

# Between *Yesh* and *Ayin*: the Doctrine of the Zaddik in the Works of Jacob Isaac, the Seer of Lublin

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POLISH Hasidism has not, so far, had the benefit of exhaustive research from the social-historical, the theological or even from the bio-bibliographical point of view. As a result, this school of Hasidism has not yet been fully understood. First steps were taken by Dubnow, Aescoly, Mahler and Rabinowicz,<sup>1</sup> but none went so far as to produce a study in depth of the beginnings of Polish Hasidism and its development as reflected in the teachings of its leaders.

In the generation of the disciples of the Maggid of Mezhirech, Hasidism split into separate schools. Each of these was to emphasize different aspects of Hasidic doctrine and of the way of life incumbent on its adherents, while also generating different patterns of inter-relationship between the mystical heritage of Hasidism and its social manifestations. The schools, centred in different geographical regions, were characterized by the religious inspiration peculiar to their leaders and by the extent to which it could be adapted to the cultural and social circumstances typical of each region. Thus we can discern, at the end of the 1770s and throughout the 1780s, the emergence of various Hasidic centres, each taking on a character of its own, all over Eastern Europe.

Hasidism in Poland is generally reckoned to have begun with the activities of R. Samuel Shmelke Horowitz and R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk. R. Samuel Shmelke (1726-78), a disciple of the Maggid of Mezhirech, taught in Sieniawa, in the district of Lwów in Galicia, from the beginning of the 1760s to the first third of the 1770s. R. Elimelech settled in Lyzhansk, in Galicia, in the early 1770s and set up a Hasidic 'court' there which functioned until his death in 1787. It appears, however, that the emergence of Polish Hasidism as a widespread phenomenon is in great measure due to the work of the disciple of both these men, R. Jacob Isaac Halevi Horowitz, 'the Seer of Lublin'.<sup>2</sup>

R. Jacob Isaac personifies the stage at which new norms were being established for practical application in the religious renaissance which

Hasidism brought with it. He stands at the head of Polish Hasidism at the juncture when it is taking on a distinct character. For this reason, a study of R. Jacob Isaac can shed some light on this new phase in which Hasidism broadens the scope of its appeal, develops new patterns of leadership and crystallizes a theory which gives expression to this novel orientation.

R. Jacob Isaac has been the subject of several biographies based almost entirely on Hasidic tales.<sup>3</sup> These works are marked by their uncritical approach, presenting events out of chronological sequence and failing to distinguish sufficiently between, on the one hand, the issues which emerge from his books and the state of mind in which they were composed and, on the other, the conventions of late Hasidic hagiography. The figure of the Seer served as an important source of inspiration for many Hasidic tales; but these are concerned mainly with the last period of his life, in the nineteenth century. We have no direct evidence relating to this period either from the Seer himself or from his circle of associates. The depiction of this period in this literature thus falls into the realm of hagiography more than that of history.

The present study deals with the period in which R. Jacob Isaac began to exercise leadership, when he had not yet become widely known by virtue of his charismatic qualities and messianic reputation, and when his name was not yet associated with celebrated Hasidic controversies. Yet his principal works, *Zot Zikaron* and *Zikaron Zot*, were written during this inaugural period of his leadership, as we shall see below. These works reveal his inner doubts and his reflections on the nature of his mission, assessing the Hasidic teaching as a source of spiritual inspiration and as a new mode of religious life. Our premise is that his books are a faithful reflection of the author's outlook on the social setting in which he lived and on the place of Hasidic thought in his period and region. They form a religious document charged with the ideological tension which marked the emergence of Hasidism in Poland. An analysis of the subjects which are central to the Seer's works would highlight the change of direction which was taking place in the Hasidic movement at the time: breaking out of the domain of the chosen few and becoming accessible to wider circles. This change necessitated a reconsideration of the mystical values and social assumptions of Hasidism, as well as their consolidation round the figure of the Zaddik in his relationship to the community.

The present paper attempts to throw light on some of the theoretical constituents of the Seer's teaching and the circumstances which influenced its development. This would enable us to assess the importance of theological factors in shaping the Hasidic response to the problems which confronted the movement during the 1780s. We shall

begin with a short biographical sketch and proceed to consider the principal aspects of the Seer's teaching.

## BIOGRAPHY

R. Jacob Isaac Halevi Horowitz, known as the Seer of Lublin, was born in 1745,<sup>4</sup> in the small town of Lukow, near Tarnograd in the province of Lublin.<sup>5</sup> His father, R. Abraham Eliezer Halevi, who was known as the *illy* (prodigy) of *Szcebrzeszyn*, was a scion of the Horowitz-Halevi family, a distinguished family of rabbis descended from the Shelah (R. Isaiah ben Abraham Halevi Horowitz).<sup>6</sup> He was rabbi of Jospow in Poland until his death in 1769.

R. Jacob Isaac grew up in Tarnograd in the home of his grandfather, R. Jacob Koppel of Lukow, a well-known scholar in his day.<sup>7</sup> He acquired his grounding in Torah in the *yeshivah* of R. Moses Zevi Hirsch Maisels, rabbi of Zulkowa.<sup>8</sup> From there he moved to the *yeshivah* in Sieniawa, Galicia, of R. Samuel Shmelke Horowitz, a pupil of the Maggid of Mezhiresh and the first disseminator of Hasidism in Poland.<sup>9</sup> During the years when he was studying in Sieniawa, that township was a centre for the propagation of Hasidism, where scholars who later became famous as leaders of Hasidic communities had gathered round the figure of Samuel Shmelke.<sup>10</sup> R. Jacob Isaac quotes extensively from the teachings of R. Samuel Shmelke in his works and repeatedly refers to him with admiration and respect as his distinguished teacher.<sup>11</sup>

His years in Sieniawa were to shape R. Jacob Isaac's relationship to his Hasidic heritage, and to prepare him for his subsequent association with the Maggid of Mezhiresh. Hasidic tradition numbers him among the disciples of R. Dov Baer of Mezhiresh, but we have no precise details concerning his stay in the court of the Maggid.<sup>12</sup> He calls R. Dov Baer 'the Maggid of Rovno' and relies greatly on his teachings in his own formulation of the doctrine of the Zaddik, as will be demonstrated below.

After the death of the Maggid of Mezhiresh in 1772, R. Jacob Isaac spent some time as a disciple of R. Samuel Shmelke Horowitz, who served as head of the rabbinical court in Nikolsburg, Moravia, from 1772, and R. Levi Isaac of Berdichev during his period of residence in Zelechov. With the death of R. Samuel Shmelke in 1778, R. Eliemelech of Lyzhansk, a disciple of the Maggid of Mezhiresh, became his mentor. R. Eliemelech was the spokesman of Hasidism in Galicia who fashioned the patterns of Zaddikism as a social institution. He stood at the centre of the controversy with the Opponents of Hasidism in Brody and Krakow until his death in 1787.<sup>13</sup>

During the years R. Jacob Isaac spent in Lyzhansk, his conception of the role of the Zaddik as leader took definite shape. These years also served to crystallize his views on the ways of imparting the Hasidic heritage to wider circles, and it seems that in Lyzhansk, under the influence of his teacher, he turned his personal spiritual path into an ideological platform for a broadly based movement.<sup>14</sup> During this time, in the light of R. Elimelech's teaching on the nature of the Zaddik, he developed an inner consciousness of leadership as his destined role. This became an obligation, imposed by a sense of mission, to act in the interests of the community, and it was accompanied by the willingness to fight to achieve his way.<sup>15</sup>

From his books it emerges that the Seer was in close contact with several Zaddikim of the circle of the Maggid's disciples, and that he frequented the houses of R. Levi Isaac of Berdichev, the Maggid of Zolochov, R. Zusya of Hanipoli and others.<sup>16</sup> R. Elimelech withdrew from public office in his old age and, with his blessing, R. Jacob Isaac undertook the leadership of a Hasidic community in Lancut, in the district of Lwów in Galicia. In the books of the disciples of R. Elimelech, and in the works of the Seer's disciples, we have allusions to the special nature of this period of the Seer's leadership during the lifetime of his teacher. R. Shlomo ha-Cohen of Radomsk recorded the tradition which was current in the circle of the Seer's disciples in regard to the commencement of his leadership and its relation to the retirement of R. Elimelech from office:

*One sometimes encounters a Zaddik whose holiness burns so fiercely within him that he cannot endure the society of a person who has committed minor transgressions and has not corrected them as he should, and as is known concerning our late master and teacher, the man of God R. Elimelech . . . in his old age his holiness was so very great that it was not possible for him to speak with those who sheltered in his shadow, the Torah seething as it did within him.*<sup>17</sup>

R. Elimelech was in his late sixties at the time, and his withdrawal from the leadership cannot easily be explained on the grounds of old age. It is not impossible that the words 'in his old age his holiness was so very great' conceal an additional reason to which the text is alluding discreetly. Be that as it may, according to Hasidic tradition, R. Elimelech was no longer able, in the evening of his days, to meet the twin demands of personal purification and self-abnegation, on the one hand and, on the other, sensitivity to the ordinary ways of life and the ability to respond to the needs of the Hasidic community. He preferred to retire from communal leadership and to entrust the day-to-day contact with his followers as well as the

responsibility for public needs to his disciple, R. Jacob Isaac.<sup>18</sup>

The Seer's disciple, R. Kalonymos Kalman of Krakow, author of *Maor va-Shemesh*, alluded to this situation in his discussion of the anointing of Elisha in the lifetime of Elijah:

Because of the great degree of sanctity and purity which Elijah had attained, his thoughts were beyond the reach of his contemporaries and it was impossible for them to receive from him instructions for their daily life. For this reason, when Elijah was offering his excuses to the Lord, blessed be His name—I have been very zealous for the Lord . . . etc., the Holy One, blessed be He, replied to him: 'That is because their intelligence is insufficient to grasp your great luminosity and holiness; therefore anoint Elisha as prophet in your stead, for he is of lesser stature than you and they will be able to comprehend him and learn ways of life from him according to the measure of their understanding.'<sup>19</sup>

The stress on the disciple's inferiority to his master, and on the master's spiritual stature which transcends the intellect but is expressed as 'purification', 'luminosity' and 'holiness' as against the more prosaic character of the disciple, betrays the tension generated by the problem of succession, and by the conflict between pneumatic experience on the one hand and the demand for leadership in daily life on the other.

There is no doubt that the tension between the two poles of the Zaddik's existence is to be read between the lines: on the one hand, self-purification, holiness and seclusion; on the other, the contact with worldly affairs necessitated by the requirements of communal leadership. Moreover, the traditions cited above, and others like them, make it quite clear that the leadership of the Seer during his master's lifetime and in his place required some explanation and justification in the opinion of his disciples.

Hasidic traditions testify to the tension arising from the bestowal of authority on R. Jacob Isaac by his teacher, R. Elimelech, during the lifetime of the latter.<sup>20</sup> It appears that the tension sprang from the broadening of the scope of the Seer's leadership beyond what R. Elimelech had intended for him, and from the problems inherent in the transfer of charismatic leadership, as we shall consider below.

In regard to the years of his leadership in Lancut and Lyzhansk during the 1780s and 1790s, we have hostile evidence in the literature of the *Mitnagedim*,<sup>21</sup> testifying to the extent of his influence and his charismatic image. Dubnow asserted that 'on his life in Lancut we have only the evidence of his opponents',<sup>22</sup> but he was mistaken, as were R. Jacob Isaac's other biographers, for the Seer's principal two works, *Zot Zikaron* and *Zikaron Zot*<sup>23</sup> were written during his years in Lancut, and afford first-class testimony on an important, early stage of the

crystallization of the Hasidic community in Galicia.

It is clear that both works were written during this period. This certainty arises from the examination of quotations from other works which occur in *Zot Zikaron* and *Zikaron Zot*. R. Jacob Isaac frequently quotes his teachers and other associates, appending to their names the conventional blessings for the living or for the dead. He clearly wrote the greater part of his works after the death of his teacher R. Shmelke in 1778, since R. Shmelke is mentioned many times with the blessing for the dead. However, both R. Elimelech (1714–86) and the Maggid of Zolochew (d. 1786) were still alive at the time of writing and are often mentioned with the blessing for the living.<sup>24</sup> The books, therefore, were written after 1778 and before 1786, or between the end of the 1770s and the mid-1780s. One can be even more precise: the time within which his second work, *Zot Zikaron*, must have been written can be limited to the beginning of the 1780s onwards, for he mentions things which he saw 'in the holy book *Toledot Ya'akov Yosef* by R. Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye, a book which was printed in 1780. The failure of the Seer's biographers to take into account this evidence regarding the period in which he wrote the bulk of his works has led to faulty assessments of various incidents in his life and to the application of erroneous inferences from later to earlier developments. It accounts also for the discrepancy between his portrayal in the hagiographical tradition, which deals with the last period of his life, in Lublin in the nineteenth century, and his image as it emerges from his own works, which were written at the beginning of his career.

The greater part of *Zot Zikaron* and *Zikaron Zot* was written, then, in the 1780s, when R. Jacob Isaac began to lead a community of the followers of R. Elimelech. These are the years in which Hasidism spread in Galicia and Poland and crystallized as a movement, establishing its own spiritual and organizational frameworks.<sup>25</sup>

This coincidence of the first years of his leadership with the spread of Hasidism in Galicia and Congress Poland lent an unusual perspective to his efforts to delineate the ideological characteristics and the unique social role of Hasidism, at a time when the movement was contending with the tension between the mystical elitism of its beginnings and the new requirements inevitably resulting from the broadening of its social base and the communal mission it had undertaken.<sup>26</sup>

R. Jacob Isaac's works are principally homilies on the weekly Torah readings which had been delivered before his followers on the Sabbaths; these are accompanied by autobiographical passages, guidance intended for himself,<sup>27</sup> notes on forgetfulness and memory<sup>28</sup> and 'new insights' or 'matters which have come to mind'. Unlike many other Hasidic books, written and edited by disciples and compilers, these books were

written by the author himself soon after the oral delivery of his sermons. Seeing that one of them was printed without any textual or editorial amendment,<sup>29</sup> and the other without textual amendments but arranged according to the order of the weekly Pentateuchal portions,<sup>30</sup> they largely reflect the original manner of writing and the range of the problems facing the author at the time. One must of course allow for a certain disparity between the oral sermon and the text as written and printed, but in this case the disparity would be smaller than with other books of Hasidic homilies, because the sermons were written down by the speaker himself very shortly after he spoke them. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the written works are an authentic expression of the author's outlook and his response to challenging problems close to the time when they arose.<sup>31</sup>

The time at which these sermons and teachings were committed to writing is of the utmost importance. The works reflect the Seer's first steps on the road of leadership. Subsequently, in the course of his years as leader, he achieved great prestige and a central position in the Hasidic world on the strength of his exceptional spiritual powers and his style of leadership: during his residence in Lublin his name became associated with the Lublin–Przysucha controversy and the messianic struggle, with a mass following and with miracle-working; the books of his disciples testify to the powerful impression he made, and Hasidic legend, too, heaped praises on him. The only period of his life on which his own writings afford us an insight into his personal point of view is the initial period of his leadership in the 1780s, a period in which his charismatic status, his authority and influence had not yet been firmly established.

R. Jacob Isaac was the leader of Hasidism in Galicia and Poland for thirty years (1785–1815), but when he first assumed this position there were no fixed patterns for the leadership and consolidation of a Hasidic community, and no agreement on the scope of the Zaddik's operations, either in theory or in practice. This emerges clearly from polemical evidence preserved in various Hasidic traditions.<sup>32</sup> The need for clarification and definition was apparent.

R. Jacob Isaac's two works faithfully reflect the subjects which were of central concern to him in this period. Substantial sections of his homilies deal with the figure of the Zaddik and his role, while at the same time clarifying the relationship between the mystical heritage and the social aspect of Hasidism. The inner doubts arising from the definition of his role as communal leader leave their mark on all his writings. His works are characterized by a consciousness of changing leadership patterns, the extension of responsibility, and the change in the relationship between the mystical and social elements. The sermons

are not arranged with the purpose of presenting a systematic formulation of speculative-theological teachings. They set out to clarify pragmatically the relationship between the spiritual objectives as taught by the Maggid of Mezhiresh, the social objectives inspired by R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk, and the religious norms and conventions of the time. These in turn are considered within the framework of new leadership patterns, at a time when the need had arisen, on the one hand to define the special spiritual character of Hasidism and, on the other, to establish a religio-social framework for the life of the growing Hasidic community.

#### THE DOCTRINE OF THE ZADDIK: PERSONAL, PROPAGANDIST AND POLEMICAL ASPECTS

The Seer's explanations of the doctrine of the Zaddik are not presented as a speculative construct but are drawn up against the concrete background of the crystallization of Zaddikism as an institution. They attempt to clarify, as a practical matter, the place of the Zaddik in relation to the needs of the Hasidic community.<sup>33</sup> In this he was clearly influenced by his teachers, the Maggid of Mezhiresh, R. Samuel Shmelke of Nikolsburg and R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk. All three had laid down clear criteria governing the responsibility towards a community which falls upon its spiritual élite. They also established the ideal of a leader who works simultaneously on the metaphysical and the earthly planes, his spiritual authority imposing on him the duty to act in the interests of all Israel. Indirectly, the teachings of R. Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye also may have influenced the Seer's views on the position of the Zaddik in Hasidism. As we have seen, R. Jacob Joseph's book, *Toledot Ya'akov Yoseph*, was available to him and offered an extensive treatment of this subject.<sup>34</sup>

It is not our intention in what follows to examine the historical evolution of the ideas which make up the doctrine of the Zaddik or to subject them to critical analysis. We propose, rather, to focus on the problematics of the doctrine of the Zaddik in the Seer's teachings, and to throw light on some of its inherent values.

It is in the teaching of the Maggid of Mezhiresh and in the circles of his disciples that a change takes place in the way the Zaddik is perceived. From being regarded as an individual privately realizing a religious ideal, he comes to be thought of as one who must accomplish both an ideal of holy life and a mission on behalf of the public.<sup>35</sup> R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk, Jacob Isaac's teacher, was of course the exponent *par excellence* of the doctrine which attributed to the Zaddik, earthly being though he is, the power to 'impose decrees' and exert

supernatural influence on both the upper and the lower worlds. This was the doctrine which assigned to the Zaddik the task of 'drawing down' the divine 'flow' by virtue of his function as a mediator between heavenly and earthly existence. It was R. Elimelech who prescribed it as the duty of the Zaddik to secure, through his own service of Heaven, the satisfaction of the earthly needs of his followers, by means of a power which the Zaddik derived from his unique merit as a mystic, giving him special access to the worlds above. R. Elimelech subjected this theory to the test of practical application during the years of his own leadership.<sup>36</sup> R. Jacob Isaac accepted these basic premises, but although the teaching of the author of *No'am Elimelech* undoubtedly influenced his outlook, he himself had to grapple with the problem of the values of Hasidic leadership when he began to lead a community of his own and to apply the theory of the Zaddik in practice. This led him to reassess the place, purpose and conditions of Zaddikism, while expanding his range of spiritual concerns beyond the confines of R. Elimelech's thought. His reassessment reflects, first and foremost, the continuous transformation of the concept of the Zaddik from a theological principle rooted in Kabbalistic thought, inspiring the private spiritual lives of individual ascetics and mystics, into a concept which operated in the public-social domain and could be subjected to the test of practical application. The Zaddik was no longer conceived simply as an individual realizing a sublime religious ideal: he became the bearer of responsibility for religious leadership defined as both mystical and social. The complexity of this notion must be appreciated in full.

