It shifted the religious criterion for membership from belief to normative Halakhic behavior, thereby including a wider group of members. It reinforced the higher universalistic normative mode of integration, thereby strengthening the interrelation of the political and economic roles. And, finally, it generalized the religious culture, thereby extending kibbutz members' range of commitment to a wide spectrum of societal activities.

FUNCTIONALITY OF RELIGION

This study has discussed the development of the Religious Kibbutz Federation in the 1930s and 1940s. The pattern of life created in the

Orthodox German kibbutzim in that period still persists in the16 RKF settlements that exist at the turn of the century. One may inquire whether the religious grounding of these kibbutzim has enhanced their viability as compared with that of secular kibbutzim. The question has become particularly apt at the present critical time in the kibbutz movement. Israel's communal settlements are undergoing profound structural changes, to the point that their continued existence as kibbutzim is moot. Until the dust settles it is too early to attribute a viability edge to religion in the RKF. There is, however, one cardinal sphere of kibbutz life that seems to have profited from the singular impact of religious culture: the economic system. Studies of the economic performances of the RKF and the secular kibbutz federations between 1958–82 indicate that the RKF increasingly surpassed the other federations in economic proficiency, notwithstanding such handicaps as adherence to ritualistic–legal norms, as well as a higher birth rate and less industrialization than in the secular kibbutzim.[16] In the mid-1980s the widening gap between the performances of the religious and secular federations became all too evident. The secular kibbutzim found themselves crippled by a burden of staggering debt and had to seek a government bailout, whereas the RKF remained solvent.[17] The impact of religion on the economic performance of the RKF seems to be indirect; it appears to derive from the ability of Halakhic Judaism to stimulate and tighten the functioning of the socialist organization of the RKF kibbutzim. Within the conceptual context of the rationally organized kibbutz communities, Halakhic Judaism seems to enhance self-discipline; strengthen the collective aspect of daily life; reinforce kibbutz norms – including those involved in production and consumption – with the cogency of its legal norms; and augment the members' shared sense of commitment toward a transcendent God.[18] In terms of our study, the economic proficiency of the religious kibbutzim through their effective actualization of the socialist social system, appears to substantiate Moses Hess's appraisal of the modernization potential of Halakhic Judaism.[19]

Notes

Introduction

1 Chapter 5, Table 1 (p. 70).
2 Alex Bein, *The Return to the Soil: a History of Jewish Settlement in Israel* (trans. I Schen), Jerusalem: Zionist Organization, 1952.
3 Georg Simmel, 'On the significance of numbers for social life,' in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (trans. and ed. K. Wolff), New York: The Free Press, 1950.
4 For a basic reference to these stages, see Chapter 2, note 3.
5 Sigfried Landshut, *The Kvutzah*, Jerusalem: Zionist Organization, 1944 (Hebrew).
6 Rosabeth M. Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in a Sociological Perspective*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard, 1972.
7 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (trans. O. Wynn), New York: MacMillan, 1931.
8 Note 5, above. The notion of functionality of religion for kibbutz life is explored further in the concluding chapter.
9 Joseph B. Soloveitchik, *The Lonely Man of Faith*, New York: Doubleday, 1992.
10 Gershom Scholem, referring to the kabbalistic psychic connotation of salvation, translates *tikkun olam* as 'restitution' of an ideal primordial reality. See his *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, New York: Schocken, 1961, p. 268. The editors of *Tikkun*, on the other hand, referring to the empirical connotation of the periodical's name, translate *tikkun olam* as 'to mend, repair, transform the world.'
11 Peter L. Berger, Brigitte Berger, and Hansfried Kellner, *The Homeless Mind*, New York: Vintage, 1974.
12 For this theory, see Stephen P. Savage, *The Theories of Talcott Parsons*, London: MacMillan, 1981, Chapter 3.
13 For this method see Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (ed. and trans. Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch), New York: The Free Press, 1949, p. 90. For a comprehensive discussion of the ideal typological method, see Stephen Kalberg, *Max Weber's Comparative Historical Sociology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994, Part II.
14 Aryei Fishman, *Judaism and Modernization on the Religious Kibbutz*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

1 Two types of religious man

1 J.B. Soloveitchik, *The Lonely Man of Faith*, New York: Doubleday, 1992. Page references to quotations from this book are included in the text on pages 10–25. Soloveitchik's essay is primarily a meditation in the philosophy of religion.

However, in his treatment of the existential options that each person faces in modern life in relating to God, to fellow human beings, and to the world, Soloveitchik adumbrates social and cognitive patterns that characterize the sociology of religion. Soloveitchik's musings on human relationships are not always articulated methodically, and at times he even presents these relationships fragmentarily. In the present study I have fleshed out the sociological patterns. To systemize the references to them, I have extracted these references from their textual fabric, correlated them, and on occasion spelled out their contextual implications.

For Soloveitchik's use of the ideal type in *The Lonely Man of Faith*, see Eugene B. Borowitz, *Choices in Modern Jewish Thought*, New York: Behrman House, 1983, pp. 227–8.

2 See Peter L. Berger (ed.), *The Other Side of God*, Garden City: Anchor Books, 1981, p. 5.

3 Georg Simmel's definition of 'salvation' will serve this study. Simmel defines 'salvation' as 'the fulfillment of the soul's ultimate desires, the achievement of absolute spiritual perfection, possible only as an agreement between itself and God.' See G. Simmel, *Essays on Religion* (trans. Horst J. Halle and Ludwig Nieder), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997, p. 194.

4 This summary of Weber's exposition is based on W. Schluchter, *Rationalism, Religion and Domination* (trans. By Neil Solomon), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, pp. 128–9. Its vocabulary draws on Berger (note 2 above), Preface.

5 Ibid.

6 However, the particular Halakhic dimension in Soloveitchik's analysis of Adam 2 (see below) seems to make his discussion apply specifically to the Jewish individual. See, in this connection, Borowitz, (note 1 above), pp. 238–9.

7 Soloveitchik (note 1 above), pp. 12–20, 92–4, 104.

8 Ibid., pp. 28–33.

9 F. Toennies, *Community and Society* (trans. Charles P. Loomis), New York: Harper and Row, 1957.

10 Soloveitchik (note 1 above), pp. 34–5.

11 Toennies (note 9 above).

12 But on p. 37 Soloveitchik (note 1 above) uses the term 'purposive inward' to designate inward-directed Adam 2.

13 Five pairs of value orientations are elaborated upon in Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1951. Peter Berger and his colleagues allude to the value orientations as structural 'modes' – as distinct from contents – of a field of consciousness. See Peter L. Berger, Brigitte Berger, and Hansfried Kellner, *The Homeless Mind*, New York: Vintage, 1974, p. 14.

14 In the Jewish religious context the collective primacy value orientation is grouped with the four other value orientations that characterize the outward-directed personality. On the other hand, in a secular liberal context (such as that of secular Adam 1), self primacy displaces collective primacy in the value orientation pattern of the outward-directed personality. I shall further discuss the relationship between this pair of value orientations and the outward-directed personality on pp. 28–9.

15 I follow Berger and his colleagues (note 13 above, p. 27) in employing the terms 'componentiality' and 'wholeness' for this pair of value orientations; the terms used by Parsons and Shils (note 13 above) are 'specificity' and 'diffuseness.'

16 For the religious benefits of public prayer, see the discussion in M. Kadushin, *Worship and Ethics*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964, Chapter 6, and J. Katz, *Tradition and Crisis* (trans. Bernard D. Cooperman), New York: New York University Press, 1993, p. 149. For examples where the *kehillah*

(Jewish community) compels its members to partake in forming the minyan, see Katz, p. 150.

17 For these roles, see the code of Jewish law *Shulhan Arukh*, 'Orah Ha'im,' par. 124, 128, 135. For the role of the ordinary worshipper, cf. Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud*, Berlin–New York: de Gruyter, 1977, p. 16.

18 Ha'im of Volozin (1749–1821), *The Soul of the Life* III, 4, 5, Vilna: Metz, 5634 (1874) (Hebrew).

19 In Isaiah Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar, An Anthology of Texts* (trans. David Goldstein) III, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 1019.

20 For the close relationship between love and communion, see Charles Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902, pp. 124 ff.

21 Cf. the statement of the Hasidic pneumatic, R. Nahman of Bratzlev: 'Love is the cleaving of spirit to spirit.' Cited by A.S. Horodetzky, *Hasidism and its Doctrine*, Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1944, p. 195 (Hebrew). See also G. Van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (trans. J.E. Turner), London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938, p. 509.

22 The early nineteenth-century Hasidic Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apta states: 'It is a positive commandment to love each one of Israel; moreover, the love of Israel is connected to the love of God, and both are the same, for he who loves God loves Israel … as it is written … 'Love thy neighbor as thyself,' and 'Love thy God'; the Great Sanhedrin in their inspiration linked these two loves.' *Lover of Israel*, 'Hayei Sarah,' cited in A.S. Horodetzky, *Hasidism and Hasids*, part II, Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1951, p. 185 (Hebrew).

23 Soloveitchik (note 1 above), pp. 59–60.

24 J.B. Soloveitchik, 'The synagogue as an institution and an ideal,' in Leo Landsman (ed.), *Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein Memorial Volume*, New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1980, p. 337.

25 For the uniqueness of individual prayer, see the statement of the Hasidic thinker Klonimus K. Epstein in his *Maor vaShemesh*: 'Even if a thousand people pray together as a public, the prayer of one does not resemble the prayer of the other, for each one finds his God according to his understanding and *kavvanot* [devotional intentions].' Cited by Ben Yehezkel in 'On the essence of Hasidism,' *HaShiloah* 22 (1910) p. 257 (Hebrew).

26 H. Bergson, *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion*, Garden City: Doubleday, p. 14. Quoted by Chaim W. Reines in *Judaism* 6 (1957), p. 241, note.