R. Jacob Isaac's conceptual innovations and the principles he laid down as a programme for Hasidic leadership reflect his deliberations on various aspects of mystical thought against a background of lively awareness of social considerations and great sensitivity to public needs. Here there appears clearly, in all its strength, the tension inherent in the mode of life of the Zaddik who, on the one hand, is sustained by spiritual and mystical forces which are the source of his authority and, on the other, is obliged to accept a mission on behalf of the community, and is confronted with the need to pass the test of public exposure. In other words, the concepts defining the mode of life of a Zaddik, while they had to reflect his inner consciousness of charisma, his spiritual authority and inspiration from on high, had also to apply to his role as a communal leader representing, so to speak, the personal embodiment of an idea.

Three issues were topical in the Hasidic world of R. Jacob Isaac's time and form the central core of his works:

1 The search for a definition of the nature of the Zaddik in his ideal as

well as in his earthly aspects, and the clarification of the changing relationship between the mystical and social elements of his role. The search for a definition of the mutual relationship between Zaddik and community, establishing a link between the Hasidic ethos and the emerging doctrine of the Zaddik, together with an analysis of the sources of the Zaddik's authority and an examination of his response to the challenge of new responsibilities—the obligation owed by the élite to the community.

3 The clarification of the complex relationship between normative patterns of conduct and mystical-spiritual forces arising in the life of the Hasidic community at a time of religious revival.

In addition to the personal dimension of the struggle to shape a new pattern of leadership and to express the Zaddik's conception of his role, two other aspects of R. Jacob Isaac's teaching must be considered, which marked his appeal to the community. These were, first, the ideology of Zaddikism as organizational propaganda directed at circles of potential recruits into the Hasidic movement and, secondly, that ideology as a polemical posture confronting the conventional patterns of leadership. These two aspects are interconnected, since both aspire to shape a religio-social alternative to the existing order of society.

The elements of propagandism and an organizational ideology are both present in the Seer's exposition of the doctrine of the Zaddik; undoubtedly the doctrine helped to establish, and then mould, the social organization of Hasidism at that time. The dissemination of the teachings of Hasidism and the widening of the circles to which it directed its appeal were rooted in the conception which bound together leader and led in a direct and intimate bond.

An explicit expression such as 'for the Zaddikim who cleave to the Lord draw down a flow of holiness and awe to those who are at one with them' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 36) testifies to a conscious effort to create a community in which the dependence of the individual on his unity with the Zaddik is the decisive value. The line of argument pursued is a tendentious one: it aims to demonstrate convincingly the importance and necessity of leadership by the Zaddik. It clarifies the spiritual and material significance of the ties between him and the community, and thus establishes new patterns of affiliation, responsibility and leadership.

Express statements as to the benefit to be derived from the affiliation with the Zaddik and the significance of the relationship of dependence and union occur repeatedly:

'Through his attachment to the Zaddik he will have delight in His light, blessed be He, which reaches the Zaddik and from him is drawn down to those who cleave to him' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 140).  
'Hold fast to a rebbe, who is called a father, and he will help you in

every matter in which you have need, for he is attached to Him through the truth, which is God, and He will bless you' (*Diveret Emet*, p. 46).

'And if a man loves the Zaddikim greatly he benefits in regard to the service of the Lord in several respects in which he has difficulty if he is by himself but which, through his association with the Zaddikim, become easy for him because he attains *devekut* through their goodwill' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 17).

'For even though everyone fulfils His commandments and occupies himself with Torah studies, it is not possible for each one acting individually to raise them sufficiently high, but rather one must compound one's study and actions with those of the Zaddikim, who serve with fear and love' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 187).

'And anyone who is at unity with the Zaddikim will himself enter into eternal life because he is bound up with them' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 35).

We have here a new emphasis on the difficulty inherent in the execution of both divine and worldly tasks, and on the need for help which recalls to the individual his dependence on his relationship with the Zaddik. This prepares the ground for a new basis on which to build the relationship and from which to draw the authority conferred on the Zaddik. The ideas are drawn in no small measure from the oral teachings of R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk and the written teachings of R. Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye. It appears, however, that R. Jacob Isaac regarded their views as not generally known, and deserving to be emphasized and propagated. He made them a basis for his own appeal to the public and his outlook on spiritual and social affairs.

The explicit statements that, through their affiliation with the Zaddik, people will benefit from 'drawing down the flow of divine bounty', that help is assured to them in all areas of material need, and that they will gain spiritual advantages also, are indications of the author's loss of confidence in man's ability to fulfil his duty of serving God by his own unaided efforts. At the same time, these statements suggest the renunciation of human responsibility for the material domain within the conventional framework of social-religious life. This amounts to the effective transfer of responsibility to the Zaddik; and it sets worldly affairs from the ordinary individual to the Zaddik; and it sets the relationship between them on the basis of intimate links of 'guardianship': 'love', 'adherence', 'unity' and 'connection', as symbolized by the relationship of mother and child, nurse and nursing, shepherd and flock and so on. These premises which underlie the ideology of the Zaddik are stated in terms of 'the flow of divine bounty', 'life, children and sustenance', 'blessing', 'drawing down', 'raising' or 'binding up', and the like, all of which, in some measure,

give expression to the casting of man's burden exclusively on the Zaddik who acts as mediator between man and God; for the possibility of man's casting his burden directly on God is rejected here. These concepts were a powerful influence on the emerging consciousness of spiritual and social ties of partnership and empathy, and in establishing patterns of loyalty and responsibility between the Zaddik and his community.<sup>37</sup>

The ability to invest man's specific needs with a wider significance, and to place his material and spiritual existence within the comprehensive framework of his relationship with the Zaddik was an important element in the endeavour to establish the doctrine of the Zaddik and spread the message of Hasidism. In his opening remarks R. Jacob Isaac states that the basic relationship of Zaddik and community is founded on the premise that the Zaddik and those who have affiliated themselves to him are joined together in a state of metaphysical unity and in the mutual commitment which derives from it. The Zaddik, who is compounded of all the souls of Israel and who identifies himself at the profoundest level with the essential quality of his congregants' existence, feels empowered to act on their behalf by the consciousness of the common destiny he shares with them and the mutual accountability of Zaddik and community, as well as by his sense of mission and responsibility towards them:

As is known, he is [made up of] our souls; the Zaddik of the generation is our soul, for he is compounded of many of the house of Israel, as Moses was compounded of six hundred thousand; for this reason the Zaddikim love Israel greatly and sacrifice their lives for them, loving them as they love their own souls, for they (the Zaddikim) are compounded of them and they (Israel) are part of them (*Zot Zikaron*, pp. 11-12).

Joseph Weiss has already observed the decisive place occupied in the beginnings of Hasidism by the assertion that the bond between the Zaddik and his community was a matter of 'unity and integration', that is to say, of the spiritual affinity between them, founded on a metaphysical base,<sup>38</sup> but only with the development of Hasidism as a movement was this principle extended to apply to all aspects of life.

R. Jacob Isaac emphasizes the depth of this affinity and the principle of identification by comparing his followers to 'branches from the root of his soul'.<sup>39</sup> He identifies the expression of this unity in the deep love between the Zaddik and his close associates, as well as in the selfless devotion which characterizes the Zaddik's approach to his mission.

The emotional values on which the affinity between the Zaddik and his followers is founded are drawn from Kabbalistic metaphysical thought, but even without tracing their origin in the Lurianic doctrine

of the sparks, there is no doubt that the sense of a shared destiny and the intimate bond between Zaddik and community exercised a decisive influence on the crystallization of the Hasidic community and the entire range of its expectations. It would seem that while the Kabbalah had provided the conceptual underpinning for the essentially social process of forging novel relationships and affinities, the force which triggered off this process was derived from a comprehensive world-view formulated in the doctrine of Zaddikism specifically in the material domain. The endeavour to forge a relationship of dependence, founded on the metaphysical unity between the Zaddik and his followers and his empathy with their earthly experience, resulted in a growing sense of brotherhood and communal responsibility. This was the inward-facing aspect of Zaddikism; alongside it we find its outward-facing polemical aspect, which emerged from a sense of dissatisfaction with the existing leadership and was formulated as a protest against its spiritual and social attitudes:

'... that the congregation of the Lord be not like sheep which have no shepherd', for there are some who have gone forth for no other purpose than to pasture themselves,<sup>40</sup> that is to say, there are leaders whose desire is to gain honour and wealth and it is not their purpose to seek the good of the people. That is why Scripture says, 'that the congregation... which have no shepherd', and not 'them' (the people) (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 28).<sup>41</sup>

Seen through Hasidic eyes, this leadership is pictured as adopting an attitude of élitist isolation, as turning its back on the plight of the people and shunning off its material and spiritual responsibility towards 'the men of the [ir] generation', a responsibility which is considered an obligation largely because of the world-view discussed above, which denies man's ability to face his spiritual and earthly tasks unaided, or even to do so by casting his burden directly upon God.

Against the extreme polarization between 'the leaders of the generation' and 'the men of the generation' as it is depicted in Hasidic polemics, the Zaddik's leadership offers a deep empathy, responsibility and commitment by the élite towards the community, coupled with great sensitivity to the spiritual and material plight of the common people:

And thus all the leaders must study the needs of their generation in order to pray for them... that is why they are called *parnanim* (providers of sustenance, leaders)... And in connection with this Scripture says (Is. 49:23), 'And kings'—which is to be interpreted as 'our rabbis'—'shall be thy nursing fathers'... This means that they should consider your well-being and your physical health like a nurse (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 74).

These and similar passages present the relationship between the infant and his nurse as a model for the ties between the Zaddik and his community, a relationship of dependence and helplessness on the one hand, responsibility and loving care on the other. But the analogy may also conceal a hint of the intention to take over power and areas of concern which had traditionally been entrusted to the *Kehillah* organization,<sup>42</sup> in order to form an alternative to the traditional leadership. Altogether, it appears that religious and social powers which had traditionally been distributed among various communal institutions and authorities were gradually transferred, in Hasidic propaganda, to the area of responsibility of the Zaddik.<sup>43</sup> R. Jacob Isaac, writing at a time when Hasidism, through struggle and controversy, was becoming a real force in Eastern European Jewry, protested against the self-segregation of the scholarly élite and the obtuseness of the rabbinic leadership; he supplied a theological basis for the social obligations laid upon the Hasidic leader, while at the same time clarifying the similarities and differences between the two conceptions of leadership.<sup>44</sup>

These controversial views naturally excited no little criticism in the ranks of the existing leadership, as emerges clearly from the literature of the *Minaggedim*. Zaddikism, and the realization in practice of the Hasidic style of worship, roused both rabbinic circles and *Maskilim* to public denunciation and humiliating, scornful responses.<sup>45</sup> And indeed, R. Jacob Isaac's teaching displays a keen awareness of the criticism levelled against the Hasidic leadership, and of the attempts to discredit the modes of worship which were emerging under its inspiration. He does not, however, attempt to refute his critics, but holds that the viewpoint of 'the quarrellers, the mockers and those who put to shame' should not be taken into account, because in his opinion the values of Zaddikism are not susceptible to criticism by society and should not be judged by traditional norms. This is because their authority derives from the inner mystical truth possessed by the Zaddik and from his consciousness of mission, while on the part of his followers this authority is validated by the very fact of the social response to the Zaddik's mission, expressed in the formation of Hasidic communities built on a new basis:

For when a man desires to serve the Lord, blessed be He, in truth, he must first beware of being concerned if people quarrel with him and mock him and seek to put him to shame, for that is the way to begin with, and afterwards if a man does not allow this to affect him, people join him, as it is said (Prov. 16:7), 'When a man's ways please the Lord, He makes even his enemies to be at peace with him' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 76).

The response from society validates the religious path of the Zaddik and

confirms the truth of his service of Heaven;<sup>46</sup> he does not, therefore, need to reply directly to the arguments of his opponents but prefers to clarify in principle the nature of charismatic leadership and the measure of commitment to the demands of public office which is required of the élite.

To sum up, in the writings of R. Jacob Isaac the doctrine of the Zaddik in relation to society was informed by factors operating on three levels:

on the *personal level*, the Zaddik's inner consciousness of spiritual authority presented him with the challenge of forming a community united by its response to his charisma. He had to subject the ideals of Zaddikism to the test of practical application under conditions actually encountered in the daily experience of leading a Hasidic group.

on the *level of organization and propaganda*, the crystallization of the doctrine of the Zaddik became central to the process of establishing Hasidism and determining its distinct character at the time when the movement was spreading throughout Eastern Europe.

on the *polemical level*, the responsibilities of the Zaddik were so formulated, and his relationship with his followers so defined, as to amount to a protest against the values of rabbinic leadership and its social attitudes, while at the same time presenting an alternative to these traditional values.

In addition to the external circumstances which determined the nature of the Zaddik's relations with society, four internal factors appear to have marked out his unique spiritual constitution according to R. Jacob Isaac:

- 1 charisma anchored in spiritual authority which derives its strength from the consciousness of direct contact with God.
  - 2 the dialectic tension between the divine 'nothing' and the auspicious flow of divine 'bounty' on which the existence of the Zaddik is founded, a tension reflected in his self-annulment and humility on the one hand and his ecstatic exaltation and *devekut* (attachment to, communion with, God) on the other.
  - 3 a call to operate simultaneously on the metaphysical and earthly planes, or to maintain contact with the divine 'nothing' (*ayin*) and the material 'being' (*yesh*), which requires conflicting states of consciousness.
  - 4 the explicit imposition of responsibility for the material prosperity of the community, which implies the rehabilitation of materiality and its restoration to the realm of religious thought, while linking this process with the dialectics of the Zaddik's existence.
- Each of these four interconnected factors will be separately considered in order to clarify the distinctive nature of each one and to

assess their relative importance in shaping R. Jacob Isaac's concept of Zaddikism.

### CHARISMA

The Zaddik's leadership is founded on the recognition of charismatic authority—the gift of divine inspiration graciously bestowed by God.<sup>47</sup> This recognition is expressed unambiguously in R. Jacob Isaac's opening pages: 'that the Creator, blessed be He, empowers the Zaddik to act' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 25). The assertion is explained from various angles throughout R. Jacob Isaac's works—'for the Zaddik's soul must . . . be purified . . . in order that he should be prepared for the inspiration of His holiness, blessed be He, upon him and within him' (*ibid.*, p. 73).

The direct contact with God which occurs during ecstatic exaltation endows its subject with supernatural authority and a charismatic quality together with the sense of mediating between the upper and the lower worlds, and a powerful consciousness of mission.<sup>48</sup> 'the Zaddik is above the masses, and in his root the divine bounty flows in spiritual form, and the light of His holiness, blessed be He, reaches him' (*ibid.*, p. 2); 'for the Zaddik must . . . draw down divine bounty to the world . . . and in this respect the Zaddikim are called *malakim* (messengers, angels) in the sense of performing a mission, for the Zaddik executes His mission, blessed be He, to do good to His creatures' (*ibid.*, p. 139); 'and he must also ask for mercy upon Israel, and in regard to this he is called 'angel-like' and 'His emissary', blessed be He, to draw down good to Israel . . . and he has divine inspiration which is given to him so as to know what is necessary and when it is necessary and how to act . . . and he effects *Yihudim* ('unifications' of distinct aspects within the Divinity and its Creation) like burning fire' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 206).

The charismatic quality of the Zaddik as it is understood by him and others is to be found in his relation to God and his decisive influence on essential aspects of human existence by virtue of this connection. The power of this charisma to establish, create, maintain, guide and alter vital areas in the life of man bestows on the person who is favoured with it a supernatural status setting him apart from ordinary mortals, as well as an awe-inspiring authority drawing its strength from a transcendental source.<sup>49</sup> The greater weight given to charismatic authority in Hasidism can be recognized both in the Zaddik's own awareness of his role as a medium of divine forces and in his deep conviction that he is acting under the inspiration of God and is revealing information imparted to him by divine revelation.

Naturally enough the Zaddik does not elaborate on the exact nature

of this inspiration, but he does allude to it and invoke it as the source of his authority, for in his view there is concealed in the Zaddik a power which points beyond his own being to his Creator, and in every action of his there is, as it were, the power of a symbol to throw light on what lies beyond it. At the beginning of his address to his followers R. Jacob Isaac indicates that the source of his authority is in the flow which he draws down from Heaven and which is quite distinct from conventional human knowledge: 'Hearken to [that which is] from Him and incline your ears to me, for I do not wish to say what I know but what has been imparted to me from the Lord, blessed be He, for you' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 6). The charisma is drawn from personal revelation and the express connection with a wondrous and supernatural power. Indeed, it can clearly be seen that the spiritual authority in the name of which he addresses his audience is based on transcendental inspiration, an inspiration which invests his authority with an aura of mystical certainty.<sup>50</sup> The authority discovered within himself through illumination from on high is conditioned internally while being justified externally. Internally, the recognition of the profound lowliness of human existence, and the sense of its abnegation in the face of divine plenitude, condition the flow of divine forces to the Zaddik. Externally, the consciousness of his mission to his community and all Israel is the justification for the illumination from Heaven which he has received. As to the internal requirement of humility: 'It must be firmly established in your heart that it is not by your righteous acts that you have achieved this but by the grace of God, who helps those who come to purify themselves and is near to all who call upon Him, for you must thoroughly grasp your lowliness' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 25). Set beside this is the external justification: the Zaddik is favoured with help from on high for the benefit of the 'world'—the community—on behalf of which he is executing his mission. Through this help he is concerned both in the discovery of spiritual levels of existence and in drawing down material bounty: 'And Jacob journeyed from strength to strength and so achieved spiritual vision . . . which means a higher level at which he is privileged with vision . . . which means a higher level at which he is privileged with vision not only in regard to his own affairs but also to the needs of the world' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 27). 'People must associate themselves with the Zaddikim of every generation, for they do not ascribe merit to themselves and the Lord is with them and also they have explored their own humility and they are helped from on high, particularly for the needs of the world' (*ibid.*, p. 34).

The external expression of the gift of charisma is bound up with the tension between the esoteric and the exoteric. Careful consideration is required as to the extent to which it may be disclosed and as to the danger of revealing the meaning of the most exalted insights and their

possible repercussions. R. Jacob Isaac points this out many times in his 'guidelines': '... and to be very careful not to disclose any matter which is not known to everybody' and to beware of disclosing anything in the nature of prophecy, and if it is necessary to do so, to do it with great wisdom with the help of God, blessed be He' (*Diverey Emet*, Guidelines [*Hanhagot*], p. 8).<sup>51</sup> The great caution thus demanded in regard to the disclosure of spiritual insights is clearly indicated as the lesson to be learned from a specific historical incident which is invoked by R. Jacob Isaac and quoted in his name by his disciple R. Zvi Hirsch of Zhidachov:

I heard this from my teacher, of blessed memory [the Seer], who said of those disciples, in reference to what occurred when a certain sect embarked on that notorious sacrilege in the days of the author of the *TuZ* (R. David ben Samuel Ha-Levi: *TuZ* = *Turey Zahav*). It occurred, he said, because they wanted to attain the divine insight of Elijah, the gift of prophecy and the holy spirit, by means of the manipulation of divine names, but they did not subdue their natures or control their material desires, nor were they free from guilt, nor did they take heed to themselves, but they pursued wonders which lay beyond their grasp and meditated [the mysteries of] divine unification . . . without purifying their material existence; and they depicted the forms of the supreme beings under the celestial chariot. In consequence of this they were overcome by lecherous forms and thoughts (from which Heaven preserve us), and that which we know of occurred, Heaven save us. Such were the words of my teacher. He also said, in the name of the Baal Shem Tov, whose soul rests in the storehouse on high, that those foolish people had learned this skill without the ability to tremble for fear of Heaven. They therefore gave corporeal form [to the celestial beings] and thus they stepped out of bounds.<sup>52</sup>

The 'sacrilege in the days of the *TuZ*' is of course an allusion to the Sabbatean movement, on the failure of which the Seer was expressing his opinion. From the bitter lesson of the attempt to attain divine inspiration without the restraints of esotericism, self-purification and fear of Heaven, he inferred the vital need for extreme caution in the pursuit of spiritual insight, since such a pursuit opened up the danger of false interpretation and 'materialization', and could lead to sectarian heresy. Esotericism, caution, submission, humility and self-purification were restraints which must be accepted by anyone contemplating the disclosure of spiritual insights to the public. The Seer outlined both external and internal criteria for testing the authenticity of such disclosures.

The charismatic dimension of the Zaddik and his role as divine

agent, rooted in spiritual authority and in the certainty of his connection with the worlds above, is demonstrated by the constant flow of words of Torah which emanate 'from on high',<sup>53</sup> and by a capacity for supernatural action which manifests itself in supertemporal knowledge and the ability to perform 'miracles and wonders'.

Both aspects of the Zaddik are conditioned by his inner acceptance of the uncompromising demands of life in the presence of God and by his capacity for self-abnegation. He sees himself as worthless and devoid of substance in face of the plenitude of God: '... and it is of the first importance that man's sense of shame before the Creator, blessed be He, should never leave him; for He is before us and behind us and fills all the earth; there is no place where He is not; He observes our thoughts and the secrets of the heart, and we must always bear this in mind, at all events, and feel shame before Him' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 4).<sup>54</sup> A clear-cut expression of the same attitude, in the first person, is found in his 'guidelines': 'I am resolved to be very lowly in my own eyes, at all events' (*Diverey Emet*, p. 8).

The transmission of new words of Torah from Heaven is the first criterion by which to judge the validity of any claim to charismatic authority and the certainty which is based on transcendental inspiration. This is emphasized in R. Jacob Isaac's earliest writings: 'Behold, I am about to commit to writing those new insights which the Lord, blessed be He, has helped me to acquire and communicate in the sessions of companions (*havrim*) hearkening to my voice, my voice being [directed] towards Him . . .' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 4).<sup>55</sup> The disclosure to others of new interpretations of the Torah imparted from Heaven is a source of 'great vitality' (*hiyyut gadol*) and 'ardour' (*hitlahavut*), or a sort of ecstatic illumination which brings about an emotional change in the speaker; this, in turn, radiates upon his audience: "Creatures of fire speak"—this means that one should not speak except through the vital force of the Torah and ardour for love and fear of the Creator, blessed be He, who is called *shalhevetyah* (flame of the Lord: *S. of S.* 8:6) . . . which means that one should not speak until visited by the great vitality (*ha-hiyyut ha-gadol*) and ardour, which is the creatures (*hay-yot*) of fire speaking with power' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 18).

Power, fire, ardour, *ha-hiyyut ha-gadol*, flame and love—all these expressions convey some idea of the strength of the emotional experience involved in this illumination, and of the ecstatic change it brings about in the person who is its subject. It made a strong impression on those who witnessed it, and may be regarded as having created a unique pattern of affiliation with the Zaddik: 'and everyone who receives [instruction] from him, and listens to his teaching and his

prayer, has within him light from the Zaddik's soul, as we know' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 76).

The shared experience of the Zaddik's ecstatic piety and its strong effect on his audience is again alluded to by the Seer: 'that the Torah should be received with fear and awe and trembling—this must apply at least to the reading of the Torah in public and to public sermons' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 18). This shared experience became, in itself, a source of religious authority, for the sense of direct contact with the sphere of the divine during the Zaddik's religious exaltation in the presence of the congregation conferred on him supernatural status and authority.<sup>56</sup>

The second criterion of charismatic authority is concerned with the earthly aspect of this illumination and its relation to the general good: it is the ability to influence the upper worlds and to perform miracles. R. Jacob Isaac gives twofold expression to his views on this sensitive issue, mixing the objective with the subjective and the description of reality on the ideal plane with his sense of being a Zaddik performing wonders on the earthly plane: 'The tabernacle of testimony—this means that His tabernacle should also be over us in this way, to perform miracles and wonders for the good of Israel, and this is a testimony that the divine presence, which answers whenever we call, dwells in our midst' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 73); '... and they (the Zaddikim) are also called angels of the Lord of hosts because thereby they perform miracles and wonders, for the Lord is with them' (*ibid.*, p. 139). The charismatic leader acquires his authority by proving his ability to perform miracles, and recognition of this ability by his followers is a crucial test of his charisma. This recognition is unreservedly assured him when a sign or proof of a miraculous nature is given.<sup>57</sup> But it is in the nature of the charismatic power that it must constantly be proved, which is why the Seer repeats several times in his prayers a request which he puts in these terms: 'And we ask . . . for example, that He may give help to the helpers of those who come to be purified, and also to the Zaddikim of every generation to perform miracles and wonders and the like, in order that the house of Israel may draw near to the Creator, blessed be He' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 192).<sup>58</sup>

The mystical experience and the possession of charisma must prove themselves by activity within society, according to R. Jacob Isaac, since the internal dialogue between the individual and his God cannot legitimate them or give them suitable expression.

The ability to influence the upper worlds is bound up with the good of Israel as both a condition and an aim: 'But he should know that every response to him by the Lord, blessed be He, even in the form of miracles and wonders, is granted by God's grace for the good of Israel . . . therefore to anyone who knows this it is possible to reveal the

secrets of the Torah and He will perform miracles and wonders through him for the good of Israel' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 5). The test of the authenticity of ecstatic and spiritual experiences is in social activity and its public manifestation. For this reason, the Zaddik's activity in the upper worlds is not theurgic, as in Kabbalistic tradition, but it takes on an earthly character, with the function of helping the whole community of Israel. This help, which is defined as responsibility for 'children, life and sustenance', consists of the manipulation of magical power in the material world and the ability to influence the will of the Creator. Indeed, the ability to effect supernatural change in the material world plays a central part in the Seer's doctrine, for he regards the social sphere as the appropriate arena for the display of the Zaddik's spiritual power.<sup>59</sup>

The focus, then, has shifted from the upper worlds to earthly existence. The mission of the Zaddik to his community is based on the premise that the community needs an emissary who will cause divine bounty to flow down for them from on high and who will represent its earthly interests before Heaven. The following quotation illustrates how strongly R. Jacob Isaac was imbued with the sense of mission—on the one hand imposed by God and conditioned by a consciousness of personal lowliness, and on the other derived from mystical experience and the religious authority thus acquired: "And this is the sign that it is I who have sent you" (Exodus 3:12): the straightforward meaning is as follows: "this" refers to my request that you, rather than any others of Israel, should undertake a mission. To this you say, "Who am I?" and are humble; "this", then, "is the sign that it is I who have sent you", for you go in perfect truth' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 195).<sup>60</sup>

The emphasis on the relationship between the gift of charisma and the mission on behalf of the public which it imposes recurs throughout the Seer's teaching: a person who is granted help from on high receives this privilege for the benefit of the world. The idea of mediation between Heaven and earth by chosen individuals is fraught with far-reaching dialectical possibilities, as will be shown below. However, its main point is that those to whom the favour of Heaven has been granted and who are called upon to carry out a charismatic mission must acknowledge their special quality and act upon it, since the measure of the truth and significance of their mystical experience is the execution of the mission on behalf of the community. The mystical experience in itself, and a life of spiritual purity and seclusion, do not fulfil the requirements of the doctrine. R. Jacob Isaac saw himself as carrying a heavy burden of responsibility through his spiritual inspiration and insight; he was a leader by virtue of his ties with higher worlds, which enabled him to draw down benefits from those worlds.

It was this premise which guided him in his disclosures of Torah and in the spiritual leadership of his community, just as much as it underpinned his claim of exclusive responsibility for the material affairs of 'children, life and sustenance': 'For in every generation there are Zaddikim who set right and correct their ways before the Lord and cause the many to be righteous . . . for they have attained the holy spirit, because they have walked in the path of truth' (*Diveret Emet*, p. 42). The interconnection between the Zaddik's attainment of the holy spirit on the one hand, and his duty to the public on the other is a complex one: cause and effect, and the precise channels of mutual influence between these two poles of the Zaddik's existence, are not clearly distinguished, but there is no doubt that such a connection exists in the view of R. Jacob Isaac. He sees the authority to exercise leadership as drawn from mystical insight and the spiritual inspiration as tied to concern for the public good. A similarly complex link exists between the new social realities of Hasidism and the mystical values which underlie them. The identification of this link is complicated by the fact that the social-historical data to which we have allusions in the texts come to our notice through the subjective medium of the Zaddik's consciousness, but there seems no reason to doubt the central position of the consciousness of charisma in determining the pattern of relationships within Hasidic society at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>61</sup>

#### AYIN AND YESH IN ZADDIKISM

R. Jacob Isaac bases the theology of Zaddikism on the dialectical Kabbalistic concepts of *ayin* and *yesh* and their ethical and mystical metamorphosis in Hasidism—*ayin* ('nothing') corresponding to 'submission', 'humility' and 'self-abnegation', while *yesh* ('being', 'existence') corresponds to 'expansiveness', 'bounty' and 'drawing down'. Both the internal and the external aspects of reality are to be explained, as he sees it, in the light of these concepts. The absorption of this double set of values into the inner consciousness of the Zaddik in his relationship to God and the world is a central theme of the Seer's writings.

In Kabbalistic thought, *ayin* and *yesh*, or the divine and the material, the two ontological opposites of human consciousness, are transformed into two modes of divine existence which come complement and condition each other. In Hasidic thought they become ambivalent opposites which condition each other at both levels of meaning.<sup>62</sup> *Ayin* in its divine sense is the source of all *being*, but it is also, in its human application, the embodiment of nothingness, complete nullity or

non-being.<sup>63</sup> *Yesh* in its divine sense signifies the essence of all being; in its earthly meaning it relates to corporeal, material existence.<sup>64</sup> These two opposites are described in the Lurianic system as *haatsalah* and *isimsum* (emanation and contraction) or *hitpashut* and *histalkut* (spreading out and withdrawal).<sup>65</sup> The emanation, the spreading out and the flow of bounty reflect the transformation of *ayin* into *yesh*, or the drawing down of divine 'being' from on high to the world below, while contraction and withdrawal signify the transformation of *yesh* into *ayin* or the divine dynamic of a return from worlds below to worlds on high.<sup>66</sup>

In parallel with the two dynamic modes of divine existence, *hitpashut* and *histalkut*, the Zaddik's existence embodies two opposites on which his religious experience is founded. The first is *devekut*—communion with God, exaltation and the 'drawing down' of divine bounty—which are parallel to the emanation and flow of the divine 'being' or the transformation of *ayin* into *yesh*; the second is self-abnegation (*bitul*), submission and humility, corresponding to divine withdrawal and contraction, or the transformation of *yesh* into *ayin*.

Just as, in the Lurianic dialectic, there is no flow or emanation in the absence of contraction and withdrawal, so, in the dialectic of the Zaddik, there is no unification, exaltation, or communion with God, nor any drawing down of divine bounty from the upper to the lower worlds, in the absence of *bitul ha-yesh* (annihilation of material existence), acknowledgement of lowliness, and awareness of the insubstantial nature of human existence.<sup>67</sup> To fulfil the basic conditions of Zaddikism as a reflection of the two opposite modes of divine existence, the Zaddik must be conscious of these two extremes within him: he is 'the lowliest of men, and the worst', but at the same time he is the man who can operate in higher worlds, 'who can work miracles and wonders': 'for a man who is humble . . . can perform miracles and wonders for the good of Israel' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 2). The relationship known to Jewish tradition between man's self-abasement and his spiritual elevation and proximity to God<sup>68</sup> changes in the perception of the Seer into the contradiction inherent in the nature of one who realizes in his own person both the *ayin* and the *yesh*. The Zaddik who reduces his material self to 'a desert', 'no man's property' (*hefker*) and 'a trampled doorstep', is the same person who is elevated to the level of bestowing bounty and doing good 'in righteousness and loving kindness' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 80) in his capacity as a person connected with the divine *yesh*: 'If he makes himself like a desert, withdraws from materiality and does not think of corporeal pleasure . . . it is given to him to draw down bounty of every kind' (*ibid.*, p. III). It is, indeed, man's transformation of himself into *ayin* which determines his

unification with the divine *ayin* and the Zaddik's transformation of this *ayin* into *yesh*, as will be demonstrated below.<sup>69</sup>

Indifference to the values of this world, recognition that man is of little worth and the consciousness that he is as nothing compared to the fullness of God are among the basic values of the Hasidic ethos.<sup>70</sup> Their purpose is to wrest man away from his material existence in order to establish in his consciousness a change which prepares the way for the attainment of *devekut*. This emerges clearly from the words of the Maggid of Mezehirech: 'And man must separate himself from all materiality to such an extent that he ascends through all the worlds and becomes one with the Holy One, blessed be He, until he is annulled from existence; and then he may be called Man.'<sup>71</sup>

In the doctrine of the Zaddik a new purpose is added to the well-known mystical aim of separation from materiality and unification with God. It is the drawing down of divine bounty to earthly existence; that is to say, the ways previously mapped out by which the boundaries of the material world could be breached and mystical experience attained by the individual now became a means of achieving a twofold purpose, directed on the one hand to the ascent to *devekut*—from *yesh* to *ayin*—and, on the other, to the drawing down of bounty to earth—from *ayin* to *yesh*. Moreover, the drawing down of bounty by the Zaddik became a touchstone of his spiritual transformation, which had previously been a goal in its own right: 'Whoever makes himself as nought (*ayin*) can come and draw down [good] from there (i.e. from the *ayin*) as was said by the rabbi, the Maggid of Rovno, on the Talmudic statement '*eyn mazal le-Yisrael*' (Israel is not under the influence of any planet [*mazal*]), 'one who makes himself as nought can draw down *mazal* (interpreted as meaning 'the divine flow')<sup>72</sup> for Israel; and so, too, one who gives up himself and his body and submits himself to the Lord and accepts the yoke of the Torah as if surrendering possession of himself to the Lord, blessed be He, can similarly draw down benefit from that world where there are no rights of possession. It goes without saying that for him, material sustenance flows down freely from there' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 127).<sup>73</sup> In these and similar statements the emphasis is more on drawing down the flow of material bounty than on self-annihilation, i.e. not so much on the mystical goal as on the transmission of the bounty which follows from it.

It is precisely the denial of material existence, the indifference to worldly values on the part of the Zaddik who is at home in the upper worlds, who regards himself as nought and who experiences the lower, material world as a sojourner and stranger since 'he dwells chiefly in the world above', that enables him to draw down divine bounty from *ayin* to *yesh*:

Let man remember the truth that the chief place of his existence is not here . . . and the expression 'Who shall sojourn' (Ps. 15:1) means he shall regard himself as a sojourner 'in Your tent' . . . 'and who shall dwell in Your holy mountain'—that is the world to come (i.e. the reference is to one whose chief place of existence is not here but in the world to come)—he dwells chiefly in Your holy mountain . . . such a person draws down to the world the bounty of children, life and sustenance . . . but, for this, the quality of *ayin* is necessary, as I heard from the man of God, R. Baer of Rovno, on the expression *eyn mazal le-Yisrael*: he who regards himself as nought can draw down benefits which are dependent on *mazal* (interpreted as meaning 'divine flow')—'children, life and sustenance' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 9).

The Kabbalistic concept of *ayin* here takes on an ambivalent character, both divine and earthly. In its divine sense *ayin* is 'the divine *yesh*', the *eyn-sof* (infinite) and plenitude, the source of re-creation and emanation, while in its earthly sense it is nothingness, the negation of *yesh*. The Zaddik must absorb the earthly meaning into his inner consciousness in order to achieve the divine quality, for only through the negation of his earthly existence and the obliteration of his individual self can he unite with the divine *ayin* and turn that *ayin* into earthly *yesh*.<sup>74</sup>

Above all the Zaddik must be submissive and recognize his deficiency, whether because of His majesty, blessed be He, or because he knows his true worth . . . for he who knows the truth can truly cleave to God who is truth. Furthermore, his disposition is humble as if he had offered all the sacrifices [ordained by Scripture], and thus he is stirred into action and raises the matter . . . for, through his humility, he stirs the world of *ayin* to sustain the world by way of making *yesh* from *ayin*, just as at the beginning *yesh* came out of *ayin* (*Diverey Emet*, p. 16).

The Zaddik who has annulled his own existence so as to become *ayin* in the earthly sense and who, in divesting himself of corporality, has achieved the transformation of *ani* (I, the self) into *ayin* (nought), becomes a receptacle for the mystical *ayin*, that is to say, for the emanation of divine vitality which flows through him to the world at large. In this way he completes a cycle of change: the material *yesh* becomes the divine *ayin*, which in turn becomes a material *yesh*.<sup>75</sup> That the material *ayin* and the divine *ayin* are conditioned on one another and interrelated is expressly stated throughout the Seer's writings: 'for "*eyn mazal le-Yisrael*"—this expression means that he who regards himself as *ayin* can draw down the divine flow (*mazal*) of "children, life and sustenance" . . . for he can draw down all manner of emanation of *yesh* from *ayin* because of his lowliness in his own eyes' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 198); 'he who becomes . . . submissive and as low as *ayin*, he will be able

to draw down as we have stated above' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 9).