27 I. Luria, *The Book of Kavvanot* I, part 8 of *The Works of Isaac Luria*, Jerusalem 1988, p. 2 (Hebrew).

28 The religious collective is not of one cloth in this respect. Emotion exists in two seemingly contradictory modes. One is external: exaltation expressed in song and body movement. The second is internal: restrained ecstasy captured within the depths of the worshipper. Thus, Ariel Ben-Zion, in describing prayer among kabbalists of the Bethel synagogue in Jerusalem at the end of the nineteenth century, states: 'Joy was attained by no artificial means, but by silent meditation, by introspection in an atmosphere where … man turned inwards and found there the soul of the universe.' A. Benzion, 'The Sephardic Chassidim of Bethel,' *Menorah Journal*, June 1927, p. 273. As Gershom Scholem indicates (*Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, New York: Schoken, 1961, p. 335): 'Self-restraint and affectivity in prayer are two sides of the same thing.'

29 For Freud's perception of affective relationships as the essence of the collective soul, see Laurence W. Grensted, *The Psychology of Religion*, London: Oxford University Press, 1952, pp. 141–2.

30 Kadushin (note 16 above), p. 131, *passim*.

31 Katz (note 16 above), part II.

32 Cf. R.J.Z. Werblowsky, 'Hanouca et Noel, ou Judaïsme et Cristianisme,' *Revue de l'Histoire de Religions* 145 (1954), p. 64.
33 For other *kehillah* roles, see Katz (note 16 above), pp. 68 ff.
34 Ibid., pp. 154–5.
35 For these groups see S. Schechter, 'Safed in the sixteenth century: A city of legists and mystics,' *Studies in Judaism* II, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1908, especially pp. 237 ff.; also R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, *Joseph Karo, Lawyer and Mystic*, London: Oxford University Press, 1962, Chapter 4.
36 See E. Luz, 'Utopia and return: On the structure of utopian thinking and its relation to Jewish–Christian tradition,' *Journal of Religion* 73 (1993), pp. 369 ff.
37 See Ha'im Vital, *The Book of Visions*, Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kuk, 1954, pp. 14–15 (Hebrew), regarding the 'ten upon whom redemption depends' after they have become perfected. And Vital further discusses the unique power of the coterie to bring about redemption when 'they love one another completely and are perfect in piety' (p. 15).
38 Cf. the statement in the kabbalistic treatise *Emek HaMelekh*, Amsterdam 1648, p. 80a (Hebrew): '… 'Love thy neighbor as thyself'; the words 'as thyself' mean specifically when you are perfected through your neighbor via the love between you and him.' For the selective process involved in building up the group's perfection, see Vital (note 37 above), p. 220.
39 M. Cordovero, *The Palm Tree of Deborah* (trans. Louis Jacobs), London: Valentine Mitchell, 1960, p. 53.
40 See Schechter (note 35 above), p. 239.
41 Ibid., and pp. 244–5; Werblowsky (note 35 above), p. 62.
42 Thus, Isaac Luria states with regard to the psychic collective created in prayer that 'if one of the members is in trouble, all must share in his suffering, whether it be due to illness or problems with children, God forbid, and pray for him, and so in all his prayers and needs and words a member should include his friend along with him.' Luria (note 27 above), p. 2.
43 Yosef Taboul, cited by G. Scholem in 'A document by the disciples of Isaac Luria,' *Zion* 5 (5700 [1940]), p. 150.
44 For this group see especially Me'ir Benayahu, *Rabbi Ha'im Yosef David Azulai*, Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kuk, 1959, pp. 16–18 (Hebrew). The members of the group bound themselves together by four 'deeds of covenant,' of which only three of the texts are known. These three deeds are to be found in A.L. Frumkin, *History of the Jerusalem Sages* III, Jerusalem: Solomon Press, 1928 (Hebrew).
45 Ibid., pp. 51–2.
46 The third deed states: 'In the eternity of the world to come each and every one of us will attempt to save and perfect and elevate the soul of each member of our group with all his might so that each may merit the world to come… . For if regretfully Heaven decrees that one of us take the good from his companion, over and above the reward due to him … then we have committed ourselves to vouchsafing him the other's good' (Ibid., p. 52).
47 S.Z. Shazar, *Morning Stars*, Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1959, p. 221 (Hebrew). Shazar (1889–1974), the third president of Israel, was also a student of Jewish mysticism. For other kabbalistic groups that were formed along the same structural lines as the Safed and Bethel coteries, see Frumkin (note 44 above) II, pp. 135–6, and Dov Katz, *The Musar Movement* (trans. Leonard Oschry) I, Tel Aviv: Orly Press, 1973, Chapter 3.
48 See, for example, Y. Horowitz, *The Two Tablets of Law* [1649] I, Jerusalem 1963, p. 11a, column 1 (Hebrew). This phrase employs terms of the thirteen hermeneutical logical principles for interpreting the Torah. These principles are reviewed in L. Jacobs, ' Hermeneutics,' *Encyclopedia Judaica* VIII, Jerusalem 1971, p. 370.

49 For the relationship between a value-orientation pattern and an ethos, see Parsons and Shils (note 12 above), pp. 176 ff. For the relationship between a world view and an ethos, see Clifford Geertz, 'Ethos, world view, and the analysis of sacred symbols,' in his *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 1973, pp. 87–125.
50 See pages 11, 13.
51 J.B. Soloveitchik, *Halakhic Man*, (trans. Lawrence Kaplan), Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1983. Page references on pages 25–6 are to this work. For a comprehensive discussion of *Halakhic Man* see L. Kaplan, 'The religious philosophy of Rabbi J. B. Soloveitchik,' *Tradition* 14:2 (1973), pp. 43–64.
52 For this system of hermeneutics see the reference in note 48 above.
53 Cf. Stephen Kalberg, *Max Weber's Comparative Historical Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Presss, 1994, p. 81 ff.

2 Two stages in kibbutz evolution

1 Dov Lang, 'The earth of the Lord,' *Judaism* 5 (1956), p. 212.
2 For this concept within the context of kibbutz ideology, see Yonina Talmon, *Family and Community in the Kibbutz*, Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1972, p. 206.
3 For these concepts see especially Erik Cohen, 'The structural transformation of the kibbutz,' in George K. Zolschan and Walter Hirsch (eds.), *Social Change*, New York: J. Wiley, 1976, pp. 703–42.
4 I drew upon four principal sources in depicting the Bund stage and its transformation into the Commune stage: (1) *Our Community*, Haifa-Jeddah Road, 1922 (Hebrew), a collection of writings, mostly experiential, composed mainly by members of the first kibbutz of the HaShomer HaTza'ir youth movement while they were in their work camp. For an English rendition of some of these pieces, see M. Tzur, 'The intimate kibbutz,' in D. Leichman and I. Paz (eds.), *Kibbutz: An Alternative Life Style*, Ramat Efal: Yad Tsbenkin, 1994, pp. 13–17. In this English collection see also, 'Selections from *Our Community*,' pp. 35–43. (2) *The Kvutzah*, Tel Aviv: Histadrut Cultural Committee, 1924 (Hebrew), consisting of protocols of meetings of representatives of most of the kibbutzim that existed in 1923 that focus on the transition from the Bund to the Commune stage, and articles expanding upon the deliberations of these meeting. (3) Tzvi Schatz, *On the Boundary of Stillness* (ed. M. Poznansky), Tel Aviv: Davar, 1929 (Hebrew). (4) *The HaKibbutz HaMe'uhad Miscellany*, Tel Aviv: Kibbutz Me'uhad, 1932 (Hebrew). For the historical context of the development of the kibbutz movement in the 1920s, see Henry Near, *The Kibbutz Movement: A History* I, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, Chapter 2.
5 The ideological grounding for the Bund stage experience was expounded by the pioneer–philosopher Aaron David Gordon (1856–1922). For Gordon's system of thought, see Herbert H. Rose, *The Life and Thought of A.D. Gordon*, New York: Bloch, 1964. But Martin Buber's 'I–thou' dialogue also legitimated the Bund experience. For the influence of Buber on the kibbutz movement in the early 1920s, see M. Rosner, 'The philosophy of Martin Buber and the social structure of the kibbutz,' *Shdemot* 18 (1982), pp. 34–43 (Hebrew).
6 Hermann Schmalenbach, 'Communion: A sociological category,' in Guenther Lueschen and Gregory P. Stone (eds.), *Schmalenbach on Society and Experience*, Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1977.
7 Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Chicago: Aldine Press, 1969, Chapter 3.
8 Ibid., p. 138.