By regarding himself as nought and turning his being into a receptacle, the Zaddik causes the divine *ayin* to dwell in him;<sup>76</sup> it is the transformation of the earthly *yesh* into *ayin* in the consciousness of the Zaddik which makes possible the transformation of the divine *ayin* into the earthly *yesh* in the shape of the material bounty which he draws down.

To sum up, the dialectical change brought about by the doctrine of the Zaddik may be characterized as follows: it was a departure from the view of *devekut* and unification with the divine *ayin* as ends in themselves—the direct outcome of self-abnegation and indifference towards material existence, towards a *devekut* which has the aim of drawing down material plenty and providing leadership for the world. This shift of mystical endeavour from the metaphysical to the earthly sphere is also a shift of emphasis from the single purpose of fusion with God (transformation of *ani* into *aljin*) to the complexity of simultaneous identification with the *ayin* and the *yesh*.

The world of the Zaddik is not founded on an ideal existence in which all is harmonious unity but on an imperfect existence, subject to conflicting forces and struggling between the two poles of *ayin* and *yesh*: 'Contemplate the majesty of God in the worlds on high which are called the heavens above so that you may ascend ever higher in attachment (*devekut*) to the Creator, blessed be He, and on the earth beneath consider the lowliness of your physical existence, so that you may be the lowliest of creatures in your own eyes' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 67).

It may be that this change in the dialectical view of the Zaddik is grounded in the internal symmetry of the doctrine of the Zaddik, which places the mystical yearning to grasp hidden realities side by side with the demand to plumb to the full the meaning of human reality; it puts the mystical connection with the divine *ayin* alongside the intimate connection with the earthly community. As one studies the teachings of R. Jacob Isaac, it sometimes seems that against the increased importance given to spiritual authority—which is founded on a close relationship to the divine *ayin*, as well as on the assumption that the Zaddik can ascend to worlds on high—he is required also to strengthen his image as a man and to identify with the human *ayin*, along with sin, repentance, submission and lowliness. This acts as a counterweight to his claim of charismatic status which magnifies his godly image. Humility, lowliness and self-abnegation are the Zaddik's states of consciousness whenever he is not experiencing *devekut*: 'Humility must be rooted in his heart, except when he is filled with *devekut*, when it is certainly good to be in a state of *hitpashtut* (expansion) so that he should not consider his lowliness' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 79). And indeed, a deep awareness of

lowliness as the state of human existence is the most important ethical teaching that the Zaddik is required to observe, and the guideline which recurs most in the Seer's works.<sup>77</sup> Humility and lowliness are the external expression of the stages in the transformation of the *ani*—the 'I'—into the *aljin* which is nothingness, nullity. The Zaddik, by absorbing these attributes into his inner being and by giving expression to them in public, earns the conferment of divine inspiration and the consequent right to exercise leadership. Moreover, these qualities are established as the basis of the affiliation and empathy between the Zaddik and the community:

And what kind of man shall he be? Shall he be a man of eloquence, important and a master over the community? Let him be precisely one 'who shall go out before them' (Num. 27:17); the text means, let him be lowly in his own eyes and regard himself as a greater sinner than all of them.<sup>78</sup> This is the meaning of the expression 'go out'; it relates to when he considers his lowliness and his sins. The term 'going out' is used for this, because one must always cleave to the Creator, blessed be He, to the love and fear of Him and to His Torah, but consideration of one's lowliness is called going out because, while holiness is described as lying within the domain of the individual, its opposite lies without in the public domain. When a man considers his sins, when he confesses and regrets them while they occupy his mind, he is devoutly engrossed (*daruk*) at that time in lowliness and in the going out (i.e. the departure) of his sins, and he himself is worse than all of them. That is what is meant by 'who shall go out before them', for when the leader of the people repents, all those who love him and all his followers cleave to him and they are attached to him in his thoughts; his conduct arouses them to behave similarly, which is to say, he shall go out before them and they [shall go] after him' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 27).

The recognition of his lowliness as a basis for the empathy between the Zaddik and his community is one of the fundamental principles of R. Jacob Isaac's doctrine of the Zaddik. As we have seen, there is reason to suppose that it constitutes a counterweight to the powerful influence of charismatic authority. Therefore the Zaddik should always emphasize the obligation to recognize one's lowliness, while he should present charismatic inspiration and ecstatic transformation—*hitlahavut*, burning enthusiasm—as a boon from God and a miracle not due to any merit other than the exhaustive exploration and acknowledgement of his own worthlessness.

'Make a fiery serpent' (Num. 21:8)—that is *hitlahavut*, and it means that henceforward it must be firmly established in your heart that it is not through your righteous acts that you have attained this but through the grace of God who helps those who come to purify themselves and is near

to all who call upon Him, for you must thoroughly grasp your lowliness . . . And this is why Scripture continues 'and set it'—that is, the fiery serpent, which is *hitlahavut*—'on a pole' (= *nes*) since it is a miracle (= *nes*) from the Creator that it should be so in your heart, and in this matter you will act so that others also may benefit by learning from you to conduct themselves in this way, for otherwise they will despair, saying 'You are the Zaddik and *hitlahavut* may be all very well for you, but it is not so for us', because they are aware of their own shortcomings. That is why Scripture says: if you set the matter on a *nes* [i.e. if you ascribe it to a miracle] and you accept that you have not merited this by reason of your character but, on the contrary, that it would not have been possible for you to achieve this by yourself, but only by means of a miracle (Zot *Zikaron*, pp. 25–6). For the Zaddik must draw down abundance to the world and if he is of lowly disposition and submissive he draws it in proportion to his own level of lowliness, both for the lowly and for the great (Zikaron Zot, p. 54).<sup>79</sup>

The Seer repeatedly stresses man's passive position in regard to the privilege of receiving God's grace and drawing near to the divine *ayin*, as against the active obligation to be mindful of the human *ayin*, the nullity of man and the lowliness of human existence. His view of the relationship between the Zaddik and his followers is instructive. It appears to be based on a certain transformation of the idea of 'the descent of the Zaddik' which marked the early stages of Hasidic thought.<sup>80</sup> In the works of R. Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye 'the descent of the Zaddik' to the level of 'the ordinary man' is, of course, the basis of the empathy between the Zaddik and the common people, whereas in the form in which this idea appears in the Seer's teaching, it is his self-reproach, the 'consciousness of his own lowliness' or 'the descent into himself' that is advanced as the means of establishing the bond between the Zaddik and his followers. It does not seem too far-fetched to regard this as an elaboration of the idea of the 'descent of the Zaddik' but on a different footing, that of partnership and empathy. The interest in the doctrine of evil has been replaced by the social interest.

#### BETWEEN THE UPPER WORLDS AND EARTHLY EXISTENCE

The pattern of leadership set up by the Hasidic movement was that of a 'man of the spirit' possessed of pneumatic authority who is called upon to deal with metaphysical and earthly matters at one and the same time. In the metaphysical domain the Zaddik strives to raise himself to such levels of holiness and *devekut* that through his merit God's spirit will be brought to dwell within him; in the earthly domain he works, by virtue of the holy spirit with which he has been endowed, to strengthen

the presence of God in the world and to draw down divine bounty. His efforts in the metaphysical domain take the form of a mystical, individual endeavour, to cut himself off from his earthly attachments and strive upwards to worlds above. This is expressed, for example, in the following: 'He who detaches himself is a tower soaring in the air, which means divested of corporality' (Zot *Zikaron*, p. 11). His connection with the earthly plane, on the other hand, is reflected in his assumption of responsibility for the material and social well-being of the community, with the purpose of bringing the divine presence to dwell among them—whence the formula 'to work miracles and wonders for the good of Israel' and 'to draw down abundance to the world'.

This twofold requirement is presented unambiguously as the essence of the Zaddik's leadership:

For the Zaddik must see to two things: one, that his soul is purified and cleansed of sin and of every evil thought and so, too, he must be ready for the holiness of the Lord, blessed be He, to come to rest on him and within him; and secondly, and even more importantly, he must bring about the fulfilment of the will of God and see that God's holiness, blessed be He, is strengthened in the world, and bring about the salvation of Israel and work miracles and wonders (Zikaron Zot, p. 73).

S. Ettinger, in his study of the Hasidic leadership, has already drawn attention to the fundamental change which the Hasidic concept of leadership represented: . . . instead of the ideal personality of the pre-Hasidic generation, the remote self-mortifying mystic, Hasidism idealized the mystic who leads the people and lives among them.<sup>81</sup>

And indeed this change occurs in Polish Hasidism too: the mystic who has cut himself off from the community, who hopes 'for His holiness to come to rest on him', and who immerses himself in godly abstraction, gives place to another religious ideal, that of a man who relates positively to the world and society and who must radiate his own spirituality to the whole community. This idea is marked by his aspiration to 'draw down the divine presence to dwell among us', as well as upon the Zaddik, and to draw down abundance for all Israel. It is in this way that the Zaddik is seen by R. Jacob Isaac: he must combine mystical asceticism with involvement in earthly matters.

The dual requirement had wide repercussions in society. But while there is no doubt that the image of the reclusive Zaddik no longer answered what was felt to be the need, and that a clear preference had emerged for a leader who could combine the two roles described by R. Jacob Isaac, the deeper reason for the double requirement has not, hitherto, been adequately explained. It appears that the underlying

reason for the tension between separation from and concern with material things is to be found in the tension between transcendence and immanence, or the two aspects of the Godhead with which the Zaddik stands in relationship and which he both absorbs and expresses.

The whole of R. Jacob Isaac's doctrine of the Zaddik bears the stamp of the tension between the shedding of corporality, in order to achieve the ascetic separation from his environment which is a precondition for attaining a state of holiness, and the responsibility for material things which requires close contact with earthly existence. This is reflected in the imagery the Seer chooses. The Zaddik's longing is expressed, for example, in "Our soul is escaped like a bird" (Ps. 124:7)—this means shedding corporality as mentioned above, flying in the air and having no concern for this world' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 11). But he returns from this flight of the spirit, for 'the Zaddik must always seek mercy for Israel and also for everything in the world which bears on material existence, because it pleases the Creator, blessed be He, that it should be so' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 24). The return from mystical exaltation in order to devote attention to earthly matters is a fundamental obligation: 'for a personal duty is laid upon the Zaddikim of the generation always to draw down abundant good, great acts of loving-kindness, [and] greatness for Israel so that every good thing should be theirs' (*ibid.*, p. 24).

Moreover, while he yearns to be 'one whose chief abode is not here' but 'in the world to come' or 'in Your holy mountain' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 9), and compares himself to 'a tower soaring in the air, as one who departs from earthliness and corporality' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 11), he returns from his abstract existence in order to 'draw down to the world the bounty of children, life and sustenance' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 9) and to be active 'in the midst of the congregation' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 191). These two essentially contradictory elements of the Zaddik's existence require a split of his consciousness between the opposite poles of the spiritual and the material.<sup>82</sup> His response to this split conforms to the regular pattern of the mystical dialectic of *yesh* and *ayin* and inspires the social character of the Zaddik's leadership: the Zaddik must reflect both the transformation of the earthly *yesh* to the divine *ayin*—by seclusion, asceticism and *devekut*—and the transformation of the divine *ayin* to the earthly *yesh*, by drawing down benefits from heaven to earth and by the acceptance of the obligation to attend to earthly needs such as are expressed in 'children, life and sustenance'. R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk, R. Jacob Isaac's teacher, made this dual requirement a *sine qua non*, expressed in this form: 'The Zaddik must be both solitary and together with all Israel' (*Noam Elimelech*, p. 73b); and the Seer extended it to the metaphysical and social planes: '... for the Zaddik's chief abode is

above, in his attachment (*devekut*) to Him, blessed be He, but he must also consider the needs of the public, to lessen the severity of judgements and similarly to seek mercy for Israel' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 19). 'For the Zaddik must act in two ways, firstly for His sake, blessed be He . . . which should be [done] with fervour (*hitlahavut ha-lev*), and secondly he must seek mercy for Israel, and for this reason he is called 'angel-like' and 'His emissary', blessed be He, to draw down good for Israel' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 206). 'For the Zaddik must serve the Holy One, blessed be He, in two ways: one, to cleave to Him, blessed be He . . . and also to draw down abundance for the world' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 139).

This tension between the elevation to *ayin* and drawing down to *yesh* sets up the Zaddik as a dialectical figure, reflecting the inner struggles of a man who is required to respond to the diametrical opposites of holiness and earthliness, and to embody spiritual longing and material involvement at one and the same time. The tension is derived from the relationship between the Zaddik and the two aspects of the Godhead. The Zaddik is called upon to effect a union of opposites in himself, reflecting, as he does, both divine transcendence which leaves the world behind and is stripped of materiality, and divine immanence which bestows abundance on the world, endows it with its vitality and is present in it. The Zaddik, who is at home both in the upper worlds and in this world below, in spite of the two quite different frames of mind which this requires—the shedding of materiality as against concern with material affairs—embodies the ambivalence of *yesh* and *ayin* in their heavenly and earthly manifestations. In other words, he embodies both transcendence and immanence in relation to material existence.

It is the same divine dialectic of 'withdrawal' from the world and 'expansion' into it which is absorbed into the inner being of the Zaddik in the form of 'exaltation' and 'lowliness' that marks his contact with the world. The tension between the dual aspects of the Godhead, transcendence and immanence, *tsimtsum* and *shefa* (contraction and abundance), creates an image of the Zaddik who yearns for exaltation to worlds on high, but at the same time longs to be the means of bestowing abundance from God on earthly existence.

It appears that the doctrine of the Zaddik in the minds of those who formulated it was founded on the premise that the Zaddik was not simply a person complete in himself but that there were forces concealed within him which pointed beyond his personality to their divine origin, to an other-worldly existence which was symbolized by his actions and reflected in them. The Seer describes the complex relationship between the Zaddik and God from various homiletical points of view: "and what are the cities"—these are the Zaddikim—

"in which he dwells" (Num. 13:19)—that is to say, the Creator, who dwells within them' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 12). R. Jacob Isaac is saying, in effect, that many qualities traditionally ascribed to God are transferred to the Zaddik.<sup>83</sup> Every action of the Zaddik is in some measure an expression of divine power and a reflection of life on the divine level: "Ye are men" (*adam atem*) (Ezek. 34:31)—this means I am likened (*edameh*) to the Supreme Being, for the Zaddik compares the Creator, blessed be He, to himself: in the same way as the Creator, blessed be He, decrees and performs, so, too, does the Zaddik decree and the Holy One, blessed be He, perform and he can also annul the decrees of the Creator, blessed be He' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 38). 'The Zaddik can also act (in) the camp of God . . . and so he is called *rakia* [firmament, or one of the seven heavens], a title indicating importance, because he is important in all the worlds and whatever he decrees, the Lord, blessed be He, performs, for the Creator, blessed be He, empowers the Zaddik to act' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 25). The significant departure from midrashic tradition and its Kabbalistic interpretations of the figure of the Zaddik<sup>84</sup> is to be found in the intensification of the dialectical connection to the upper worlds while at the same time testing it on the earthly plane. The Zaddik's actions imitate the divine dynamic of withdrawal from below upwards (conversion of *yesh* to *ayin*), and of conferment of abundance from above downwards (conversion of *ayin* to *yesh*); in relation to Heaven he 'raises up worlds', 'performs unifications', 'gives great pleasure to the Creator', 'brings about unification between the world below and the worlds above' and 'raises up female waters' (*mayim nukvin*),<sup>85</sup> while in relation to the material world he 'brings down abundance', 'draws down to the world the bounty of children, life and sustenance', 'desires to do acts of true kindness' and 'draw down an abundance of holiness to the world from above'.<sup>86</sup> Notably, in all the statements relating to the mystical aspects of his actions, Kabbalistic-theurgic terminology is prominent, with the Zaddik 'unifying', 'attaching' (*medabek*), 'raising up', and 'joining together worlds above'; in regard to his relationship to earthly existence, however, the Zaddik is presented as a 'saviour', a 'bestower of abundance', and one who 'sustains and feeds',<sup>87</sup> with verbs and adjectives which are generally reserved for the loving-kindness of God towards His creatures.

The activity connected with earthly existence—the emanation, drawing down and conferment of abundance—is, as it were, an embodiment and intensification of the work of God, an imitation of Creation in bringing *yesh* out of *ayin* and an expression of divine immanence.<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, the Seer's picture of the activity connected with heavenly existence is based on the Kabbalistic-theurgic

tradition of the restoration of *yesh* to *ayin* and on a transcendental perspective: 'for it is the desire of the Holy One, blessed be He, to do good to his creatures; so, too, it should be the desire of the Zaddikim that there should be deeds of kindness and good done for Israel' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 11). 'And it is simply the case that he who has the attributes of the Creator desires to do acts of true kindness like the Creator, blessed be He, who desires to do good without any reward whatsoever' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 78).

The Seer interprets the drawing down of bounty as the transformation of the divine *ayin* to *yesh*: 'For he can draw down to him the bounty of *yesh* from *ayin*; moreover, the interpretation of this is that he is the divine flow (*mazal*) on which depend (the blessings of) children, life and sustenance' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 34). One cannot ignore the clear aim of forming the figure of the Zaddik in the image of God; equally, it should not be forgotten that mystical exaltation in the teachings of the Seer draws strength from earthly needs. The Zaddik can reinforce his empathy with earthly needs through the mystical power of his contact with worlds on high; he is able to found his leadership of the community on mystical authority by establishing the essential unity between the metaphysical and the earthly orders.

#### MATERIAL ZADDIKISM

The doctrine of 'material Zaddikism' is founded on an intimate relationship between the spiritual bonds between the Zaddik and the community and the material help he brings them. This relationship in turn is based on the subtle appreciation of people's expectations concerning existential needs, and on the Zaddik's ability to invest his empathy with them on the earthly level with a mystical power derived from his connection with the upper worlds. The doctrine offers a religious response to expectations which arise directly out of man's material existence. The Zaddik is made responsible for all the material wants of the community, from prosperity and wealth to 'children, life and sustenance'.<sup>89</sup> The burden of responsibility laid upon him accords completely with the charismatic source of his authority, for the claim to charismatic authority itself implies that Heaven has made him guardian of his followers and given him responsibility for their welfare.