9 Aryei Fishman, *Judaism and Modernization on the Religious Kibbutz*, Cambridge, U.K., 1992, pp. 18–19.
10 In the Balfour Declaration of November 1917, the British government pledged itself to facilitate the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine. The San Remo Conference of the Entente Powers, in April 1920, assigned the Mandate for Palestine to Great Britain, and included the Balfour Declaration in the terms of the Mandate.
11 The archetypical kibbutz, Deganiah, was founded in 1910. By 1919 – the year when postwar immigration began – fourteen communal groups had been formed, most of which proved to be unviable. (Cf. note 59 below.) For the beginnings of the kibbutz movement, see Near (note 4 above), Chapter 1.
12 The thirty-two communal groups that existed in 1924, as listed in *The Kvutzah*, had a population of nearly 1,600 men, women, and children. About 40 percent of the adults were women. See *The Kvutzah* (note 4 above), p. 155.
13 *Our Community* (note 4 above), p. 169.
14 Ibid., p. 170.
15 Ibid., p. 73.
16 The narrator of notes 13 and 14 above explains the temporary focus on personal regeneration: 'We did not forget the great future of building the national community and the Land, in general, but this was beyond our immediate strength and endeavor. [Meanwhile], we could not forgo the demands of our psyches and [had to] follow the inner voice … . Our soul seeks a home … firstly in its very self, and then in the circle of those possessing a common idea; and only after that can it go out to the world at large and totally devote itself to it.' Ibid., p. 170.
17 *Our Community* (note 4 above), pp. 20, 22, 64. For the communal 'soul talks' within the pioneering groups in the early 1920s, with special emphasis on the *Our Community* group, see Tamar Katriel, 'The dialogic community: "Soul talks" among early Israeli pioneering groups,' in T. Liebes and J. Curran (eds.), *Media, Ritual, and Identity*, London: Routledge, 1998, pp. 114–35.
18 The first quotation is from *Our Community* (note 4 above), p. 159; the second is Clifton Fadiman's translation of the term *Ur-Einenin* in Nietsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*. In this work Nietsche portrays the 'Dionysian' type of personality, whose mentality in many respects constitutes a prototype of the mentality of the kibbutz Bund personality type. See John Passmore, 'Paradise now: The logic of the new mysticism,' *Encounter* 35(5) (1970), p. 8.
19 For the last two quotations, see *Our Community* (note 4), pp. 67, 68.
20 Danièle Hervieu-Léger designates such a group as an 'elective fraternity.' See her *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, (trans. by Simon Lee), Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press., 2000, pp. 149–50.
21 *Our Community*, pp. 21, 22, 54; Schatz (note 4 above), p. 93. Other expressions that denote the collective psyche in *Our Community* are 'the public soul of the kibbutz' (p. 172), and 'the kibbutz heart' (p. 176).
22 Ibid., p. 60.
23 In Yehudah Erez (ed.), *The Third Aliyah Book* I, Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1964, p. 434 (Hebrew).
24 Schatz (note 4 above), pp. 94, 96; *Our Community* (note 4 above), pp. 73, 110.
25 The last three quotations are from *The Kvutzah* (note 4 above), pp. 28 and 71, and *Our Community*, p. 95.
26 *The Kvutzah*, p. 17.
27 See George C. Homans and Charles P. Carter Jr., *An Introduction to Pareto*, New York: A.A. Knopf, 1934, pp. 119–21.
28 See Stanley Maron, 'Mystical elements in the kibbutz,' *The Jewish Spectator* 61, Spring 1997, pp. 21–6.
29 *Our Community*, p. 140.

30 The last two quotations are from *The Kvutzah*, pp. 83, 21.
31 These value orientations were discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 15–17, 19.
32 *Our Community*, p. 26.
33 See the 'immanent achievement' value-orientation pattern in T. Parsons and E. Shils, *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. 263–8.
34 See p. 4 in the Introduction.
35 For modern society's emphasis on the 'motoric' aspects of the personality, as against the private core self, see Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts*, New York: Harper, 1948, p. 25.
36 See note 7 above.
37 For the transition from the Bund to the Commune stage in the development of the kibbutz, see also Fishman (note 9 above), pp. 88–91.
38 Shlomo Reichenstein, *In the Beginning*, Ein Harod, 1943, p. 287 (Hebrew).
39 *The Kvutzah* (note 4), p. 100.
40 E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (trans. by G. Simpson), New York: Free Press, 1964.
41 For Durkheim's evaluation of organic solidarity within the framework of a socialist society, see Raymond Aron, *Main Currents in Sociological Thought* (trans.by R. Howard and H. Weaver) II, London: Pelican Books 1970, pp. 79–91.
42 For a recent study of the individual–community relationship in Durkheim's thought, see Donald A. Nielson, *Three Faces of God*, Albany: State University of New York, 1999.
43 For the terms 'immanence' and 'transcendence' as applied to the community–individual relationship, see E. Tiryakian, *Sociologism and Existentialism*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1962, p. 64.
44 *The Kvutzah* (note 4 above), p. 101.
45 Ibid.
46 Adduced by Henry Near in 'Utopian and post-utopian thought: The kibbutz model,' *Communal Societies* 5 (1985), p. 50.
47 D. Maltz, *Circles*, Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1945, pp. 140–1 (Hebrew).
48 A. Tarshish, *HaKibbutz HaMe'uhad Miscellany* (note 4 above), p. 185.
49 Efrayim Reiner in M. Bassok (ed.), *The Book of the Pioneer*, Jerusalem: Jewish Agency, 1940, p. 68 (Hebrew).
50 Cf. August Babel, 'Socialism is science as applied to all spheres of human activity.' Adduced by Henri de Man, *Psychology of Socialism* (trans. E. and C. Paul), New York: Henry Holt, 1927, p. 177. For references to 'scientific socialism' in the kibbutz movement, see Yosef Shatil, *The Economy of Communal Settlement in Israel, Principles and History*, Merhaviah 1955, p. 14 (Hebrew); Henry Near, *The Kibbutz and the Society* 1923–1933, Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1984, pp, 395–7 (Hebrew).
51 *HaShomer HaTza'ir* (Warsaw) 10–12 (December 1938), p. 6. And in 1952 Hazan portrayed the transition from the Bund to the Commune stage in terms of 'transition from the 'utopian' to the 'scientific' period.' In Tzvi Raanan (ed.), *The Kibbutz Movement*, Tel Aviv: HaKibbutz HaArtzi, 1955, p. 398 (Hebrew).
52 Adduced in Raanan, ibid., p. 5.
53 By 1929 three ideological federations had formed within the kibbutz movement: HaKibbutz HaMe'uhad (The United Kibbutz Movement), HaKibbutz HaArtzi (The Countrywide Kibbutz Movement of HaShomer HaTza'ir [The Young Guard] youth movement), and Hever HaKvutzot (The Association of Small Kibbutzim). The members of the first two federations conceived their socialist identity in Marxist terms. While HaKibbutz HaMe'uhad championed a 'large' kibbutz, the more selective HaKibbutz HaArtzi favored an 'organic' kibbutz

that would grow gradually by absorbing new age groups. Hever HaKvutzot, which favored the familylike kibbutz, defined its socialism in the interpersonal ethical terms of A.D. Gordon.

54 Kaddish Luz in *On the Social Image of the Hebrew Village in the Land of Israel*, Jerusalem 1946, p. 76; see also p. 146 (Hebrew).
55 *HaKibbutz HaMe'uhad Miscellany* (note 4 above), p. 202.
56 See Yonina Talmon, 'Secular asceticism and ideological change,' in her *Family and Community in the Kibbutz*, (note 2 above) pp. 207–13.
57 *The Kvutzah* (note 4 above), pp. 26, 57, 83–4, 26. A period novel captures the tension precipitated by the two conflicting mind-sets through a poignant example. When the kibbutzim began to build up dairy herds in the 1920s, their dairymen bred the local 'Arab' cows with holstein bulls to enhance the herds. But holstein-sired calves were too big for the cows to bear. The normal practice, therefore, was to slaughter the cow before parturition and remove the calf. The novel thus evokes the grappling between the dispositions to harmonize with and to master nature. Yehudah Yaari, *As a Glowing Light*, Jerusalem: Ogdan, 1989, pp. 155–6 (Hebrew).
58 *The Kvutzah*, pp. 25, 23, 83–4, 55–6.
59 It is noteworthy that only five of the forty communal groups that existed in 1920 survived the decade. See Shatil (note 50 above), p. 65.
60 As told to Henrik Infield. See his *Cooperative Life in Palestine*, London: Kegan Paul, 1946, p. 19.
61 For the 'collective soul of the workers' that is created on holidays, see *HaKibbutz HaMe'uhad Miscellany* (note 4 above), p. 215.
62 See Chapter 1, p. 10.

3 The positivist temper of Torah-im-Derekh Eretz

1 W. Tatarkiewicz, *Nineteenth Century Philosophy* (trans. C.A. Kisiel), Belmont, Ca: Wadsworth, 1971, p. 8.
2 M. Hess, *Juedische Schriften* (ed. T. Zlocisti), Berlin: L. Lamm, 1905, p. 112.
3 Aryei Fishman, *Judaism and Modernization on the Religious Kibbutz*, Cambridge, U.K., 1992, pp. 33–34.
4 See Noah Rosenbloom, *Tradition in an Age of Reform: The Religious Philosophy of Samson Raphael Hirsch*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1976.
5 See Alan L. Mittleman, *Between Kant and Kabbalah*, Albany: State University of New York, 1990.
6 Aron Barth (1890–1957), a leading Israeli banker, was the grandson of Rabbi Esriel Hildesheimer (1820–99), the founder and first head of the Orthodox rabbinical seminary in Berlin. Barth relates that his major work, *Our Generation Faces Eternal Problems* (trans. H. Schachter, Jerusalem: Zionist Organization, 1956) was indirectly influenced by his grandfather's teachings (see the Preface to this work).
7 Hirsch, *[Commentary to] The Pentateuch* (trans. I. Levy), New York: Judaica Press, 1971, I, 1:26 (pp. 30–32) and 2:2 (p. 44).
8 For a fuller exposition of Hirsch's dynamic world view, see Fishman (note 3 above), pp. 34–5, 40. Barth refers to the following views of Hirsch in his *Our Generation* (note 6 above): man's free will as a corollary of his creation in God's image (p. 50); man as God's partner in Creation (Chapter 5); the concept of 'dynamic creation' (pp. 66–7); knowledge of scientific law as a means to know God (pp. 39–41, 200 ff.); the role of science and technology for achieving the messianic era (p. 203).
9 See Fishman (note 3 above), pp. 40–1.
10 Isaac Breuer, 'Hundert Jahre "19 Briefe",' *Nachlat Z'wi* 6 (1935–1936), p. 122.

11 S.R. Hirsch, *Neunzehn Briefe ueber Judentum* (published 1836; edition referred to here, Frankfurt a/M 1889 [henceforth Hirsch, *Neunzehn*]) p. 79.
12 For these hermeneutical rules see L. Jacobs, 'Hermeneutics,' *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem: Keter, 8:366–72.
13 Hirsch, *Neunzehn* (note 11 above), pp. 104–5, note. The translation is from I. Grunfeld, 'Introduction,' to S.R. Hirsch, *Horeb*, New York: Soncino Press, 1981, pp. lxx–lxxi.
14 Hirsch, *Commentary* (note 7 above), I, 9:27 (p. 194).
15 Ibid. (p. 195).
16 Hirsch, *Neunzehn* (note 11 above), p. 79.
17 Hirsch, *Commentary* (note 7 above), III, 18:4 (p. 479).
18 I. Breuer, *Moriah*, Jerusalem 1945, pp. 167–8 (Hebrew).
19 Hirsch, *Commentary* (note 7 above) I, 1:27 (p. 32). The translation of this passage has been slightly reworded.
20 Ibid., V, 4:35 (p. 71). See also I. Breuer, *Concepts of Judaism* (ed. J. Levinger), Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press 1973, p. 43, and Barth, *Our Generation* (note 6 above), pp. 143 ff. The 'historical' evidence for Sinaitic revelation was first expounded by the twelfth-century Jewish philosopher and poet Judah HaLevy. See his *Kuzari* (trans. H. Hirschfeld), New York: Schocken, p. 62.
21 Hirsch, *Neunzehn* (note 11 above), pp. 77–8, note 2. For Judaism's downplaying of the concept of the world to come, see Barth, *Our Generation* (note 6 above), Chapter 23.
22 Hirsch in *Jeschurun* 14 (1868), p. 245. Adduced by Mordechai Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition* (trans. E. Petuchowski), New York: Columbia University Press, 1992, p. 63. Hirsch elaborated upon the notion of rationalizing life for the purpose of divine worship in *Neunzehn Briefe* (note 11 above), letters 4–7.
23 A. Barth, *The Mitzvot: Their Aim and Purpose* (trans. Nahum N. Sarna), Jerusalem: Zionist Organization 1949, pp. 17, 60. See also his *Our Generation* (note 6 above) p. 208. And I. Breuer, *Concepts* (note 20 above) states: 'While for the nation an end in itself, the divine law is for the Jewish individual means to his education' (p. 35).
24 The two quotations are from I. Breuer, *Concepts* (note 20 above), pp. 41, 71.
25 S.R. Hirsch, *Judaism Eternal* (ed. I. Grunfeld), London: Soncino, 1956, II, pp. 98, 103. There seems to be no explicit reference in Torah-im-Derekh Eretz literature to the Halakhic community as the social vehicle of realizing *tikkun olam*. However, this concept underlies the basic premise of realizing the Kingdom of God on earth.
26 Hirsch, *Commentary* (note 7 above) II, 19:6 (p. 251). The theme of the specific Jewish obligation to constitute a 'kingdom of priests' through the observance of the mitzvot is a recurrent theme in Barth's *Our Generation* (note 6 above); see, for example, pp. 82, 222, 223–34.
27 See Fishman (note 3 above), p. 42.
28 I. Breuer, *Concepts* (note 20 above), pp. 17, 41–2.
29 Hirsch, *Judaism Eternal* (note 25 above), I, p. 42.
30 B. Kurzweil, *In the Struggle for the Values of Judaism*, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1970, p. 279 (Hebrew).
31 Ibid., pp. 281–3; M. Breuer, *Modernity* (note 22 above), p. 401.
32 Hirsch, *Commentary to Psalms* (trans. G. Hirschler), New York: Feldheim, 1964–66, II, 119:98.
33 M. Buber, 'Moses Hess,' *Journal of Jewish Studies* 7 (1945), p. 145.
34 See A. Fishman, 'Moses Hess on Judaism and its aptness for a Socialist civilization,' *Journal of Religion* 65:2 (April 1983), pp. 143–58.
35 Hirsch, *Judaism Eternal* (note 25 above) I, p. 41.
36 See M. Breuer, *Modernity* (note 22 above), p. 60.

37 See, for example, M. Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, Leipzig: E. Wengler, 1862, pp. 68–70.
38 See Rivka Horwitz, 'Samson Raphael Hirsch's attitude toward the Land of Israel,' in A. Ravitzky (ed.), *The Land of Israel in Modern Jewish Thought*, Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1998, pp. 447–65 (Hebrew).
39 It seems that Hess was so far removed from Hirsch that in the few times that he acknowledged him in his writings, he misrepresents Hirsch's views. Thus Hess derogatorily refers to Hirsch as a 'supernaturalist' (*Rom und Jerusalem*, eighth letter), and classifies him as one who sees salvation only in Judaism (ninth letter). Hirsch, on the other hand, does not mention Hess in his writings.

4 The Hasidic ethos of HaPo'el HaMizrahi

1 For the world view and ethos of Hasidism see Martin Buber, *Hasidism and Modern Man*, New York: Horizon Press, 1958; *The Origin and Meaning of Hasidism*, New York: Horizon Press, 1960. (Both were translated by Maurice Friedman.) See also Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, New York 1961, Chapter 9.
2 Buber, *Origin* (note 1 above), p. 252.
3 Scholem (note 1 above), p. 274.
4 There is strong evidence to suggest that Hasidism played a significant, although indirect, role in the formation of the secular kibbutz. This subject, however, is beyond the scope of this study.
5 Buber, *Hasidism* (note 1 above), p. 256. See also pp. 40 ff.
6 This discussion of the founding of HaPo'el HaMizrahi draws on Aryei Fishman, *Judaism and Modernization on the Religious Kibbutz*, Cambridge, U.K., 1992, pp. 56–7.
7 For the first quotation, see N. Aminoah in *HaPo'el HaMizrahi*, Av 5684 (1924), p. 6. For the seond, see the editorial of *HaKedem* (Warsaw), 1 Adar 5682 (1922), p. 6. *HaPo'el HaMizrahi* was the religious labor organization's monthly, 1923–1925. *HaKedem* was the periodical of Tzeirei Mizrahi (Young Mizrahi) in Poland.
8 The secondary role of women within HaPo'el HaMizrahi in the 1920s is reflected in the composition of the agricultural training groups that the organization sponsored in this decade. Of thirty-six such groups, only ten had women members; but one of these groups was composed entirely of women. See H. Peles, 'The agricultural training groups of HaPo'el HaMizrahi in the Land of Israel 1922–1928,' in Y. Refael (ed.), *Shragai: A Journal for the Study of Religious Zionism*, Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kuk, 1985, pp. 203–205 (Hebrew).
9 I shall give brief biographical sketches of most of the people quoted in this chapter, emphasizing their relevant religious backgrounds. The material available on these persons is at times skimpy, and in a few cases nonexistent. I am grateful to the Department of Oral History of the Institute for Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem for permission to draw upon their files. I am also grateful to Ezra Mendelsohn for the spelling of the places mentioned in the sketches.
10 *HaPo'el HaMizrahi*, 3 Av 5683 (1923), p. 3.
11 Y. Bernstein in *HaPo'el HaMizrahi*, Av 5684 (1924), p. 21. Yeshayahu Bernstein (1902–1988) was born and raised in Kamanets Podolski, in the Ukraine, where he studied in the local Hasidic-Musar *yeshivah*. He immigrated to Palestine in 1922. Bernstein and S. Z. Shragai (see note 13 below) were to become the leading ideologues of HaPo'el HaMizrahi in its first two decades.
12 For these quotations, see Bernstein in *HaOhelah 5* (c.1926), p. 9, and S.Z. Shragai in *Netivah* 5688 (1928), p. 254.
13 For such references, see Bernstein in *Netivah*, 12 Nisan 5694 (1934). p. 2; Shragai in *Netivah*, Tammuz 5704 (1944), p. 2. Shlomo Zalman Shragai

(1899–1995) was born in Gorzkowice, Poland, to a family that belonged to the Radzin-Izvitsa branch of Hasidism. He migrated to Palestine in 1924. *Netivah* (1926–53) was published in Jerusalem by the World Torah and Labor Movement, an umbrella movement of the Religious Zionist youth organizations.

14 Bernstein, *HaOhelah 5* (c. 1926), p. 8. Reprinted in N. Aminoah and Y. Bernstein (eds.), *A Compilation*, Jerusalem: Torah vaAvodah, 1931, p. 11 (Hebrew). Most of the articles of this collection had appeared in periodicals of HaPo'el HaMizrahi in the 1920s. *HaOhelah* was the organ of the 'left wing' of HaPo'el HaMizrahi. (For this faction see p. 57 below.) For the theme of 'redemption of evil' in Hasidism, see Buber, *Origin* (note 1 above), pp. 80–3.

15 M. Rosenbloom (Shoshan), *Hed HaNetivah*, 15 Elul, 5686 (1926), p. 15. Moshe Rosenbloom was born in Lodz, Poland to a family that belonged to the Ger branch of Hasidism. He immigrated to Palestine in 1922. For the concept of human partnership with God in an ever renewing creation, see Buber, *Origin* (note 1 above), pp. 105 ff.

16 G. Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism*, New York: Schocken Books, 1971, pp. 239–48.

17 Shragai (note 12 above).

18 The first quotation in this paragraph is from A.N. Cohen, *Netivah* 5686 (1926), p. 11; the second is from Bernstein, *Netivah* 5690 (1930), p. 180.

19 Rosenbloom (Shoshan) (note 15 above). For the kabbalistic terms that are employed in the last sentence, see Buber, *Origin* (note 1 above), p. 93.