There are two aspects to the doctrine of material Zaddikism. The first reflects the responsibility which a charismatic leader must bear towards the members of his congregation and is clearly aimed at establishing the vital need for his tutelage. This aspect is founded on a conception of the Zaddik as the law governing the distribution of the divine 'flow' which secures the existence of all beings. The second is

based on a new evaluation of materiality in both the religious and the social contexts.

The basic premise which is advanced is that in the dynamic relationship between God and the world which is defined by the Kabbalistic concept of *shefa* (divine flow, bounty or abundance)<sup>90</sup> there is a spiritual dimension and a material one. This spiritual and material flow, connected in Kabbalistic symbolism with the *sefirah* named *Yesod* (foundation), is drawn to earth by the Zaddik, who is perceived as the earthly hypostasis of that *sefirah*,<sup>91</sup> and the flow develops from the potential to the actual through the Zaddik's service of Heaven:

The Zaddik draws down *shefa* from the latent acts of kindness (*hasadim*) of the Holy One, blessed be He, for He 'keeps mercy' [in] (*notzer hesed*—Ex. 34:7) . . . and the Zaddik draws out the letters of the word *notzer* from the potential to the actual state so as to bring to the world [the blessing of] children, life and sustenance . . . for this reason the Zaddik is called *tsopherat pa'neah* (applied to Joseph in Gen. 41:45; traditionally, 'decipherer of hidden things'); whereas the acts of kindness were concealed and latent, he deciphers them so as to draw them out into the open for the needs of the world (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 32). The Zaddik must draw down abundance for the world; like the Zaddik Joseph, he is the provider of nourishment . . . and what was actual in the generations of old is now in a potential state, for they are like souls to us, and what is actual for the soul is potential for the body; therefore the Zaddik must now draw down abundance for the world (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 190).

The emanation of the *eyn-sof* (infinite) concealed in God's loving-kindness becomes a flow of bounty which is channelled by the Zaddik to meet material and spiritual needs:

. . . for the man who is a Zaddik must draw down all kinds of emanation, both for the soul—His holiness, blessed be He, and penitent thoughts, fear and love of Heaven and a wholesome intellect—and also the material concerns of 'children, life and sustenance', for the soul and for the body (*Zikaron Zot*, pp. 118–19).

Linking those things of which human existence is constituted—children, life and sustenance—with the mystical-charismatic element contained within the divine bounty, and the providential function of the Zaddik, brought about a profound change in the realm of religious responsibility. Material affairs were not now regarded as falling in a separate and independent area, but as being within the range of the divine flow and within the realm of religious commitment; the Zaddik's responsibility for them was validated and endowed with significance by his ties with worlds above:

for the Holy One, blessed be He, gives the Zaddik power to draw down

[benefits] from the divine flow (*mazal*) which governs children, life and sustenance . . .<sup>92</sup> And as for the Zaddik who acts thus, the Holy One, blessed be He, is with him, because he cleaves (*daruk*) to God, blessed be He, through cleaving to His attributes and also in order to increase his power to draw down the bounty of the Lord from Him and he has the power to do His will, blessed be He, to bestow bounty (*Zikaron Zot*, pp. 138–9). For the Zaddik is called Joseph (Yosef—etymologically linked to YSF meaning 'to add') because it is his constant desire to add to the fulfilment of the needs of Israel<sup>93</sup> and to the loving-kindness of God all day long (*ibid.*, p. 31).

As we have said, the material aspects of human existence are withdrawn from the independent control of man and become dependent on the drawing down of the divine *shefa* by the Zaddik. The material *shefa* (bounty or abundance) is conceived of as the spiritual *shefa* (divine emanation or flow) made concrete, and therefore the responsibility for both the material and spiritual dimensions of human existence—for all the needs of both soul and body—is laid on the Zaddik:

Now as for the world below, we who are at present in this lowly world desperately require their benevolence, both materially and spiritually . . . This is not the case in the worlds above, [which are concerned] only with spiritual matters . . . that which he (= the Zaddik or, possibly, He = God) bestows on us to satisfy our needs comes down from Him, blessed be He, through all the worlds until it reaches us and its spirituality assumes material form here . . . for it is a personal duty laid upon the Zaddikim of the generation always to draw down benevolent emanations and great acts of kindness [and] greatness for Israel so that all good things should be theirs (*Zot Zikaron*, pp. 203–4).

This removal of all aspects of daily existence from the field of human action and their transfer from the responsibility of the individual to the mystical sphere, where they are under the control of the Zaddik, merits our attention. The Zaddik causes the divine flow to emanate from the upper worlds and translates it into the satisfaction of human needs. This belief (which gave rise to trenchant criticism in contemporary circles of *Maskilim* in Galicia)<sup>94</sup> was very influential in changing the character of the Hasidic community, and the part it played in this process needs to be assessed.

The quality of the Zaddik's leadership was now estimated by reference to this criterion of his ties to the upper worlds and his ability to draw down Heavenly bounty, since without his responsibility, as guardian for the totality of human existence, his mission would lose most of its meaning.

The precise time at which the doctrine of material Zaddikism

crystallized in the Hasidic movement has not been established conclusively. The view of scholars is that this is a phenomenon of the 'third' generation of Hasidism, whereas the proponents of the doctrine attribute its origin to the teaching of the Maggid of Mezhiresh in the 'second' generation. Joseph Weiss stated unequivocally: 'In the doctrine of the Zaddik of the first two generations there is no theory relating to the activity of the Zaddik in extending material help to his followers; the theory that the Zaddik brings salvation in regard to children, life and sustenance belongs to the third generation of the Hasidic movement.'<sup>95</sup> Rivka Schatz, in her study of the doctrine of the Zaddik, remarked: 'While early Hasidism knows of the charismatic power of the Zaddik only in the spiritual realm, in the teaching of R. Elimelech the Zaddik is often presented as responsible towards the community not only for matters in the spiritual sphere but also for those in the material sphere; it is in the power of the Zaddik to confer blessings on his followers in regard to children, life and sustenance.'<sup>96</sup>

Contrary to these views, R. Jacob Isaac ascribes this doctrine to the Maggid of Mezhiresh and attributes to him the formulation of the dialectical principle on which it is founded: 'But, for this, the quality of *ayin* is necessary, as I heard from the rabbi, the man of God R. Baer of Rovno, on the expression *eyn mazal le-Yisrael*, he who regards himself as nought (*ayin*) can draw down benefits which are dependent on the "divine flow" (*mazal*) which governs "children, life and sustenance" (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 9). There is therefore no doubt that R. Jacob Isaac saw the spiritual inspiration for the doctrine of material Zaddikism as having originated with the Maggid; but we need to examine this attribution as a systematic and fully developed teaching of the Maggid in the light of the opposition to it by some of his other disciples. We must also consider the influence of the teachings of R. Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye in this connection.

Essentially, the Zaddik's ability to bring down the flow of divine bounty to this world is founded on the well-defined dialectic pattern to which his life conforms, and which expresses itself as a union of opposites partaking of both *ayin* and *yesh*—'nothing' and 'existence'—as has been explained above. The Zaddik who can transform himself into material *ayin* in order to cleave to the divine *ayin* is the self-same person who can draw down the flow of the divine *yesh* to us on earth. That is to say, his ability to bestow material bounty is dependent on his charismatic and mystical character; it is a necessary corollary of his claim to metaphysical ties and serves to test the validity of that claim. It is his elevation to superior worlds and the cleaving (*devekut*) of his soul to its divine origin (this being the principal aim of his mystical endeavour) which generate the flow from the springs of Heavenly

bounty and draw it down through all the levels of existence. This process is picturesquely described by the Seer (in imagery largely borrowed from the Scriptures):

The Zaddikim who cleave to the Lord, blessed be He, who exalt and elevate themselves to cleave to the Lord, blessed be He, will forthwith drip sweet wine; as soon as they raise themselves up they will be accepted, and through them will come the pleasantness of the glory of the Most High, which is sweeter than honey and the honeycomb; and the treader of grapes (who shall overtake) the sower of seed is the Zaddik, who draws down the flow of *devekut* and His light, blessed be He, to give light to the world (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 107).

The concept of *shefa* has its origin in the world of the Kabbalah, where it relates to the dynamic of the *sefirot* in the upper worlds, whereas in its Hasidic meaning it expresses the continuity of the divine 'vitality', a creative force which flows through the agency of the Zaddik, between the upper and the lower worlds. It is this continuity which brings about the transfer of the *shefa* to the area of responsibility of the Zaddik as leader, and which turns it into the basis of the bond between the mystical and material planes.

*Shefa* in the Hasidic sense is the concept which determines the relations of partnership between the Zaddik and the community; it is the provision for the orderly maintenance of the world, in accordance with divine law, which is embodied in the Zaddik, or the dynamic in accordance with which the needs of all created beings are satisfied through his agency. The Zaddik is exalted above the mass of the people and through his root the *shefa* passes in spiritual form and the light of His holiness reaches him' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 2). This assertion of the Zaddik's charismatic superiority necessarily implies an assumption of guardianship over material existence in general and over his followers in particular. The responsibility for the satisfaction of material needs is rooted in the dynamic of the *shefa*, while the materiality which is drawn from the *shefa* becomes the arena for the forging of a religious connection between Zaddik and community. The Zaddik's leadership is assessed by his ability to bestow *shefa* (in the sense of bounty from Heaven), by his concentration on the needs of daily life and by the explicit definition of his position as guardian responsible for the full scope of human existence, on the strength of his ties with upper worlds: '[The Zaddik] draws down *shefa* through all the worlds, whatever is necessary for the things implicit in these three: children, life and sustenance, which are the root of all material *shefa* . . . and because materiality is indispensable' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 83).

The ideal view of the interconnection of God, the Zaddik and

mankind which is involved in the drawing down of the divine flow is contrasted with the view of materiality in the absence of that flow. This is seen as a condition of abject poverty, deprivation and disunion. In Hasidic thought these material values lose their exclusive existential meaning as soon as they become a measure of the Zaddik's ability to confer Heavenly bounty and a precondition for drawing near to God. Bounty from Heaven is unequivocally declared to be an essential condition for the approach to God, and it is therefore the Zaddik's task to devote his attention to caring for the material prosperity of his community by drawing down the divine flow in its material form, and not to make these things conditional on any spiritual elevation on the part of the community: 'The Zaddik's first aim should not be that the world should repent and thereby secure the satisfaction of their material needs as a matter of course, but rather he should first see to it that he draws down their needs from above' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 71); because 'people to whom good is done enter the private domain [i.e. holiness, see above] and so cleave to the Creator, blessed be He' (*ibid.*, p. 16).

The manner in which R. Jacob Isaac expressed himself indicates that he was propounding new ideas which were not widely shared, still less taken for granted, and that he felt the need to justify and explain them. Indeed, his words are to be understood as a polemic against the opinions of R. Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk and R. Shneur Zalman of Lyadi. Against these two leaders, he was defending his claims that the Zaddik's metaphysical ties empowered him to extend material aid to mankind and take responsibility for material prosperity while releasing its beneficiaries from having to fulfil any spiritual demands, whether in private or public matters.<sup>97</sup> He replaced the traditional pattern of responsibility for spiritual leadership by an all-embracing responsibility for matters both spiritual and material, with the emphasis actually on materiality, but placing the drawing down of material bounty in its spiritual context. He expatiated on the special nature of the leadership that he proposed as a contrast to the traditional patterns, and pointedly criticized the forces of conventional Hasidism:

For there are two kinds of Zaddik; every Zaddik must draw down bounty from heaven but there are exalted Zaddikim and there are Zaddikim whose degree of exaltation is not so great. And although Joseph, too, certainly provided spiritual sustenance, it is written (Gen. 47:12) 'va-yekhalkei'—and he provided [his father and brothers] with everything', because one who draws down the means of sustenance from above creates unity in all the worlds, for the divine bounty passes through all of them, and Joseph drew down both spirituality and materiality; therefore it is written 'and he provided . . . with everything'—*va-yekhalkei*—for he acted in both ways in the totality of

worlds, but the result of his action was principally revealed in materiality (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 61).

The tension and controversy within the Hasidic community in regard to the areas of the Zaddik's concern and the extent of his responsibility for the satisfaction of spiritual and material needs found incisive expression in a later tradition handed down by the Seer's disciples:

'Go now, see whether it is well . . . with the flock' (Gen. 37:14). For we have found great and good Zaddikim who all their lives had no other aim than to increase His glory, blessed be His name, and gave no thought to securing the well-being of this world by bestowing abundance on their generation; but that is not as it should be, for the Zaddik must also consider the livelihood of Israel in this world below so that they lack no good thing; let him look to the welfare of his brethren—[they are] the flock in this world.<sup>98</sup>

The polemical thread which runs through these words is to be understood as a criticism of accepted norms both inside and outside the Hasidic camp. It is repeatedly expressed in the following unequivocal demand: 'All the leaders of the generation must consider the needs of their generation and pray for them, and that is why they are called *parnasim* ["sustainers", leaders]' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 74). There is no doubt that in expressing this responsibility for the material welfare of the community, and linking it to demands of a spiritual nature, the Seer was setting up new norms of leadership and challenging the accepted ones.<sup>99</sup> This change in the dialectic of Hasidic thought and in the response to contemporary social conditions marks the turning-point which occurred in the third generation of Hasidism, when it developed from a cluster of élitist groups into a broadly-based social movement.

The significant feature of the change in the definition of the Zaddik's area of responsibility is the altered relation to materiality. In the teaching of the Seer the world of action and material existence is at the centre of religious thought, for the materiality which separates man from God becomes the plane on which empathy is established between man and the Zaddik. An appreciable part of his deliberations, as we have shown above, is devoted to the theologization of material leadership and to clarification of the relationship between the source of the divine emanation, the material needs of mankind and the leadership of the Zaddik. There is an allusion to this in the following statement: 'If people are shown kindness and good is done to them they enter the private domain and thereby cleave to the Creator, blessed be He' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 16). It is this aspect of the doctrine of the Zaddik which underlies the formation of the new socio-religious movement which

coalesced round the leadership of the Zaddik, and there is no doubt that it played a decisive part in determining the character of Hasidism in Galicia and Poland during the period in question. It appears, however, that from R. Jacob Isaac's point of view, the social change was only an expression of a theology which proposed to reassess both materiality and spirituality.

The Seer's attitude to man's existential needs represents a significant departure from the attitude towards material existence adopted in the Hasidism of the Maggid of Mezehirech: the restoration of materiality to the centre of the relationship between religion and society, and the assignment of religious importance to material prosperity, amounted to a reinterpretation of the spiritual tendency developed by the school of the Maggid, if not an outright opposition to it.<sup>100</sup> The élitist spirituality of the Maggid's doctrine in its original form was unsuited to the social and spiritual conditions with which the Hasidic leadership had to deal in the third generation: it needed the modification which it received in the Seer's reinterpretation, an interpretation which was better adapted to meet the needs of the community in his time and place.

The essential teachings of Hasidism required that the Hasidic ethos should be based on indifference to material existence and the abandonment of material wants so far as man could achieve that, for the aim was the removal of the arena of religious effort to upper worlds where the 'I' (*ani*) becomes 'nothing' (*alijim*), where materiality is 'cast off' and material existence is 'annulled'.<sup>101</sup>

Scholars disagree over the question of whether these spiritualistic notions could really generate a widespread social ethos or whether there were intended from the outset for the circles of the élite,<sup>102</sup> but there is no doubt that they occupied a central position in the system of thought of the Maggid, with which R. Elimelech and R. Jacob Isaac had been imbued. Their express formulation in the literature of the 'guidelines' (*hanhagot*) does not testify to an appeal to a limited circle of the élite, but at most to a delineation of a guiding principle, worded as an ideal to be followed in practice as far as possible. To all appearances, however, it was the broadening of the scope of the appeal together with the confinement of spiritual responsibility to the Zaddik, which led to the fundamental change in regard to material values.

Rivka Schatz has clarified the significance of the spiritualistic attitude and its essential position in Hasidic thought:

In the Hasidic teaching of the first generations of the movement there is already present, as an accepted fact, the tension between the two poles of human existence—those of the spirit and of man's material fabric: its theoretical significance is to be understood as a constant tipping of the

scale towards Existence (*yeshut*), and there is only one Existence, which is that of God—all other existence of which we have knowledge is devoid of essential meaning. Anyone who attributes essential meaning to the world cuts it off from the metaphysical source of its nourishment. This position determines the negative attitudes to the world as being devoid of ontological meaning.<sup>103</sup>

The school of the Maggid had set out to break off the yoke of materiality, and defined its alienation from it in categorical terms as 'equanimity' (*hishtavut*), 'annihilation of material existence', 'casting off corporality', and 'worship through corporality', the essence of which consists in emptying corporality of its material content and exposing the divine element which gives it life.<sup>104</sup> On the other hand, Polish Hasidism saw the demands made by this spiritualistic approach as falling exclusively on the Zaddik in his relationship with the upper worlds, while in regard to this world below the Polish doctrine called for a new view of materiality which would restore its religious significance; it rejected outright the call for worship in corporality as incapable of being addressed to the masses.

The effort to spiritualize materiality, and the accompanying alienation from worldly life and earthly needs, were rejected out of hand as a basis for a widespread social ethos, while their opposites—positive regard for material bounty and legitimation of the urge to satisfy material needs—became a basis for empathy between the community and the Zaddik. This new division of responsibilities—the Zaddik taking upon himself spiritual effort and guardianship in material affairs, the community affirming material existence and undertaking a close association with the Zaddik—reflected a fundamental change in Hasidic thought which accompanied a change in the social basis of the movement. The radical spiritual obligation and indifference to material existence were required of the Zaddik alone and were even justified as essential for the drawing down of the material bounty from the upper worlds to the earthly level of existence. The 'bestowal of the divine emanation in material form' takes its place alongside 'the shedding of corporality', and the Zaddik is called upon to personify this dialectic. The change in the position of materiality in religious worship and in the allocation of responsibilities is noteworthy: the material bounty which is drawn down by the Zaddik for the community stems from the shedding of materiality by the individual; that is to say, while abundance is conferred on the community as a whole, the spiritual effort involved in the shedding of materiality and the negation of corporeal existence is the responsibility of the Zaddik alone. Whereas (as we know from the literature of the 'guidelines') the Hasidic ethos in its previous stage cast a considerable measure of responsibility for both

worldly and heavenly matters on every individual in the Hasidic community, the situation was reversed in Polish Hasidism. The more important the Zaddik became in Hasidic life, the more the ordinary individual's responsibilities were withdrawn from him and transferred to the charismatic guardianship of the Zaddik. It may have been the Zaddik's inner certainty of his supernatural powers which caused him to release the members of his community from any spiritual effort and to take over from them the responsibility for all earthly matters connected with their daily life; what is certain is that the new social order of the Hasidic community took shape round a leadership which diverted religious tension towards the Zaddik instead of towards God, and responsibility for daily life to the Zaddik instead of the individual.<sup>105</sup> The two opposing concepts, 'casting off corporality' and 'corporeal love', together express the tension between spiritual commitment and the relation to earthly existence, but now this tension was exclusively the province of the Zaddik, who invigorated the new attitude to earthly existence in the name of charismatic authority. The categorical statements 'materiality is indispensable' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 83) and 'but the essence is revealed in materiality' (*ibid.*, p. 61), which recur in various forms throughout the Seer's writings form an explicit challenge to the radical spiritualistic orientation of the school of the Maggid, while at the same time they redefine the field of responsibility of spiritual leadership:

For Abram is called ardour and great *devekut* through casting off corporality, and his name is to be interpreted as *av ram*, lofty father on a supreme level of spirituality . . . but the Holy One, blessed be He, desired that *love should be spread in corporality* also, so that he should love the Creator, blessed be He . . . which means that he desires to do His will and loves Him as a son loves his father, and not only by casting off corporality but in that (earthly) world (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 17).