20 Shragai (note 12 above), p. 259.

21 Y. Gur-Aryei (Arigur), *Netivah* 5687 (1927), p. 257. Yitzhak Arigur (1902–1979) was born in Wloclawek, Poland. He immigrated to Palestine in 1921. On the affective social ethic of HaPo'el HaMizrahi, see also A.Y. Yekutieli in *Netivah* 5687 (1927), p. 357: 'Love thy neighbor' is the epitome of the Jewish social doctrine.' Avraham Yitzhak Yekutieli (1874–1944) was born in Kelme, Lithuania, and educated in the local Musar yeshivah. He immigrated to Palestine in 1914.

22 Bernstein, *HaPo'el HaMizrahi*, Tishrei-Heshvan 5685 (1924), p. 21. Reprinted in *A Compilation* (note 14 above), p. 123.

23 N. Aminoah, *HaOhelah* 4, Tevet 5686 (1926), p. 4. Reprinted in *A Compilation* (note 14 above), p. 23. Nehemiah Aminoah (1896–1966) was born in Zhetl, Belorussia. He studied at the local Novaredok *yeshivah*. Immigrating to Palestine in 1920, he was to beome a leading ideologue of HaPo'el HaMizrahi in its first decade.

24 Gur-Aryei (Arigur), *Netivah* 5687 (1927), p. 257.

25 See Dov Katz, *The Musar Movement*, (trans. L. Oschry), Tel Aviv: Orly Press, 1975.

26 David E. Fishman, 'Musar and modernity: The case of Novaredok,' *Modern Judaism* 8 (1), February 1988, pp. 47, 51.

27 S. Berahuni, *Netivah* 5687 (1927), p. 180. Shlomo Berahuni was born in the Hasidic town of Dzialoszyce in western Poland. He immigrated to Palestine in 1922.

28 D. Goldberg, *Netivah* 5686 (1926), p. 99.

29 Shragai, in *A Compilation* (note 14 above), p. 36.

30 Aminoah, *HaPo'el HaMizrahi*, Sivan-Tammuz 5684 (1924), p. 11. Also in *A Compilation* (note 14 above), p. 22.

31 D. Goldberg, *HaPo'el HaMizrahi*, Tishrei-Heshvan 5685 (1924), p. 18. In the original Hebrew version, the words 'primum mobile' appear in Latin. For the theme of loving one's enemy in Hasidism, cf. Buber, *Hasidism* (note 1 above), pp. 242 ff.

32 Berahuni, *HaPo'el HaMizrahi*, Iyar 5684 (1924), p. 4.

33 A. Kestenbaum in Y. Avneri (ed.), *The Seventh National Conference of HaPo'el HaMizrahi (1935)*, Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1988, p. 163 (Hebrew). Avraham Kestenbaum (1896–1956) was born in the Hasidic town of Drohobycz in eastern Galicia.
34 Y. Ben-Eliyahu (Bernstein), 'A cluster of letters concerning Kvutzat HaNatziv,' *Netivah*, Nisan 5695 (1935), p. 8. Bernstein was a member of Kvutzat HaNatziv; he wrote these letters in 1925.
35 Aminoah, *Netivah* 5688 (1928), p. 93. Reprinted in *A Compilation* (note 14 above), p. 105.
36 Natziv is an acronym for Naftali Zvi Yehudah Berlin, a leading nineteenth-century rabbinical figure, who supported the Jewish national movement.
37 Bernstein, *HaPo'el HaMizrahi*, Tishrei-Heshvan 5685 (1924), pp. 21–2. Reprinted in *A Compilation*, (note 14 above), pp. 123–4.
38 *HaOhelah* 2–3 (c. 1925), p. 44.
39 For these developments see A. Fishman, 'Introduction,' *HaPo'el Hamizrahi 1921–1935 (Documents)* Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1979, pp. 15–16 (Hebrew).
40 Bernstein, *Netivah*, 5687 (1927), p. 23.
41 Geshuri, *Netivah*, Heshvan 5692 (1931) p. 90. Me'ir Shimon Geshuri (1897–1977) was born in Myslowice, western Poland. He immigrated to Palestine in 1921.
42 Leah Sapir, *Netivah*, 18 Elul 5691 (1931), p. 38. Leah Sapir (Tirosh) (1908–94), was born in Bialystok, Poland, and immigrated to Palestine in 1930.
43 See *Netivah* 5693 (1933), p. 343.
44 Y. Wolfsberg, 'On the consolidation of the ideology of HaPo'el HaMizrahi.' This article was published in eleven installments in *BaMishor*, starting from the issue of February 9, 1940. *BaMishor* was a national religious weekly that was sponsored by HaPo'el HaMizrahi.

5 The two strands of the religious kibbutz in formation

1 Tze'irei Mizrahi (Mizrahi Youth) was founded in Germany in 1927, and Brit HaNo'ar HaDati (Union of Religious Youth) a year later.
2 Brit Chalutzim Datiim (Union of Religious Pioneers) stemmed from an Orthodox *hakhsharah* (training farm), Betzenrode in the Hessen province, that was founded in 1924. Bachad took organizational shape at the end of 1928.
3 The Ezra youth movement (named after the biblical Ezra), founded in 1919, was associated with the S.R. Hirsch-influenced, politically inspired sector of German Jewish Orthodoxy. Its pro-Zionist wing broke off from the movement, and its members joined Bachad and Brit HaNo'ar HaDati in 1932. For the interrelationships among the German groups mentioned in this paragraph in the 1920s and early 1930s, see Y. Walk, 'The Torah vaAvodah movement in Germany,' *Leo Baeck Yearbook* 6 (1961), pp. 243–56.
4 HeHalutz HaMizrahi (the Mizrahi Pioneer) was founded in the mid-1920s; HaShomer HaDati (the Religious Guard) and Bnei Akivah (Sons of Akivah) were founded at the turn of that decade. The former embraced Congress Poland and Western Galicia; the latter Eastern Galicia.
5 Aryei Fishman, *Judaism and Modernization on the Religious Kibbutz*, Cambridge, U.K., 1992, pp. 70–1.
6 Ibid.
7 Rudi Herz, 'Tora wa'Awoda,' *Zion* 6 (Oktober–Dezember 1934), p. 77. For brief biographical sketches of Rudi Herz and other religious kibbutz figures mentioned in this chapter, see Fishman (note 5 above), pp. 161–3.
8 For this term, see Chapter 1, p. 13.

9 Fishman (note 5 above), pp. 72–3.
10 Adduced by Eugen Michaelis in '10 Jahre Tora w'Awoda in Deutschland,' *Chajenu* 23 (January 1938), pp. 7–8.
11 See Chapter 4, p. 53 and note 30 below. Members of Ezra who were to become leaders of Brit HaNo'ar HaDati groups studied Musar under the influence of 'Lithuanian' rabbis in the Orthodox rabbinical seminary in Berlin. See P. Rosenblueth, 'Aryei (Lutz) Feilchenfeld,' in M. Bassok (ed.), *The Pioneer Book*, Jerusalem: The Jewish Agency. 1940, pp. 560–1 (Hebrew); H. Abt, 'Juedische Jugendbewegung,' *Nachalat Z'wi*, September 1933, p. 380.
12 E. Ya'ir, '42 Grenadier Street in Berlin,' *BaMishor*, November 11, 1944, p. 11 (Hebrew).
13 M. Unna, *Archetype: Religious Zionism's Training Project in Germany in its Initial Steps*, Alon Shvut: Yad Shapiro, 1989, p. 39 (Hebrew).
14 Werner Baum, 'Und wie ein Chaver der Hachshara erlebt,' *Chajenu*, December 1935 (no pagination).
15 For discussions on the influence of Buber and Rosenzweig on this youth, see the articles of Pinhas Rosenblueth in *HaTzofeh*, 25 Shvat 5723 (1963), p. 4, and *Amudim* 251 (Shvat 5727 [1967]), p. 122.
16 Herz (note 7 above), p. 79.
17 Ismar Jermias, 'Der Bund als Erziehunggemeinschaft,' *Darkeinu*, Tewet 5694 (1934), p. 6.
18 Pinhas Rosenblueth orally informed me that 'Gemeinschaft or *Klarheit* [clarity]?', constituted a central theme of discussion in the Ezra youth movement in the 1920s.
19 Erich [Pinhas] Rosenblueth, 'Um der Sinn unseres religioesen Zionismus,' *Darkeinu*, Maerz 1934, p. 8
20 M. Perlmann, 'Gemeinschaft,' *Chajenu*, April 1936 (no pagination).
21 Adduced by Michaelis (note 10 above), p. 9.
22 Ibid., p. 6.
23 As reported in *Netivah*, Adar 5788 (1928), p. 159.
24 Fishman (note 5 above), pp. 74–5.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., p. 76.
27 See M. Unna, 'Die juedische Form des religioesen Sozialismus,' Zion 6, Oktober–Dezember 1934, pp. 4–7.
28 Fishman (note 5 above), pp. 76–7.
29 Youth Aliyah was a Zionist rescue movement for Jewish young people of Central Europe, many of whom trained in kibbutzim for settlement on the land.
30 For doubts within the religious pioneering movement in Poland regarding the religious legitimacy of the kibbutz, see, for example, B. Gottesdiener, 'Saving the nation or repairing society?,' *Ohaleinu*, Tishrei 5696 (1935), p. 12.
31 David E. Fishman, 'Musar and modernity: the case of Novaredok,' *Modern Judaism* 8 (1), February 1988, pp. 41–64.
32 Aharon, *Orhot* (Pathways) (ed. Moshe Krone), Warsaw 1938, p. 53 (Hebrew). *Orhot* consists of articles that were originally published in periodicals of the religious pioneering movement in Poland.
33 This expression that appears in *Orhot*, p. 126, is rare in this youth's literature. However, as in the case of HaPo'el HaMizrahi (see Chapter 4, p. 51), this concept seems to underlie the dominant perception of reality within the religious pioneering movement in Poland.
34 *Orhot*, pp. 117, 17, 49.
35 Ibid., p. 119. *The Track of the Righteous* was composed by Moshe Hayyim Luzzato (also known by the acronym Ramhal) (1707–1747). *The Duties of the Heart* was composed by 11th century Bahya Ibn Paquda.

36 Moshe Hayyim, *BeMahaneinu* (Kvutzat Avraham), Sivan 5701 (1941), p. 3.
37 *Orhot*, p. 108.
38 The last point is made in a critical article, signed 'Rahel,' that upbraids the unrealistic educational policy of the religious pioneering movement in Poland. See *Orhot*, pp. 132–4.
39 Ibid., p. 155.
40 Ibid., p. 138. For this expression see p. 23 above.
41 Efrati, 'The principal points of our kibbutz view,' *Ohaleinu*, Tevet-Shvat 5736 (1936), p. 13.
42 Yehudah Yefet (pseudonym for David Shapira), 'Collectivism in the Hebrew sources,' *Ohaleinu*, Sivan 5735 (1935), p. 7.
43 Ibid., Marheshvan 5736 (1935), pp. 5–6; Kislev 5736 (1935), p. 7.
44 'Our practice of negating the individual and his spiritual possessions is basically flawed. If public will does not base itself on individual independent thought, it can turn into a pervertive and destructive force,' says Hanokh Chmelnik [Ahiman], a leader of HaShomer HaDati and later a member of Kibbutz Kfar Etzion in *Niv HaHever shel Kibbutzei HaAliyah*, Warsaw: HaShomer HaDati, 1938, p. 18.
45 The last two quotations are from the critique cited in note 38 above.
46 Shalom Treller [Karniel] in *Niv HaHever* (note 44 above), p. 22.
47 Ben-Barukh, *Ohaleinu*, Adar 5699 (1939), p. 7.
48 The major description of life in Slavkov is in Shalom Karniel, 'Slavkov,' *Alonim*, Kislev 5703 (1942), pp. 11–14. See also Neryah, 'Impressions of Slavkov,' in *Ohaleinu*, Adar 5699 (1939), p. 15. For a latter-day overview of Slavkov, see N. Ben-Ari and Y. Ben-Yaakov, 'The Ovadiah Kibbutz in Slavkov,' *Amudim* 631 (Iyar-Sivan 5759 [1999]), pp. 39–46.
49 Neriyah (note 48 above).
50 See Eliash, *Zra'im*, Sivan 5707 (1947), pp. 3–4.
51 Yitzhak Werfel [Refael], *Ohaleinu*, Sivan 5695 (1935), p. 130.
52 This section draws on Fishman (note 5 above), pp. 79–80. For a comprehensive history of the RKF until 1948, see Yossi Katz, *The Religious Kibbutz Movement in the Land of Israel 1930–1948*, Jerusalem and Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1999.
53 For a chronological profile of all RKF settlements, see Fishman (note 5 above), p. 160.

6 The psychic collective of the religious kibbutz

1 Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (trans. by J.W. Swain), New York: Free Press, 1961.
2 Georg Simmel, *Essays on Religion* (ed. and trans. by H.J. Helle and L. Nieder), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
3 So as to present a valid uniform ideal type of the psychic collective for the German and the East European elements of the RKF alike, our discussion will discard the Hasidic world view as the cosmological setting for this collective.
4 See Chapter 2, p. 29.
5 A. Shapiro, *Ohaleinu*, Tishrei 5695 (1934), p. 5.
6 From a letter of Me'ir Orlian (Or), an emissary of the Religious Kibbutz Federation to Poland, dated 19 Tammuz 5696 (1936). It is located in the archives of Kibbutz Tirat Tzvi.
7 From a letter of Me'ir Orlian (see note 6 above), dated 22 Menahem Av 5696 (1936).
8 See Netanel Katzberg, 'The religious youth movement,' in Y.L. Fishman (ed.), *The Book of Mizrahi*, Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kuk, 5706 (1946), p. 225 (Hebrew).

9 Naftali Bar-Giorah, *Sdei Eliyahu*, Jerusalem: Zionist Organization, 1956, p. 67 (Hebrew). Bar-Giorah (1920–2000) was a member of Kibbutz Sdei Eliyahu from its inception as a Youth Aliyah group. (See Chapter 5, p. 71.) His book covers the life of his kibbutz from its very beginnings to the late 1940s.
10 Ben Zion, *Orhot* (ed. Moshe Krone), Warsaw 1938, p. 123 (Hebrew). For the concept 'elective fraternity,' see Chapter 2, note 20.
11 Ibid., p. 122.
12 Hence the sharp reaction when a member decided to leave the group: 'Another member is leaving – a 'traitor.' Whom is he betraying? Is it the group, the idea, or himself? … You were flesh of our flesh, an inseparable part of our body.' Ze'ev A., *Alim* (Alumim), Heshvan 5701 (1940), pp.4–5. (Alumim was the formative group of Kibbutz Saad; see Chapter 5, p. 69).
13 Rudi Herz, 'Tora wa'Awoda,' *Zion*, Oktober–Dezember 1934, p. 79.
14 See Aryei Fishman, *Judaism and Modernization on the Religious Kibbutz*, Cambridge U.K., 1992, p. 82.
15 Naftali Berg [Bar-Giorah], *Kvutzat Aryei Weekly*, 15 Tevet 5699 (1939), p. 4. (Kvutzat Aryei constituted the formative group of Kibbutz Sdei Eliyahu.)
16 Efrayim Ya'ir, *BaTirah* (Tirat Tzvi), 14 Menahem Av 5699 (1939), p. 2.
17 Erich (Pinhas) Rosenblueth, in G. Hanokh (ed.), *In the Paths of Youth*, Jerusalem: Zionist Organization, 5798 (1938), p. 70 (Hebrew).
18 *Alonim* 30 (9 Shvat 5707 [1947]), p. 9.
19 This draws on Fishman (note 14 above), p. 83.
20 H. Heinemann, *Torah and the Social Order*, London [1941?], p. 6. Rabbi Hans (Yosef) Heinemann was an ideological leader of the English branch of Bachad. This branch was formed by German Bachad members who migrated to England toward the end of the 1930s.
21 Y. Lutvak, 'Supplement to the protocol of the first council meeting of the Religious Kibbutz Federation', 5696 (1936). Located in the RKF archives in Kibbutz Yavne.
22 Barukh, *Zra'im*, Sivan 5696 (1936), p. 4. For the role of love in inducing justice, see Charles Cooley, *Social Organization*, New Brunswick: Transaction, 1983, pp. 180–1.
23 Simmel, (note 2 above), p. 165. For the first quotation in this paragraph, see p. 156.
24 Ibid., pp. 108–20.
25 Heinemann (note 20 above). Cf. Simmel (note 2 above), p. 116.
26 Ibid., p, 167.
27 Ibid., pp. 177–8.
28 In his writings on religion, Simmel delineates fairly distinct and compact structural lines for building the empirical collective; see ibid., pp. 188–9. In contrast, the structural lines of the psychic collective are incoherent and diffuse; see ibid., pp. 189–91, 201. Simmels' grasp of the two types of collectives parallels the two types that are involved in Durkheim's analysis of mechanical and organic solidarity (see pp. 34–5).
29 Ibid., p. 167.
30 *Amudim* 153 (Purim, 5719 [1959], p. 2. See also the passage to which note 41 (below) refers.
31 Leah Sapir (Tirosh), *Chajenu* (Slavkov training farm), Iyar 5694 (1934), p. 7. Leah Sapir, whom we met in Chapter 4 (see Chapter 4, note 42), was an emissary of the World Torah and Labor movement to Poland at the time of writing.
32 *BaTirah* (Tirat Tzvi), Nisan 14, 5799 (1939), p. 1. This paragraph partly draws on Fishman (note 14 above), p. 83.
33 Y. Lutvak in Yossi Avneri (ed.), *The Seventh Convention of HaPo'el HaMizrahi in the Land of Israel 5695–1935*, Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1988, p. 119 (Hebrew).