The spiritual obligation is no longer limited to leading a life 'stripped of corporality' in the presence of God: there is now an express requirement to attach significance to material existence and recognize its religious value, such as is expressed in 'spreading out love in corporality also'.

The tension between spiritual longings and the legitimation of materiality takes on a complex character, for the requirement to 'cast off corporality' is at the heart of Hasidic spiritual endeavour as formulated in the school of the Maggid, whereas the requirement to have regard to materiality in the form of love and abundance, subsistence and livelihood is diametrically opposed to it. But here the former attitude applies to the Zaddik alone, as a duty, while the latter is

the justification for his service of Heaven and his leadership, and it complements his spiritual side with its charismatic manifestation. The natural longings of the mystic distance him from material existence on his way to upper worlds, but in the doctrine of R. Jacob Isaac he returns to the level of material existence at the command of God, who requires of him that he respond to material life and take it into account in religious worship:

'Go from thy country' etc. (Gen. 11:21) this means that you are to go away, in your thoughts, from your corporality, i.e. it is to be your wish and your desire not to lead a corporeal existence. 'And from thy kindred'—that you should not wish to occupy yourself with procreation and cohabitation . . . and from thy father's house'—that you should not think at all of relationship and kinship. . . . to the land that I will show thee'—this means, even though it was your wish to go and refrain from corporality, for, on the contrary, you should understand that *it is His will that you should occupy yourself with corporality also*, as it is said (Eccl. 7:18), . . . take hold of *this*, and from *this* withdraw not thy hand', and 'this is 'to the land that I will show thee' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 126).

R. Jacob Isaac depicts the Zaddik, casting off corporality and departing from earthliness on his way to God, as displaying ardour, *devekut*, devotion, love of God and ecstatic fire. But God leads the Zaddik back to his community—'to the land that I will show you' for the sake of the love of man, and for this he requires the quite different qualities of an earthly perspective, sound reason, responsibility, care and concern for the material needs of those who are around him. The Seer's response to the spiritualist teaching of the Maggid and his circle is an attempt to place the heavenly and earthly levels of existence on an equal footing in Hasidism.

Having discussed above the importance of the Kabbalistic dialectic of 'expansion' and 'withdrawal' in shaping this complex attitude to the two poles of existence, and having argued that 'casting off corporality' referred solely to the experience of the Zaddik, while the conferment of material bounty related to the needs of the community, who were freed from the responsibility for spiritual matters, we must also note the change in the meaning attached to prosperity and poverty in the spiritual life of man as it is to be seen in the writings of the Seer. This is a new and instructive development.<sup>106</sup>

The altered attitude to materiality, and its inclusion within the realm of religious thought as the responsibility of the Zaddik, stemmed from the transfer of attention to the relation between the material position of man and the limits of his spiritual commitment, as well as from recognition of the altered character of the community with which the

Hasidic leadership and Hasidic thought had to contend. Here we have one of the expressions of the transition from an élitist spiritual phenomenon—which devotes its attention to *ayin* ('nothing', the negation of existence) and sees everything in mystical perspective—to a broadly based popular movement forcing religious thought to address itself to *yesh* ('existence') and materiality.

The relation between the material prosperity of the individual and his spiritual satisfaction, which together condition the service of God, are extensively discussed in R. Jacob Isaac's teaching. He begins his consideration of the connection between poverty and wealth with a flat condemnation of the former and an equally decisive approval of the latter, in their religious context:

The main concern is to serve Him, blessed be He, and to study his Torah, but 'if there is no flour, there is no Torah' (*Aivot* 3, 18), and we also learn that '... poverty makes a man disregard [his own sense and] the sense of his Creator'.<sup>107</sup> It is, therefore, an excellent thing to have sustenance in plenty and even wealth, so as to serve Him, blessed be He, out of satisfaction of the heart (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 136; and cf. *Diveret Emet*, p. 76).

The early Hasidic leaders' doctrine of indifference to material existence, together with the asceticism propounded in the ethical literature of the time, gave way to a new conception of the place of earthly prosperity in relation to the demands of religion. Poverty, too, acquires a new significance as reflecting on the spiritual position of man. Poverty and want are accounted an impediment of the first importance to man's ability to draw near to God, and therefore their opposites, wealth and abundance—which are entrusted to the hands of the Zaddik—become a prime condition for the service of God, which itself falls within the responsibility of the Zaddik: 'For the Zaddik draws Israel near to their Father in Heaven and also sees to it that if any of them are prevented from doing His will, blessed be He, as it should be done, because of lack of necessities as, for example, through poverty (Heaven forbid), which "makes a man disregard the sense of his Creator", he draws down their needs for them' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 40).

These references to poverty and want indicate that we have before us a society in a state of material distress and spiritual crisis, and indeed historical research into the period points distinctly to conditions of particular hardship in the region.<sup>108</sup> There is no doubt that R. Jacob Isaac is expressing ideas which arise from actual conditions. The alertness to the state of society displayed in the doctrine of the Zaddik—which takes responsibility for material existence and offers to draw down Heavenly bounty without spiritual preconditions—is a response to an actual socio-religious challenge to act within a Jewish

community whose social fabric has been fractured and whose spiritual constitution has been weakened by hardship. Until then, moralistic rebuke and spiritual demands—the preaching of repentance, calls for the correction of faults—had been the order of the day. Lacking a sense of empathy with the plight of the community and appreciation of its seriousness, these demands could not stand up to the test of contemporary conditions.<sup>109</sup>

Traditional religious attitudes to material needs called for resignation, equanimity, frugality and acceptance of poverty; material well-being was regarded as conditional on repentance and spiritual improvement. As against this, the doctrine of material Zaddikism offered keen alertness to existential needs and a sympathetic understanding of the seriousness of poverty, together with tutelage which imposed no conditions on its wards but bestowed loving-kindness, plenty and assistance through the power of its charismatic ties to upper worlds:

For there is a kind of Zaddik who always reproves the world in order that they should be moved to repent, and there is another kind who does not behave thus<sup>110</sup> but always earnestly desires that Israel should have nothing but good... and the latter is preferable because by his drawing down bounty for man, whose soul is well aware of the root of that bounty and by what means it has come to him, there will in any event be a bond between him and the Zaddik, and this way holiness and fear of Heaven will be his (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 153). Let not the first aim of the Zaddik be that the world should repent and thereby be granted their material needs in any event, but rather, before that, let him see to it that he draws down their needs (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 71).

This original evaluation of the relationship between the spiritual and the material, and the psychological subtlety of the approach which places the Zaddik in the position of guardian over the existential well-being of man, stand out against the background of the ethical literature of 'rebuke' of the period, which sharply condemns subservience to earthly needs, from the standpoint of an acutely ascetic ethos combined with extreme spiritual demands.<sup>111</sup>

R. Jacob Isaac was alive to the great importance of the expectations connected with everyday needs and was well aware that response to those needs could foster a profound socio-religious relationship between the Zaddik and his followers. At first sight the consciousness of unity in Hasidic society might be thought to be realized more in empathy on the material plane and in everyday life than on the spiritual plane, but in the Zaddik's mind empathy in regard to material matters was a gateway to the spiritual goal: acknowledgement of material needs was only a first step towards the intended achievement of spiritual targets,

but spiritual endeavours which turned away from material existence were worthless. The definite relationship between material response and spiritual rapprochement, or between the assumption of material responsibility and the crystallization of Hasidic society, receives a lengthy exposition in the writings of the Seer. He sets up the ideal of a Zaddik who clears a path for his community through the pitfalls of earthly existence, and of a community crystallizing round the Zaddik's charismatic inspiration, which is revealed in earthly abundance and in his guardianship leading to a close spiritual affinity.

The Zaddik is called Pharaoh (following the spelling *perach* = 'he let [the people] loose', 'laid them open'—Ex. 32:25) because he reveals the glory of Heaven by his prayer, visibly performing miracles—that is the meaning of '*parua hu*', i.e. 'he is uncovered' (*ibid.*; the versions have 'broken loose', 'out of control'). And the Zaddik makes the world mend its ways and brings it near to Him, blessed be He . . . and 'He did not lead them' (Ex. 13:17) in strict justice . . . but how did he (Moses) lead them? Through the land of the Philistines (*Pelishtim*), meaning a way was broken open (*me'ulash*, taken to be etymologically linked to *Pelishtim*—Philistines) for them through earthliness so that all good things should be theirs, 'for it was near' by this route—to be good before the Lord, blessed be He (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 50).

The loving kindness, bounty, aid and livelihood which are bestowed through the Zaddik transform earthly existence by opening it up so that God can be perceived through it. Their antitheses, on the other hand—'strict judgement', punishment, rebuke and asceticism, or estrangement from, and condemnation of, materiality—are completely rejected by the Seer in the social circumstances in which he operates.

The religious significance of material prosperity and the challenge to the ethos of asceticism are set out in his statements on the sacrifices. He explains the sacrifices in terms of the drawing near of Israel to their Father in Heaven by means of the abundance bestowed by the Zaddik, who acts out of the sense of mission implicit in his recognition that material prosperity is spiritually important:

'When any man from among you brings an offering' etc. (Lev. 1:2): the verse teaches us that if we desire that Israel should be brought to repentance, the [Zaddik's] aim should be no other than to bestow all their needs upon them. Thus they will, in any event, be good . . . And also, by this means they will come to know the loving-kindness of God and recognize his kindnesses and wonders, and will make their hearts burn for the Creator, blessed be He . . . And for this reason we say 'If any man brings an offering from among you', i.e. in case he wishes actually to offer up (or bring near) one of you to God, I counsel him by what means he is permitted to offer them (bring them near) to the Lord: [by

means] of the cattle', for he may draw down for them material things and things of an animal nature[!]. That is a general statement in regard to material things; after that [the Zaddik] specifies in detail items from the general bounty [bestowed on man]. This bounty includes all things to do with 'children, life and sustenance', on which depend other gifts that are necessary and good for us (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 75).

The Seer's words represent a bold alteration of the relation between the end and the means, and a wise recognition of the place of material things in man's life as a whole. In these respects, and in his appreciation of the connection between empathy on the material level and spiritual rapprochement, he clearly departs from traditional thought-patterns, which show a preference of extreme spiritual and ethical demands while ignoring existential requirements. The external response to material needs is nurtured by the inner spiritual intent, for the special gift of drawing down Heavenly bounty with which the Zaddik is favoured is conferred on him for the purpose of helping to remove the earthly obstacles on the road to the realization of the religious ideal.

The drawing down of material bounty, or the obligation to attain this end, brings about rapprochement, close association, holiness and spiritual exaltation, and therefore the Zaddik, who prays for this bounty, justifies his prayer by the connection between poverty and want, 'which make man disregard the sense of his Maker', and their antithesis 'abundance', which draws man near to his God.<sup>12</sup> The obligation of the Zaddik to do everything in his power to overcome poverty is tirelessly stressed in short epigrams as well as complex homilies: 'For if there is no flour there is no Torah, therefore it is necessary to draw down sustenance in plenty' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 39); 'And also to make the world rich so that there should be no poverty which makes man disregard the sense of the Holy One, blessed be He' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 139); 'But this also is necessary and brings advantage, giving pleasure to Him, blessed be He: wealth in order to serve Him, blessed be He, out of satisfaction of the heart: thus also wealth is for the service of the Creator' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 136); 'A livelihood is indispensable . . . If a man draws down abundance and a good livelihood to the world, the service of Heaven comes in any event, for if there is no flour there is no Torah' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 136; *Diverey Emet*, p. 46).

This optimism about the relationship between material prosperity and spiritual exaltation is sober enough and is based on actual experience, as can be seen from the Seer's witty observation on the attractiveness of Heavenly bounty: 'And because the Zaddikim have an abundance of good, those people who desire to share in the good things of this world are envious and draw near to God, blessed be He, so that

through doing so for extraneous reasons they come to do it for its own sake' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 73). But as against the material interest which appears to be 'earthly', there is always, on the part of the Zaddik, a spiritual intention behind the material action: 'If a person integrated his materiality and earthliness into one, so that his whole intention in material action is solely for the sake of Heaven, it will follow that they all ascend to one place' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 89).

The declared obligation of the Zaddik to satisfy earthly needs in order to overcome earthly impediments to the fulfilment of the religious ideal implies a complete withdrawal of man's responsibility for his actions. He is even prevented from casting his burden of responsibility upon God. Instead, he must rely for everything connected with both his material and spiritual existence on the bounty entrusted to the Zaddik. An examination of the nature of the relationship between the Zaddik and his followers would be outside the scope of the present study, which is concerned with the basic claims of the Zaddik as seen from his point of view. We are in no doubt, however, that by the conferment of religious significance on deprivation and abundance, by making man's spiritual potential dependent on his material position, and by the very conception of poverty as a cause of disintegration and separation between man and God, the foundation is laid for a new social ethos. This description of the Zaddik's function, 'To be a mighty man in the land, to overcome earthliness . . . but because of the lack of the necessities of life the term *perud*—disintegration—applies to them, for they are in less than a state of unity and complete *devekut* . . . the work of the Zaddik, may he be blessed, draws down blessing for them, whereby they become fully united' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 40), sets out clearly the religious significance of removing the material stumbling-blocks on the road to fulfilment of the ideals of drawing near to God and *devekut*. Nothing is now excluded from the range of the individual or of direct ties between the remains within the scope of the Zaddik's responsibilities and nothing individual and God. The new patterns of thought are reflected in a leadership exercising an all-embracing tutelary control and attending to spiritual and material needs on both the ideological and practical levels.

The Seer's doctrine of the Zaddik, which expresses novel spiritual and social attitudes, raises the question whether this turning point in the understanding of Zaddikism was a response to the demands of the public, an *ex post facto* formulation of attitudes which had already begun to crystallize in the region, or whether we have before us a delineation of new directions of thought, setting unconventional norms of a bold and original kind, to which the public was responding in large numbers, turning Hasidism into a broadly-based popular movement.

It is probable that we have here a mutual relationship between social conditions which set new spiritual and material challenges and, on the other hand, spiritualistic currents of thought which generated a comprehensive ideology of the connection between *yesh* and *ayin*, applicable to both spiritual and material leadership. The novel ideas of the Seer, and the new patterns of leadership he developed, were his attempt to grapple with spiritual and social processes which reflected the changing character of the Hasidic community; but they were also an expression of the ideological regeneration which accompanied the emergence of leadership patterns suited to new social circumstances.

It is not impossible that the rapid spread of Hasidism, and the broadening of its orbit of influence in Galicia and Poland during the Seer's leadership, were closely connected with this mutual relationship, so clearly reflected in his teaching.

From R. Jacob Isaac's point of view, the changing perception of the scope of leadership in the Hasidic community was rooted in mystical thought and its inherent values. The relation between the mystical and social dimensions was, therefore, not solely the product of changing external conditions and a response to social circumstances but a development of mystical dialectics. It occurred when mystical thought extended the area of its interest from heavenly opposites to the opposition between heavenly and earthly existence, as it did when it established the immanent continuity between the divine *ayin* and its earthly manifestations. It then demanded a response to this continuity in developing a new religious idea of activity in both the metaphysical and the earthly spheres.

The relation between religious ideas and the emergence of a social ethos is instructively illustrated in the doctrine of material Zaddikism, which conferred a spiritual dimension on elements of ordinary life while transferring responsibility for it to the Zaddik. This change reflected sensitivity to the complex relation between man's earthly existence and the limits of his spiritual capacity. It not only altered the scope of religious leadership in Hasidism but it reshaped the expectations of the community, formed new patterns of communal activity, and created the new social ethos of the movement.

## Notes

My thanks go to my friends and colleagues Professor Imanuel Etkes, Dr Ada Rapoport-Albert, Dr Israel Bartal, Dr Avraham Shapira and Professor Yehuda Liebes, who took the trouble to read my manuscript and made helpful and instructive suggestions.