34 Lutvak, ibid.
35 Yitzhak in *Yedi'ot HaKibbutz HaDati* 101, Tammuz 5714 (1954), p. 16. The author wrote this passage in the explicit spirit of Franz Rosenzweig.
36 M-h [Moshe Kroneh?], *Dappim* (Kibbutz Rodges), 10 Sivan 5698 (1938), p. 3.
37 Yitzhak Asher, *Yedi'ot Yavne*, November 2, 1949, p. 2.
38 See Fishman (note 14 above), p. 84.
39 Sha'ul R[az], 'To the kvutzah,' *Alonim* 32 (Sivan-Tammuz 5707 [1947]), p. 33.
40 D. Rappel, *Yedi'ot Yavne*, May 22, 1954, p. 9.
41 Natan Shnur, *Alonim* 36 (Tevet-Shvat 5709 [1949]), p. 23.
42 Efrayim G[ottlieb], *Massu'ot [Yitzhak]– Three Years Old*, 15 Shvat 5705 (1945), p. 2.
43 Simmel (note 2 above), p. 195.
44 Binyamin, *Chajenu* (Slavkov training farm), Iyar 5634 (1934), p. 13.
45 Durkheim (note 1 above), pp. 427 ff.
46 Simmel (note 2 above), p. 104. In Simmel's words: 'Human contact, in the purely psychological aspect of its interaction, develops that definite tone, which when heightened to an independendent substance, is known as religion.'
47 Ben-Barukh in *Orhot* (note 10 above), p. 118.
48 Tzvi K., *Alim* (note 12 above), Marheshvan 5708 (1947), p. 8.
49 Bar-Giorah (note 9 above), pp. 66–7.
50 Sh. Karniel, *Alonim* 34 (Tishrei-Heshvan 5708 [1947]), p. 3.
51 M. Haas, *Alonim*, Heshvan 5702 (1941), p. 13. See also E. Ya'ir in *Amudim* 176 (Shvat 5721 [1961]), p. 3, and *Amudim* 187 (Tevet 5722 [1961]), p. 67.
52 See Mikhael Perlman, 'The synagogue and prayer service,' in A. Fishman (ed.), *The Religious Kibbutz Movement*, Jerusalem: Zionist Organization, 1957, p. 58.
53 H. Cox, 'Meditation and the Sabbath,' in his *Turning East*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977, pp. 63–73.
54 R. Herz, *Zion*, Juni, 1934, p. 54.
55 Else Rokah, *Kvutzateinu* (Kibbutz Rodges), 11 Tevet 5697 (1937), p. 5. For a description of a Sabbath on a religious kibbutz, see L. Shulewitz, 'Sabbath at Kvutzat Yavna' (sic), *Jewish Spectator*, June 1948, pp. 15–16.
56 For this expression, see Michael Carrithers, S. Collins, and S. Lukes (eds.), *The Category of the Person*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 36.
57 See Perlman (note 52 above), p. 59.
58 Rokah (note 55 above).
59 Dov Lang, 'This 'earth of the Lord': Notes on the religious kibbutz,' *Judaism* 5 (1956), p. 213.
60 Efrayim A[dler] [Ya'ir], *BaTirah* (Tirat Tzvi), 2 Tammuz 5698 (1938), p. 7.
61 From a letter in my possession that was written by Menahem Bar-Daromah, of Kibbutz Yavne, in 1962. And in a leap to the present, another member of Kibbutz Yavne writes in his kibbutz bulletin in 1995: 'Public prayer, drawing on the 'music' that accompanies the printed text, creates a powerful spiritual energy that transcends the text. While it resorts to the public experience, public prayer intrinsically influences the public.' Alex Becker, *MiBayit*, (Kibbutz Yavne), 24 September 1995.
62 For references to such confluence, see Rokah (note 55 above); Efrayim A. (note 60 above); Sh. Bombach, *Juedische Rundschau*, 13 April 1934, p. 4.
63 Bombach, ibid.; Rappel, *Yediot HaKibbutz Hadati* 103 (Tishrei 5715) (1954), p. 4.
64 Nahum Levavi, 'The Soul of Massu'ot,' in a typewritten bulletin of his kibbutz, 1947. Reprinted with some modifications in *With a Whole Heart: Nahum Levavi of Blessed Memory*, Massu'ot Yitzhak 5722 (1972), pp. 98–9 (Hebrew).
65 *Alonim* 37 (Adar-Nisan 5709 [1949]), p. 2. For other expressions of the holiday tapping existential roots, see Fishman (note 14 above), pp. 83–4.

7 The psychic collective encounters Commune reality

1 Parts of this chapter are adapted from Aryei Fishman, 'Judaism and communal life in a functional-evolutionary perspective,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29:4 (October 1987), pp. 763–86.
2 Cf. Peter L. Berger, Brigitte Berger, and Hansfried Kellner, *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness*, New York: Vintage, 1973. This work explores the clash between pre-modern and modern fields of consciousness.
3 For the transition of the religious kibbutz from the Bund to the Commune stage, see also Aryei Fishman, *Judaism and Modernization on the Religious Kibbutz*, Cambridge, U.K., 1992, pp. 89–90.
4 See Chapter 5, p.71.
5 A. Nahlon, *Amudim* 132 (Tammuz 5716 [1956]), p. 24. See also Fishman (note 3 above), p. 107.
6 Y. Simhoni, *BaTirah* (Tirat Tzvi), 22 Kislev 5698 (1937), p. 3.
7 The quoted phrases in the last few sentences are taken from discussions on the work ethic that appeared in religious kibbutz literature between 1941 and 1957.
8 For the study of Musar literature in Kvutzat Shahal, see Y. Lutvak, *Protocol of the First Council Meeting* (of the RKF), Elul 5696 (1936), p. 3; in Kvutzat Avraham, see Dov, *Zra'im*, Kislev 5696 (1935), p. 14; in the first communal group of Bnei Akivah in Palestine, *Netivah*, 3 Tishrei 5692 (1931), p. 4.
9 E. Goldman, *Alonim* 38 (Kislev-Tevet 5708 [1947–48]), p. 20. An English translation of the article from which this quotation is taken, 'On the religious personality in the religious kvutza,' can be found in A. Fishman (ed.), *The Religious Kibbutz Movement*, Jerusalem: Zionist Organization, 1957, pp. 52–7.
10 A. Herz, *Amudim* 181 (Tammuz 5721 [1961]), p. 20.
11 See, for example, *Yoman HaMeshek* (Kibbutz Rodges), 13 Kislev 5697 (1936), p. 2; *Kol BeRamah* (Ramat HaShomron, later Be'erot Yitzhak), 4 Sivan 5698 (1938), p. 11; *Niveinu* (Sdei Eliyahu), 29 Adar 5701 (1941), p. 5.
12 *BaTirah* (Tirat Tzvi), 4 Sivan 5698 (1938), p. 4.
13 Sha'ul B[ashi], *Shibolim* (Sdei Eliyahu), 19 Kislev 5710 (1949), p. 6.
14 See pp. 34–5.
15 The first paragraph of this quotation is taken from the second edition of N. Bar-Giora, *Sdei Eliyahu*, Jerusalem: Zionist Organization, 1957, p. 66–7 (Hebrew). The second paragraph is taken from the first edition (1947), pp. 81–2.
16 S. Ahituv, *Amudim* 147 (Tishrei 5719 [1958]), p. 11. The paragraph as a whole draws on Fishman (note 3 above), p. 100.
17 M. Kroneh, *Alonim*, Tishrei 5700 (1939), p. 6.
18 Cf. John MacMurray, *Creative Society*, London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1935, pp. 54–5, 149–52.
19 Max Weber singled out the economic sphere as the most sensitive of all spheres in the tension between a brotherly religion and the world. See *From Max Weber* (trans. and ed. by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills), New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 331–3.
20 See, for example, Dov, *Zra'im*, Kislev 5696 (1935), p. 14; Natan, *BeMahaneinu* (Kvutzat Avraham, later Kfar Etzion), Sivan 5701 (1941), p. 10; Yosef Sh., ibid., Tishrei 5708 (1947), p. 6.
21 *Ohaleinu*, Tevet-Shvat 5696 (1936), p. 15. Italics added.
22 *BeMahaneinu*, Tevet 5700 (1940), p. 15.
23 Ibid., Sivan 5701 (1941), p. 3.
24 Ibid., Tammuz 5699 (1939), p. 6.
25 Ibid., Sivan 5701 (1941), p. 9.
26 For the settling of Kfar Etzion, see Yossi Katz, *Between Jerusalem and Hebron*, Ramat Gtan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1998, Chapters 2–3.

27 Ibid., Erev Rosh HaShanah 5704 (1943), p. 8.
28 Ibid., Tishrei 5708 (1947), pp. 4, 6.
29 Ibid. p. 1.
30 See Dov Knohl, *Siege in the Hills of Hebron* (trans. I. Halevy-Levin), New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1958.
31 The *moshav shitufi* combines features of the kibbutz and of the moshav.
32 For this group see Chapter 5, p. 69. For the comparison between this group and Kibbutz Rodges, see Neryah, *Zra'im*, Kislev-Tevet 5697 (1936–1937), p. 4.
33 Herz, *Zion* 6, Oktober–Dezember 1934, p. 76.
34 Ibid.
35 *Darkeinu*, Tishrei 5694 (1933), p. 16.
36 *Kvutzateinu* (Kibbutz Rodges), 6 Kislev 5697 (1936), p. 5.
37 Erich [Pinhas] Rosenblueth, *Kvutzateinu*, 11 Tevet 5697 (1937), p. 3.
38 B. Wolff, *Dappim* (Kibbutz Rodges), 17 Sivan 5698 (1938), p. 2.

8 The Halakhic–socialist collective: the religious kibbutz and Moses Hess

1 See note 19 (below).
2 This chapter draws extensively on (a) Aryei Fishman, 'Moses Hess on Judaism and its aptness for a socialist civilization,' *Journal of Religion* 63:2 (April 1983), pp. 143–58 (hereafter 'Hess'); and (b) Aryei Fishman, *Judaism and Modernization on the Religious Kibbutz*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1992, Chapter 6 (hereafter '*Kibbutz*'). Most of the references in the present chapter to the writings of Hess and the religious kibbutz ideology will be through these two pieces.
3 Two of the 'Halakhic' ideologues of the RKF, Eliezer Goldman of Kibbutz Sdei Eliyahu and Dov Rappel of Kibbutz Yavne, did not come from a German background. Goldman was from the United States, where he graduated from the Rabbi Yitzhak Elhanan Rabbinical Seminary; Rappel was from Poland and graduated from the Takhkemoni Rabbinical Seminary. For biographical sketches of these two RKF leaders, as well as of the other RKF figures mentioned in this chapter, see Fishman, *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), pp. 161–3.
4 Hess seems to have had a slight knowledge of Hasidism, which he viewed, on the whole, with favor. Although he deprecated its 'superstitious' beliefs and practices, he hailed Hasidism as a movement of religious revival that follows a 'socialistic' way of life, in the sense that 'the house of the rich is always open to his poor brother, who can feel at home there'; see *Rom und Jerusalem* (note 7 below), pp. 208–11, and the discussion in Avineri (note 7 below), p. 187. Hess imaginatively, although briefly, projected Hasidism onto Jewish national revival. In what may be an insightful comment on the formation of the general kibbutz movement, Hess states that 'should the national movement take possession of Hasidism, the consequence of this would be unpredictable.' (*Rom und Jerusalem*, p. 210.) As noted elsewhere (Chapter 4, note 4), there is evidence to suggest that Hasidism did indeed play a significant indirect role in the formation of the kibbutz.
5 For Maimonidean motifs in the RKF ideology, see *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), p. 102.
6 For this designation of Hess by Martin Buber, see Chapter 3, p. 46.
7 Hess's intimations regarding the compatibility of Halakhic Judaism and socialism are integral segments of a complex philosophical system that he conceived in a Spinozan-Hegelian framework. This system regards socialism as the culminating stage of a cosmological process in which the diverse fields of Creation evolve dynamically toward maturity and religious unity. For a summary of this system see Mary Schulman, *Moses Hess, Prophet of Zionism*, New York: T. Yoseloff, 1963, pp. 76–110. Hess's intimations regarding the compatibility of Halakhah

and socialism are scattered fragmentarily and sketchily, for the most part, throughout the Jewish writings of the 'nationalistic' period (1862–1875) of his life, beginning with *Rome and Jerusalem* and continuing in essays on Jewish themes (M. Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, Leipzig: E. Wengler, 1862; *Juedische Schriften* [ed. T. Zlocisti], Berlin: L. Lamm, 1905). Hess's socialist thinking, which he had elaborated in earlier writings, is also interlaced in these works. The best discussion of Hess's socialist and nationalist ideas, and of their synthesis, is to be found in Shlomo Avineri, *Moses Hess: Prophet of Communism and Zionism*, New York: New York University Press and London, 1985. In order to present coherently Hess's intimations of Halakhah-socialism compatibility, I have extracted and correlated the references to them and stripped them of their philosophical entanglements, and on occasion I have spelled out their contextual implications.

8 Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, (trans. T. Parsons), New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1957.

9 Richard M. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, London: J. Murray 1926, p. 112; Thelma McCormack, 'The Protestant ethic and the spirit of Socialism,' *British Journal of Sociology* 20 (1969), pp. 266–76.

10 S.N. Eisenstadt, 'The format of Jewish history – reflections on Weber's Ancient Judaism,' *Modern Judaism* 1 (1981), pp. 54–73, 218–34.

11 A. Fishman, 'Judaism and modernization: The case of the religious kibbutzim,' *Social Forces* 62:1 (1983), pp. 13–15.

12 While the messianic theme is very explicit in Hess's Jewish writings, it is for the most part undeclared in the RKF ideology. For an explicit reference to the messianic theme by Moshe Unna, the leading ideologist of the RKF, see *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), p. 167, note 20.

13 Hess (note 2 above), p. 150. Hess, influenced by Spinoza, also departed from the dominant Jewish conception of the divinity, conceiving it to be immanent, rather than transcendent. In contrast to Spinoza, however, Hess conceived this divinity as a dynamic force. On this subject, see Schulman (note 7 above), pp. 76–7.

14 Hess (note 2 above), pp. 150–1.

15 *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), p. 105.

16 Pinhas Rosenblueth, 'The problem of religion,' *Alonim*, Nisan 5702 (1942), p. 9.

17 *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), p. 103.

18 See Aaron Nahlon, 'The religious experience and Hasidism,' *Amudim* 164 (Tevet 5720 [1960]), p. 7.

19 As mentioned in the miscellany *In Memory of Gedaliah Unna, of Blessed Memory*, (ed. E.S. Rosenthal), Kibbutz Rodges 1940, p. 13 (Hebrew). This work is also the source of this chapter's epigraph. The order of the two phrases in the quotation has been reversed.

20 E. Simon, *Talmid Chacham und Chalutz*, Hamburg 1934. A Hebrew translation of this essay was published in *Amudim* 514 (Marheshvan 5749 [1988]), pp. 59–64.

21 *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), pp. 112–3.

22 For an in-depth analysis of the analogous relationship between science and Torah study, see Menachem Fisch, *Rational Rabbis; Science and Talmudic Culture*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997.

23 M. Hess, 'Philosophie der Tat' (1843). An English translation of this essay is to be found in Albert Fried and Ronald Sanders (eds.), *Socialist Thought*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1969, pp. 249–75. See the discussion of this essay in Avineri (note 7 above), pp. 93–6.

24 Hess (note 2 above), p. 151.

25 Nahlon (note 18 above), p. 8. The order of the sentences has been rearranged.

26 Hess (note 2 above), p. 150.

27 *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), p. 103–4.
28 M. Unna, *In the Paths of Thought and Deed*, Tel Aviv 1955, p. 16 (Hebrew).
29 See p. 94.
30 See especially Eliezer Goldman, 'Traditional or scientific education for our children?', *Alonim*, Tishrei 5704 (1943), pp. 2–6.
31 Hess (note 2 above). p. 153.
32 Ibid.
33 For the idea in religious kibbutz literature of 'true freedom' that derives from the study of Torah and the observance of the *mitzvot*, see E.S. Rosenthal in *Dappim* (Kibbutz Rodges), Menahem-AV 5698 (1938) and Yedidiah Cohen, *Amudim* 182 (Menahem-Av 5721 (1961), p. 28. See also the quotation from Gedaliah Unna that is the epigraph of this chapter.
34 *Kibbutz*, p. 105.
35 Ibid., pp. 105–6.
36 For the sources of the several quotations in the last two paragraphs, see Hess (note 2 above), p. 151.
37 *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), p. 140.
38 Ibid., p. 104.
39 Ibid., pp. 96–9.
40 In the framework of the religious kibbutz community, mutual responsibility in observing the divine law extends beyond Halakhically defined public performance. The psychic collective of the Orthodox kibbutz imparts to its members the feeling of mutual religious responsibility for their personal religious conduct as well. This theme is elaborated upon in *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), p. 110.
41 See Avineri (note 7 above), p. 96.
42 'Hess' (note 2 above), pp. 152–3.
43 *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), p. 107.
44 See Chapter 3, p. 44.
45 *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), pp. 106–107.
46 Ibid., p. 98.
47 Ibid., p. 118.
48 Ibid., p. 136.
49 Ibid., pp. 96–9.
50 Hess (note 2 above), p. 154.
51 Rosenblueth (note 16 above), p. 8.
52 Me'ir Or, *Alonim* 22 (June 1946), p. 3.
53 M. Unna, *The Education of Our Children: Protocol of theTenth Council of the Religious Kibbutz Federation*, Tel Aviv, Rosh HaShana 5720 (1959), p. 15. This protocol is included in Volume 7 of *Amudim*. (1959).
54 Hess (note 2 above), pp. 154, 148, 150, 155.
55 *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), p. 108.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid., pp. 108–9.
60 Y.[itzhak Asher], *Yediot Yavne*, June 21, 1950. This passage was written in reaction to a documentary film on the Tennessee Valley Authority that was shown at a harvest festival of Kibbutz Yavne. The festival also paid tribute to the prowess of Adam 1 by parading all the agricultural machines that were employed to produce the harvest.
61 See Chapter 9, p. 121.
62 See Chapter 1, p. 25.
63 For a parallel view in RKF ideology of the instrumental role of national revival in promoting Halakhic dynamics, see Fishman, *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), pp. 95–6.

64 Hess, (note 2 above), p. 155.
65 See Avineri (note 7 above), pp. 228–29.
66 *Juedische Schriften* (note 7 above), p. 49. The Great Sanhedrin was the supreme legal institution in Jewish life in the Second Temple period. One of its functions was to interpret the Law.
67 *Kibbutz* (note 2 above), pp. 115–34.
68 Ibid., p. 135.

9 An evolutionary–functional perspective

1 An expanded version of this chapter was originally published in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29:4 (October 1987), pp. 763–86, and republished in Todd M. Endelman (ed.), *Comparing Jewish Societies*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997, pp. 313–42.
2 Talcott Parsons, *Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966; Parsons, *The System of Modern Societies*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1971.
3 Joseph Soloveitchik's account of the initial development of human life contains the beginnings of a differentiation-grounded evolutionary scheme. Soloveitchik distinguishes between 'natural man,' who is 'united with nature' and leads an unreflective life, and self-aware man, who is differentiated from 'cosmic immediacy' and confronts his outside world. See J.B. Soloveitchik, 'Confrontation,' *Tradition* 6:2 (1964), pp. 5–10.
4 Victor Lidz, 'Religion and cybernetic concepts in the theory of action,' *Sociological Analysis* 43:4 (1982), pp. 387–405.
5 For the concepts of 'mechanical solidarity' and 'organic solidarity,' see Chapter 2, pp. 34–5.
6 T. Parsons, 'An outline of the social system,' in T. Parsons, E. Shils. K. Naegle, and J. Pitts (eds.), *Theories of Society*, Vol. 1, New York: Free Press 1961, pp, 38–40.
7 Ibid.
8 See note 5 of the Introduction.
9 Parsons, *Societies* (note 2 above), pp. 21–3.
10 Robert N. Bellah, 'Religious evolution,' *American Sociological Review* 29:3 (1964), pp.358–74.
11 Ibid. p. 358.
12 See Chapter 8, pp. 107, 109. The ideational rationalization of the relationship between the ideological and the Halakhic collective components of religious kibbutz life is delineated in detail in A. Fishman, *Judaism and Modernization on the Religious Kibbutz*, Cambridge U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 96–9.
13 Cf. Ann Swidler, 'The concept of rationality in the work of Max Weber,' *Sociological Inquiry* 43:1 (1973), pp. 36–41.
14 Cf. Judith Porter, 'Secularization, differentiation, and the function of religious value-orientations,' *Sociological Inquiry* 43:1 (1973), pp. 69–70.
15 See p. 118 above.
16 Aryei Fishman and Yaaqov Goldschmidt, 'The Orthodox kibbutzim and economic success,' *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20:4 (1990) pp. 505–11.
17 Ibid.
18 A. Fishman, 'Judaism and economic success: The case of the religious kibbutzim,' *Social Forces* 62:1 (1983), pp. 18–36.
19 See p. 101, *passim*.

Subject index

Name index

(Figures in parentheses indicate note numbers)