- 1 S. Dubnow, *History of Hasidism* (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv, 1967), pp. 175–204, 215–17, 326–7; A. Z. Aescoly, 'Ha-Hasidut be Polin', in I. Halpern (ed.), *Be'et Yisrael be Polin*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1953), pp. 86–141; R. Mahler, *Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment* (Philadelphia, 1985), ch. 9. 'The Schools of Hasidism in Poland', pp. 245–314; H. M. Rabinowicz, *Ha-Yehudi ha-kadosh mi-Pshikha* (Tel Aviv, 1966). Dubnow noted (op. cit., p. 380) that he had before him a manuscript entitled 'On the History of Hasidism in Poland from 1790 to 1840—recollections and traditions recorded in 1891 by Jacob Shapira of Mezirech' (Hebrew). According to the catalogue of the Hebrew University and National Library in Jerusalem, A. H. Rubinstein wrote a doctoral dissertation on 'The beginnings of Hasidism in Central Poland' (Hebrew) in 1957, but this work is not to be found in that or any other library known to me, and I have not been able to consult it.
- 2 Cf. the traditions quoted by I. Berger in *Zekhut Yisrael, Eser Orot* (Warsaw, 1925), p. 90, par. 26, and by M. M. Walden in *Nifleet ha-Rabi* (Warsaw, 1911), p. 10b. H. Liberman noted this fact in the following statement: 'In 1785 . . . Hasidism in Poland was still in its infancy; the only *Admor* (Hasidic rebbe) in Poland and Galicia was R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk in Eastern Galicia . . . who had only a few followers in Poland . . . it was only thanks to his disciple R. Jacob Isaac Horowitz, "the Seer" of Lublin that Hasidism struck root in Poland. The rest of the hasidic dynasties in Poland and Galicia were almost all founded by the disciples of the *Rebbe* of Lublin'. (*Ohel Rabeil*, vol. 3, New York, 1981, p. 58). G. Scholem, 'The Polemic against Hasidism and its Leaders in *Nezed ha-Dema* (Hebrew), *Zion*, vol. 20, pp. 73–81), asserts that the picture presented in *Nezed ha-Dema*, a work published in Dyhernfurth in 1773, relates to Galician Hasidism at the beginning of the 1770s (p. 81), but this does not accord with the fact that at that time the only *Admor* in Galicia was R. Elimelech.
- 3 See the hagiographic anthologies of M. M. Walden, *Nifleet ha-Rabi* (Bilgoraj, 1911); id., *Ohel ha-Rabi*, which comprises three books, *Or ha-Torah*, *Or ha-Hokhmah* and *Or ha-Niflaot* (Bene Berak, 1965); I. Berger (note 2 above), pp. 83–111 and dozens of collections of Hasidic tales throughout which are scattered various stories about him. Many of these traditions were collected in J. J. Kornblitt, *Aspaklaryah ha-Me'itah* (Jerusalem, 1977). Cf. the tales relating to the Seer in M. Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim* (New York, 1972), vol. 1, *The Early Masters*, pp. 300–18, and the list of Hasidic works from which these tales were drawn at the end of the Hebrew version of the same work, *Or ha-Ganuz* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 482–3. Two biographies of the 'Seer', based on Hasidic tales, are, A. Bromberg, *Ha-Hozeh mi-Lublin* (Jerusalem, 1962); cf. his *Mi-Gedoley Ha-Hasidut*, Bk. 1, Jerusalem, 1959), and I. Alfasi, *Ha-Hozeh mi-Lublin* (Jerusalem, 1969). The Lublin period in the Seer's life features in M. Buber's historical novel *Gog and Magog* (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv, 1955), which is based on traditions drawn from Hasidic tales.
- 4 (All the quotations from R. Jacob Isaac Horowitz's works are taken from the collected edition of his three books *Zot Zikaron*, *Zikaron Zot* and *Diverey Emet*, published in Munkacs in 1942, and reissued in facsimile in Jerusalem in 1973. On the first editions of the Seer's works, see note 23 below.) See *Zikaron Zot*, p. 162. 'Toledot R. Jacob Isaac'. Another tradition which holds that he was born in 1747 is recorded in *Shulhan Tahor*, Pt. 2 (Tel Aviv, 1965), in the section 'Shoshet ha-Kodesh', where this

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- date is given on the basis of a tradition of the Zhidachov dynasty.
- 5 See M. M. Walden, *Nifleet ha-Rabi* (Piotrkow, 1913), p. 44, s. 80; p. 71, s. 184.
  - 6 On the Seer's descent from the family of the Shelah, see J. L. Shapira, *Mishpahot Afikot be-Yisrael* (Tel Aviv, 1982), p. 196; Alfasi (note 3 above), p. 10, n. 4, and cf. *Zikaron Zot*, p. 162, s. 3.
  - 7 See the *responsa* of Isaac Harif (head of the rabbinical court in Ulyenov), *Peney Yizhak* (Jaroslaw, 1905), near the end of the foreword by the author's grandson, and cf. *Zikaron Zot*, s. 4. See also N. Ortner, *Devar Hen* (Tel Aviv, 1963), pp. 165–73.
  - 8 Moses Zevi Hirsch Maisels was rabbi of Zulkowa from 1754 to 1801.
  - 9 See Samuel Shmelke of Nikolsburg, *Diverey Shmuel* (Jerusalem, 1974), on the weekly portion Noah, p. 5. R. Samuel Shmelke was rabbi of Steniawa c. 1756–66. See also *Pinkas Ha-Kehillot*, on Poland, Pt. 3 (Jerusalem, 1984), s. v. 'Steniawa'; and cf. A. S. B. Michelson, *Shemen ha-Tov* (Piotrkow, 1902), foreword.
  - 10 See Dubnow (note 1 above), pp. 80–1; Michelson (note 9 above) loc. cit.; J. Kamelhaar, *Dor Deah* (Bilgoraj, 1933), pp. 133–7. R. Samuel Shmelke taught first in Rychwal and later moved to Steniawa. Among the students in his *yeshivah* were Menahem Mendel of Rymanow, Israel of Koznitz and Moses Leib of Sasov.
  - 11 See, e.g., *Zikaron Zot*, p. 72: 'True words which I heard in the name of the great rabbi, the glory of the Exile, of blessed memory, the head of the rabbinical court in the province of Nikolsburg; see also p. 73; *Zot Zikaron*, pp. 18, 173; *Diverey Emet*, p. 18. And cf. Berger (note 2 above), pp. 87–8.
  - 12 See *Zikaron Zot*, p. 164, s. 6. Cf. Meshulam Phoebus of Zbarazh, *Sefat Emet* (Lwów, 1879), on the weekly portion *Vayyeshbe*. Hasidic tales expatriate on the period the Seer spent with the Maggid. See Walden, *Nifleet ha-Rabi* (note 3 above), p. 50, s. 102; id. *Ohel Rabi* (note 3 above), Pt. 3. *Or ha-Niflaot* p. 23; Berger (note 2 above), p. 89 ss. 24–5; and cf. A. Walden, *Shem ha-Gedolim ha-Hadash* (Warsaw, 1864), p. 30b. Dubnow was in error in questioning whether R. Jacob Isaac was a disciple of R. Dov Baer of Mezirech, for the Seer includes in his works many direct quotations from the words of the Maggid, using dozens of times such formulae as these: 'As I heard from my teacher, the Maggid of Rovno' or 'for I heard from my master the rabbi, the Maggid of Rovno, Rabbi Baer, of blessed memory' (*Diverey Emet*, p. 32): 'I heard this from the mouth of the holy man, the rabbi of Rovno' (*ibid.*, p. 103), etc. It appears that he was with the Maggid in Rovno in the late 1760s or early 1770s (note his approbation of Solomon of Lutsk's *Divrat Shelomo*, Jerusalem, 1972). However, the sources available to us show that he did not regard his period with the Maggid as a sufficient source of authority to act as a leader, and he spent further time as the disciple of R. Shmelke and R. Elimelech. When he first undertook leadership he based his authority on charismatic inspiration alongside the authority conferred on him by R. Elimelech.
  - 13 On R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk see G. Nigal (ed.), *Noam Elimelech le-Elimelech mi-Lyzhansk*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 9–18; M. Wilensky, *Hasidim u-Mitnagedim* (Jerusalem, 1970), vol. 2, p. 370 (the index entry referring to him).
  - 14 On R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk's own spiritual path and on his disciples' understanding of his legacy, see the letter of R. Zachariah Mendel of Jaroslaw in *Sefer Iggeret ha-Kodesh* (see G. Nigal, note 13 above, vol. 2, pp. 603–8).
  - 15 See *Zikaron Zot*, p. 164, s. 10, and cf. his enlightening remarks on pp. 147–9, which are in the nature of a personal confession affording an insight into his character. It is very doubtful if they were originally intended for publication. See note 23 below, and cf. the publisher's foreword to *Zot Zikaron* (Lemberg, 1861, not included in most of the other editions), which testifies that this passage was not originally written for publication.
  - 16 See his references to these personalities, *Zikaron Zot*, pp. 47, 60, 90, 99, 113, 129; *Zot*

- Zikaron, pp. 16, 51, 77, 117, 118, 163. Cf. his signature to the letter quoted by D. Z. Hillmann in *Iggerot Baal ha-Tanya u-Bheney Doro* (Jerusalem, 1953), no. 108, p. 187, and the references to his teachers there.
- 17 Solomon Ha-Cohen of Radomsk, *Tiferet Shelomo* (Piotrkow, 1890), on Deuteronomy, weekly portion 'Vayyelech', p. 141.
- 18 Cf. S. Ettinger, 'The Hasidic Movement—Reality and Ideals', in *Social Life and Social Values of the Jewish People, Journal of World History*, vol. 11, nos. 1–2 (1968), pp. 263–4; Rabinowicz (note 1 above), p. 110.
- 19 *M'or va-Shemesh* (Lemberg/Breslau[?], 1842), weekly portion Phinehas, p. 182, where there is a wide-ranging discussion of this question.
- 20 See A. S. B. Michelsohn, *Olel Elimelech* (Przemysl, 1847), p. 165. Cf. Walden (note 3 above), *Or ha-Niflaot*, p. 11, s.24; Buber (note 3 above), vol. 2, *Later Masters*, 'Introduction', pp. 10–12; I. Tishby and Y. Dan, 'Torat ha-Hasidut ve-Sifrutah', *Hebrew Encyclopedia*, vol. 17, s.v. 'Hasidut', reprinted in A. Rubinstein (ed.), *Studies in Hasidism* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1977), p. 781.
- 21 See Dubnow (note 1 above), pp. 216–17, and cf. the sources he mentions (*Zemir Arizim* [1798], pp. 4, 9, 10, 11) and the remarks of Wilensky (note 13 above), pp. 195, 207–9, 212. See also I. Loebel, *Sefer ha-Vikkua'h* (Warsaw, 1798), p. 18a (Wilensky, op.cit. pp. 314–15) and J. Perl, *Megalleh Temirin* (Vienna, 1819), end of letter 1 and end of letter 104.
- 22 Dubnow (note 1 above), p. 216.
- 23 We possess three works by R. Jacob Isaac: *Zot Zikaron* (Lemberg, 1851); *Zikaron Zot* (Warsaw, 1869); and *Diveret Emet* (Zholkva, 1808) (probably printed in 1810–1). See A. Toyber, *Mekharim Bibliographiyim* (Jerusalem, 1932), p. 95; A. Rubinstein, 'Sifrey ha-Hozeh mi-Lublin', *Kiryat Sefer*, vol. 37 (1962), pp. 123–6. *Zot Zikaron* was written first. It is unedited and was printed by the publisher from the MS just as he found it, with the author's notes for his own use and his recollections and guidelines, which he had not prepared for publication. They contain repetitions, slips of the pen, annotations and remarks such as 'I do not remember any more, nor did I understand it' (p. 18); and for the rest, I have forgotten how I interpreted it' (p. 140). The publisher's foreword to the edition of 1851 alludes to the fact that the book was not originally prepared for publication but existed as a collection of memorandums intended only for the writer's eyes:

Before I conclude, I will set before you here the reason why this book is entitled *Zot Zikaron*, which was the name chosen by the author himself, may the memory of this righteous and holy man be a blessing to us. For in his great humility, this righteous man did not seek to make himself a great name in the land by writing a book in order to spread it among the people of Israel, and therefore he did not write down his new insights in sequence, according to the order of the weekly readings of the Torah, but his whole desire was to record all his new insights into the Torah so as to preserve them in his keeping. And his holy custom was to write down every week the words of Torah which had issued from his holy lips on the previous Sabbath; and sometimes he set down first all the scriptural verses and rabbinic sayings which had been the cornerstones of his discourse so that he should not forget any of them while writing, and then he recorded his new insights concerning them. That is why the name he gave to this 'good soldier' (Is. 41:7) was *Zot Zikaron* ('This as a memorial': Ex. 17:14), for he said 'This will serve as a memorial, to be with me', so that it should never be forgotten by him.

The publication of *Zikaron Zot*, R. Jacob Isaac's second work, was undertaken in Warsaw in 1869 by the Seer's grandson, David ben Meshullam Zusha Halevi Horowitz. The MS he used had been in the possession of his father, the Seer's son. He

says in his foreword: 'I should point out that in a number of places the writing of his holy hand in this holy book is very strange. And in his holy words there are noticeable defects of style, because in his great fervour while writing he paid no attention at all to language, but only to the holy subject-matter. Nevertheless, I was afraid to interfere by correcting his holy words.' This book, like the previous one, was not originally structured round the sequence of the weekly Torah portions, since it was not prepared for the press by the author. However, David ben Meshullam Zusha, while stating that he had not corrected the text, testified that he had rearranged it: 'But this addition I took it upon myself to make, and I took great trouble with it, arranging the holy book according to the order of the weekly Torah readings.' Observations by the author such as, 'The brackets which occur from time to time indicate ideas which occurred to me at the time of writing, but not on the holy Sabbath [on which the original teaching was delivered orally], and I have made a separate section of them' (p. 66) prove that the text was indeed not revised or corrected for publication, and therefore we have in these two books first-class evidence of the state of mind of the author, unaffected by any later revision or editing.

*Diveret Emet*, the third of the Seer's books to be written, was seen into print by his grandson Isaac Jacob Koppel, the son of Abraham, the Seer's son, in the 1830s, although the title-page gives the year of publication as 1808. The latter date has long been proved false by Toyber (note 23 above, p. 95). This book, which was printed first, was in fact the last of the three to be written; its original name, indicating the sequence of writing, was *Hiddush ha-Shelishi* ('The Third New Insight'), as we learn from Isaac Jacob Koppel's foreword and the beginning of the book itself. The name *Diveret Emet* was given to it by R. Isaac Jacob Koppel, as he states in the foreword. The book was written, in part, after the death of R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk in 1786–7, as emerges from R. Jacob Isaac's remarks on p. 99, and it contains many parallels to his two earlier works. It is terse in style, referring back to earlier treatments of the same subjects in the two other works.

Rubinstein argued (*Kiryat Sefer*, vol. 37, p. 125) that in the Lemberg edition of 1851, *Zot Zikaron* ended at p. 42a (p. 127 in the Munkacs edition of 1942) and that from there on the homilies were copied from the previously printed *Diveret Emet*, but this conclusion does not follow at all, for it is most probable that the MS from which *Zot Zikaron* was printed comprised that work and *Hiddush ha-Shelishi* as one continuous text. The fact is that in *Zot Zikaron* the homilies are presented out of sequence, while in *Diveret Emet* they are arranged according to the order of the weekly Torah readings. We can accept as reliable the testimony of the redactor: and therefore he did not write his new insights in sequence, according to the order of weekly readings of the Torah, and there is no reason to suspect that the publisher copied from *Diveret Emet* but distorted the sequence, as suggested by Rubinstein. We should rather assume that there were several copies in the hands of the Seer's grandsons. (On the existence of manuscripts of the Seer's works and of copies made in his lifetime see Rabinowicz, note 1 above, p. 46, n. 92.) The references to his teachers in *Zot Zikaron* and *Zikaron Zot* indicate that parts of the books were written in parallel at various times; this may apply also to some of the homilies in *Diveret Emet*. Cf. note 24 below.

24 See e.g. *Zot Zikaron*, p. 173: 'In the name of the rabbi of Nikolsburg, my teacher and master, of blessed memory.' Contrast with this 'I heard this from the rabbi, the Maggid of Zolochew, may he be preserved in life' (*ibid.*, p. 118); 'I also heard this from my teacher, may he be preserved in life' (*ibid.*, p. 77); 'I heard from my master, may he be preserved in life' (*Zikaron Zot*, pp. 47, 66, 113; *Zot Zikaron*, p. 118). Quotations in the name of 'my master' or 'my teacher' refer to R. Elimelech, as emerges from *Zikaron Zot*, p. 99: 'As I heard by way of parable from my master, who said in the

name of his brother R. Zusha'; and I heard it said in the name of my master R. Melech, may he be preserved in life' (*Zikaron Zoi*, p. 7). R. Jacob Isaac, writing during the lifetime of his master and in close proximity to his place of residence, did not mention him by name out of respect. R. Elimelech is mentioned together with the blessing for the living in *Zikaron Zoi*, p. 113; only from p. 155 of *Zot Zikaron* onwards, and from p. 99 of *Diveret Emet*, is he mentioned with the blessing for the dead. It should be pointed out that the Seer's works were written before R. Elimelech's book was published in 1788. On differing opinions as to whether R. Elimelech died in 1786 or 1787 see B. Landau, *Ha-Kav R. Elimelech mi-Lyzhansk* (Jerusalem, 1963), pp. 291-3.

25 Cf. Dubnow (note 1 above), pp. 175-204, 215-17, 326-7, and see Aescolly (note 1 above), pp. 92-7. On the special position of Galicia during these years, and the social and economic milieu in which R. Jacob Isaac was active, see A. J. Brawer, *Studies in Galician Jewry* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1956), pp. 162-7, 141-53, and p. R. Magosci, *Galicia, a Historical Survey and Bibliographical Guide* (Toronto, 1983), pp. 92-115.

26 On the connection between the ethical and mystical values of Hasidic leadership, the influence of those values on the spread of Hasidism, and the involvement of the leadership in the problems of daily life and the needs of the community see Ch. Shmeruk, 'Ha-Hasidut ve-lskey ha-Hakhrut', *Zion*, vol. 35 (1970), pp. 182-192.

27 See *Zikaron Zoi*, pp. 145, 147-52 for autobiographical references, and *ibid.*, p. 148, for guidelines intended for his own use. Cf. also the publisher's foreword: 'and near the end of the book there are about four leaves containing his holy guidelines, which include some very wonderful things.'

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 56, 125, 132, 146, 151-2; *Zot Zikaron* pp. 18, 68, 108, 130, 136, 140, 137; 'And now I do not remember [these things] properly; I am therefore writing headings only, and those are not very exact'; 'Alas for those who forget now, when they come to write.' Cf. also the conclusion of the foreword to *Diveret Emet*.

29 The fact that *Zot Zikaron* was unedited is made very clear by the author's notes which remained in the text as printed: 'I have forgotten what I said in regard to this' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 62); 'I cannot remember properly what I said' (*ibid.*, p. 63); 'And I have forgotten and no longer remember, nor do I understand [it]' (*ibid.*, p. 18); 'to be looked up in the *Zohar*—I do not now know the place' (*ibid.*, p. 69) and so on. See also note 23 above.

30 See note 23 above. The Seer's grandson, who saw the book into print, made no deletions or alterations and pointed out in his foreword that it had not been revised or corrected but preserved the original text of the author's MS, and that its peculiarities of style and language were due to the circumstances in which it was written and to its ecstatic inspiration. The division according to the weekly Torah readings was, however, the work of the grandson; see note 23 above.

31 See the most interesting foreword to *Diveret Emet* by the Seer's grandson, R. Isaac Jacob Koppel ben Abraham Halevi Horowitz, on the circumstances in which the book was written, its esoteric dimensions and its ecstatic origin, and on the Seer's attempts to reconstruct the inspirational sermon and commit it to writing.

32 Cf. R. Shneur Zalman of Lyadi, *Tanya, Iggeret ha-Kodesh*, letter no. 22, p. 134; and see *Iggeret Kodesh*, ed. D. B. Levin (New York, 1980), pp. 55-6; R. Elior, 'Vikuaah Minsk', *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought*, vol. 1, no. 4 (1982), pp. 180-93; I. Etkes, 'Darko shel R. Shneur Zalman mi-Lyadi ke-Manhig shel Hasidim', *Zion*, vol. 50 (1985), pp. 323-7, 329-30.

33 On the Hasidic doctrine of the Zaddik see G. Scholem, 'Ha-Zaddik', in *Pirkey Yesod be-Havanat ha-Kabbalah u-Semalleha* (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 213-58; on the special quality of the Hasidic Zaddik, *ibid.* pp. 241-58; id., *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, (New York, 1976), pp. 337-8, 342-7; id., 'Mysticism and Society', *Diogenes*, vol. 58

(1967), pp. 1-24; S. Dresner, *The Zaddik*, (New York, 1966), pp. 113-222; B. Z. Dinur, 'Reshitah shel ha-Hasidut in Be-Mifneih ha-Dorot' (Jerusalem, 1955), pp. 221-5; M. Buber, *Be-Phardes ha-Hasidut* (Tel Aviv, 1945), pp. 67-78; J. Weiss, 'Reshit Zemihatah shel ha-Derekh ha-Hasidut', *Zion*, vol. 16 (1951), pp. 69-88, reprinted in Rubinstein (note 20 above), pp. 145-64; id., *Melkarim be-Hasidut Braslav* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 99-107; Tishby and Dan (note 20 above), 'Torat ha-zaddik', pp. 779-84; Ettinger (note 18 above), pp. 251-66; A. Rapoport-Albert, 'God and the Zaddik as the two Focal Points of Hasidic Worship', *History of Religion*, vol. 18 (Chicago, 1979), pp. 296-325; A. Green, 'The Zaddik as Axis Mundi in Later Judaism', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 45 (1977), pp. 327-47.

34 See Rapoport (note 33 above), pp. 319-20; Weiss, *Melkarim* (note 33 above), pp. 104-7.

35 See Scholem (note 33 above), *Major Trends*, p. 342, and 'Ha-Zaddik', p. 247; and id., 'Sheloshah Tipusim shel Yir'at Shamayim Yehudit', in *Devarim be-Go* (Tel Aviv, 1975), pp. 547-56; Dinur (note 33 above), p. 224; Ettinger (note 18 above), pp. 256-60.

36 On R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk's doctrine of the Zaddik, see R. Schatz, 'Le-Mahuto shel ha-Zaddik ba-Hasidut', *Molad*, vol. 18 (1966), pp. 365-78; G. Nigal, *Mishnat ha-Hasidut be-khivrey R. Elimelech mi-Lyzhansk u-Bhey' Midrasho* (doctoral dissertation, Jerusalem, 1972); id. (note 13 above), introduction. On the manner of his leadership see the testimony of both his son and his disciple, *Sefer Iggeret ha-Kodesh* (note 14 above), pp. 591-608. Elimelech's doctrine of the Zaddik differs appreciably from that of R. Jacob Isaac, even though the latter was decisively influenced by it. This, however, is beyond the scope of the present paper; I hope to deal with this topic elsewhere.

37 On the denial to mankind of direct contact with God, on the transfer of *devekut* from God to the Zaddik, and its socio-religious background, see Rapoport (note 33 above), pp. 305-6, 313, 318-22.

38 J. Weiss, 'Reshit Zemihatah' (note 33 above), p. 73.

39 According to a tradition quoted by his disciple Kalonymos Kalman Epstein, the author of *Ma'or va-Shemesh*, 'therefore every Zaddik has men who travel to him to attach themselves to him, and they are branches from the root of his soul' (note 19 above, weekly portion 'Hukat', p. 171).

40 For a description of the state of society at that time, and of the failure of the leadership, which accords with this and similar criticisms, see R. Mahler, *Le-Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Polin* (Methavia, 1946), pp. 357-72, 395-415; Dinur (note 33 above), pp. 95-110, 121-31; Y. Heilpern, *Yehudim ve-Yahadut be-Mizrah Europa* (Jerusalem, 1968), pp. 30-3; J. Katz, *Tradition and Crisis* (New York, 1971), pp. 225-30; but cf. note 98 below for the preferability of the Hebrew edition of this work; Brawer (note 25 above), pp. 141-53.

41 Cf. *Zot Zikaron*, p. 191: 'The Zaddik who has *devekut* [while he operates] within the community and without, while dealing with worldly affairs, can serve Him, blessed be He, which is not the case with the one who occupies himself solely with the Torah; while such a person is so occupied, he is in a state of *devekut*, but when he is not occupied with the Torah, he does not serve Him, blessed be He.' For a sharp criticism of those who study Torah but not for its own sake, and who ignore the needs of their people, see *Zot Zikaron*, p. 95. And cf. Ma'or va-Shemesh, where the author quotes the views of the Seer on 'those who study Torah who have not abandoned their evil ways' in a commentary on the verse 'What right have you to recite my statutes?' (Ps. 50:16; *Ma'or va-Shemesh* (note 19 above) on the weekly reading 'Mishpatim', p. 90d. on 'Devarim', p. 194a.

42 See Katz (note 40 above), pp. 79-90.

- 43 See S. Ettinger in *A History of the Jewish People*, ed. H. H. Ben-Sasson (London, 1976), Pt. 4. 'The Modern Period', pp. 774–6, and cf., for a practical example of this, Shmeruk (note 26 above), pp. 182–92.
- 44 On the character of the Hasidic as opposed to the rabbinic leadership see G. Scholem, *Major Trends* (note 31 above), pp. 333–4, 344–5, and cf. Ettinger (note 18 above), p. 261; Katz (note 40 above), pp. 225–30; see the important observation of Brawer on the connection between the abolition of the political rights and rights of jurisdiction of the *Kehillah* in Galicia and the spread of Hasidism there: Brawer (note 25 above), p. 182. And see C. Abramsky, 'The Crisis of Authority within European Jewry in the 18th Century', *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History, Presented to Alexander Altmann* (Tuscaloosa, 1979), pp. 13–28.
- 45 See note 21 above, and cf. this with the arguments and counter-arguments in regard to the contempt shown for the Zaddikim to which R. Jacob Isaac refers in *Zikaron Zot*, p. 96; *Zot Zikaron*, pp. 13, 36, 50, 71, 162, 171, 187.
- 46 Cf. the view of R. Elimelech: 'And this will be the sign for him: if people become his followers—then he is a Zaddik' (*Noam Elimelech*, ed. Nigal, note 13 above on 'Bo' 37c); 'If he is a Zaddik he has men who draw near to him and live with him in perfect love' (*ibid.*).
- 47 On the definition of charisma in its religious context see M. Weber, *Theory of Social and Economic Organizations* (London, 1964), pp. 328, 358–73, 380–92. Cf. the Hebrew Weber reader: S. N. Eisenstadt (ed.), *M. Weber—Al ha-Charisma u-Bhanyat ha-Mosadot* (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 29–30. See also E. Shils, 'Charisma, Order and Status', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 30 (1965), pp. 199–213; S. Sharot, 'Hasidism and the Routinization of Charisma', in *Messianism, Mysticism and Magic* (Chapel Hill, 1982), pp. 155–88. On the view of the Hasidic leadership as a charismatic leadership see Scholem, *Major Trends* (note 33 above), pp. 334, 344, 347; id., 'Demuto ha-Historit shel R. Israel Baal Shem Tov', *Devarim be-Go* (Tel Aviv, 1975), pp. 295, 307–12; Buber (note 33 above), p. 105; Katz (note 40 above), pp. 269, 274. On the importance of the Sabbatian heritage in shaping pneumatic leadership, see note 33 above, Scholem, 'Ha-Zaddik', pp. 244–5, and Weiss, 'Rehit Zemlatah', pp. 69–88.
- 48 On the view of his teacher, R. Elimelech, as to the mission of the Zaddik, cf. *Noam Elimelech* (note 13 above), on 'She'lah Lekha': 'The Zaddikim always care for the community of Israel and pray for them constantly'; and on 'Pekudey': 'The Zaddik, who represents the quality of the male [who pours out the flow, rather than the female who receives it], pays no regard to his own benefit but his whole purpose is to confer an abundance of good on all Israel'. On mediation between upper and lower worlds, see Tishby and Dan (note 20 above), pp. 781–2.
- 49 His outstanding disciple R. Kalonymos Kalman of Krakow, the author of *Ma'or va-Shemesh*, throws light on the way the close associates of the Seer conceived his relationship with the upper worlds: 'This is the end of every man, that his soul should be stripped of its materiality; let him see to it without delay while he is yet alive . . . to attain this condition, namely to divest himself of the materiality of this world, so that there should remain with him nothing but spirituality, and then he will be in communion with upper worlds. And this is well known of great Zaddikim, and I myself have seen it, that when they enter into communion with upper worlds and are stripped of the robes of corporality, the Divine Presence rests upon them and speaks from their throat, and their mouth utters prophecies and declares what is to come, and afterwards those Zaddikim do not themselves know what they have been saying, for they are in communion with upper worlds and the Divine Presence speaks from their throat' (note 39 above, on 'Va-yiggash', p. 50a). For further testimony by his disciples and associates on the revelation of his spiritual powers and his charismatic leadership, see Zevi Elimelech of Dynow, *Agra de-Pirka* (Lemberg, 1858), s.25 and id., *Agra de-kallah* (Przemysl, 1868), on 'Pekudey', p. 31; Isaac Judah Jehiel Safrin of Komarno, *Megilat Se'arim*, ed. Ben Menahem (Jerusalem, 1944), pp. 8, 11. See also Berger (note 2 above), pp. 84, 92; *Eser Kedushot* (Warsaw, 1925), pp. 89–90 s.22; and cf. Aaron Marcus, *Ha-Hasidut* (Tel Aviv, 1980), p. 114; Kornblitt (note 3 above), pp. 9–16.
- 50 R. Jacob Isaac is an outstanding example of a Zaddik who attributed his authority to his metaphysical merit and his ties with upper worlds and not to the instruction of his teachers or his connection with the chain of Hasidic tradition. Cf. Erkes (note 32 above), pp. 344–5. Erkes rightly points to the importance of the link with the Maggid as a source of authority for Hasidic leadership, but his generalization of this pattern, which is valid for some of the Maggid's disciples, cannot be applied to all of them. Further research is needed into the relative importance of charismatic inspiration as against the kabbalistic-Hasidic tradition in establishing the authority of the Zaddik in Hasidism.
- 51 On the problems connected with the claim to be favoured with the revelation of the Holy Spirit, cf. the evidence of a contemporary of the Seer who lived in the same region, R. Zachariah Mendel of Jaroslaw, a disciple of R. Elimelech (note 14 above).
- 52 Zevi Hirsch of Zhidachov, *Sur me-Ra va-Aseh Tov* (Lublin, 1912), p. 55. The expression 'In the days of the *TuZ*' relates to the occasion when R. David Halevi, author of the *Turey Zahav*, sent envoys from Lemberg to Sabbatai Zevi in Galipoli. See G. Scholem, 'Ha-Tenuah ha-Shabbeta'it be-Polin', in *Studies and Texts Concerning the History of Sabbatianism and its Metamorphoses* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 73–4. R. Zevi calls the Seer 'my teacher': see *Sur me-Ra*, pp. 17–18, and the additions of Zevi Elimelech of Dynow, *ibid.*, p. 21.
- 53 On speaking words of Torah under divine inspiration, cf. Berger (note 2 above), p. 93, s.36. And cf. the foreword to *Diverey Emet* by the Seer's grandson (note 31 above): 'For we and our contemporaries know of the great force and power of the holiness and asceticism and fervour of my honoured lord, my grandfather the rabbi, the author of this book (may his memory be for a blessing), and especially while he was speaking these words of Torah with reverence and love and trembling and quaking, for flaming brands issued from his mouth.' Cf. also *Ma'or va-Shemesh* (note 19 above) on 'Va-Ethanan', p. 201, and on 'Mishpatim', p. 91b.
- 54 Cf. his 'guidelines' at the beginning of *Diverey Emet*, esp. nos. 1–5, 14, 40, 50, 52, 77, 82. See also his 'guidelines' at the beginning of *Zot Zikaron*, pp. 3–4, and cf. the traditions reported in Kornblitt (note 3 above), pp. 45–50. On variant forms of his guidelines and their printed editions see Z. Gries, 'Sifrut ha-Hanhagah ha-Hasidit', *Zion*, vol. 46 (1981), p. 281.
- 55 There is a clear allusion here to Joseph Karo's *Maggid*, referred to as 'the voice of my beloved'. Cf. R. J. Z. Werblowsky, *Joseph Karo, Lawyer and Mystic* (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 9–23, 148–68.
- 56 Hasidic tradition has preserved many testimonies to the powerful influence exerted by the Seer's public displays of transcendental inspiration and to the excitement and emotion it generated in those around him. See the sources quoted in notes 3 and 49 above. And see R. Jacob Isaac on the ecstatic nature of the 'burning fire', *Zot Zikaron*, pp. 124–6. In his *Gog and Magog* (note 3 above), Martin Buber, basing himself on these traditions, was able to convey in brilliant literary form the power of the religious experience undergone by the members of the Seer's court. It is interesting to compare this to the Habad tradition in regard to the strength of the emotional influence exerted by the Hasidic utterances of R. Shneur Zalman: 'His manner of delivering Hasidic teachings was most frightening and all those present were smitten with terror and repented wholeheartedly there and then, eager to serve the Lord in the most awesome way.' H. M. Hichtman, *Beyt Rabi*, (Berdichev, 1902), Bk. 1, p. 31, note 2.
- 57 Cf. *Zikaron Zot*, pp. 9, 47, 50, 58, 73, 121; *Zot Zikaron*, pp. 181, 142; *Diverey Emet*,

pp. 106-7. On his supernatural powers of vision, which earned him the name of 'the Seer', see Samuel of Sieniawa, *Ramatayim Zofim* (Warsaw, 1881), p. 247, s.106, and the indirect reference by R. Jacob Isaac, *Zot Zikaron*, p. 89. Cf. Weber, *Theory* (note 47 above), pp. 359-60. As to the impact of the Seer's wonder-working powers on the circle of R. Elimelech's disciples, see the letter of Zachariah Mendel of Jaroslaw (note 14 above).

58 Cf. the foreword by Dov Baer of Limits to *Shivhey ha-Besht* (*In Praise of the Baal Shem Tov*) as to the role of 'miracles and wonders' and tales of miracles in attracting a popular following, and the significance of wonder-working in any assessment of the Zaddik. See also *Zikaron Zoi*, p. 3, and cf. *Diveyey Emet* pp. 106-7. Cf. also Solomon of Lutsck (note 12 above), on 'be-Shalah', p. 79, concerning the significance of miracles in Hasidic circles.

59 See also *Diveyey Emet*, pp. 106-9.

60 On the nature of the charismatic mission, cf. Weber (note 47 above), 'Charisma', pp. 29-30, and *Theory*, pp. 358ff. See Scholem, 'Ha-Zaddik' (note 33 above), p. 247.

61 On the tension between charismatic authority and the established leadership, and on the gap between them in terms of values and patterns of leadership, see Weber, *Theory* (note 47 above), pp. 361-3, 386-92, and the introduction to that work by T. Parsons, pp. 64-6.

62 On the dialectical aspects of the concepts of *yesh* and *ayin*, see R. Elior, *Torat ha-Elohut ha-Dor ha-Sheni shel Hasidut Habad* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 48-50, 125-33; id., 'Iyyunim be-Mahashev Habad', *Daat*, vol. 16 (1986), pp. 145-54. On the opposing principles which condition existence according to Hasidic thought, see *Maggid Devarav le-Yaakov*, ed. R. Schatz-Uffenheimer (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 91, 134, 170, 210; Tishby and Dan (note 20 above), pp. 773-5.

63 On the mystical and ethical aspects of the *ayin* see Scholem, 'Ha-Zaddik' (note 33 above), pp. 252-3, and *Maggid Devarav le-Yaakov* (note 62 above), pp. 12, 74, 109, 134; on *ayin* as the source of *yesh*, see *ibid.*, pp. 19-20, 24, 91. See also Tishby and Dan (note 20 above), p. 808.

64 Cf. Elior (note 62 above), pp. 43-51.

65 See *Eis Hanyinim* (Warsaw, 1891), pp. 25, 56-7, and Scholem, *Major Trends* (note 33 above), pp. 261-3.

66 On *hishtakut* and *hitpashtut* (withdrawal and expansion) in their Hasidic meaning see those headings; see also Tishby and Dan (note 20 above), p. 773.

67 See Scholem *Major Trends* (note 33 above): for the dialectic of Zaddikism, cf. *Noam Elimelech* (note 13 above) on 'Bo': 'The Zaddik must work in the same way as in the creation of the worlds, first destroying, then rebuilding'; 'And in order to commence, the most important thing is that you should be able to attain the ultimate root, which is humility, so that you bear in mind your lowliness, for you are dust' ('Lekh Lekha', p. 34, and cf. *ibid.*, on 'Hayyey Sarah', p. 10b).

68 See *Babylonian Talmud*, *Sotah* 21b: Rabbi Johanan said: 'The words of Torah are preserved only by him who makes himself as if he did not exist, as it is said "And wisdom is found from *ayin*" (a play on the two meanings of *ayin*: Job 28:12, '*ve-ha-hokhma me-ayin timaze*' literally meaning 'And wisdom, where shall it be found?'). Cf. *Babylonian Talmud*, *Eruvin* 54a: 'The Torah is preserved only by one who makes himself like a wilderness.'

69 On the Zaddik in the domain of the *ayin*, see Scholem, 'Ha-Zaddik' (note 33 above), pp. 252-3. On the consciousness of lowliness and exaltation in R. Elimelech, cf. Nigal (note 13 above), introduction, p. 32. On the quietistic significance of man's turning himself into *ayin*, cf. R. Schatz, *Ha-Hasidut ke-Mystikah* (Jerusalem, 1968), pp. 21-31, and id. (note 36 above), pp. 369-70. Cf. A. Green, 'Hasidism—Discovery and

Retreat', in p. Berger (ed.), *The Other Side of God* (New York, 1981), pp. 104-30. See also the statement by R. Meir Aptá of Stobinitza, a disciple of the Seer: 'I heard from my honoured *Admor*, my teacher R. Jacob Isaac, may the memory of that Zaddik be for life in the world to come, who said this in the name of the great rabbi [Levi Isaac] of Berdichev, may the memory of that Zaddik be for life in the world to come: man must stir up in himself the quality of *ayin* and be lowly in his own eyes and continue increasing in this way, more and more every day; by increasing in his service of the Lord, he will come to know the greatness of the creator and his own lowliness and renew the quality of *ayin* in himself' (*Or la-Shamayim* (Lewów, 1850), on Beshallah).

70 See *Zava'at ha-Ribash* (Kehot Publication Society, New York, 1975), ss. 2, 5, 10, 53, summed up in s. 53 with the epigram: "let him make himself like one who does not exist" . . . the meaning is that he should consider himself as if he were not in this world. And cf. *Maggid Devarav le-Yaakov* (note 62 above), pp. 186, 325; Buber (note 33 above), p. 112; G. Scholem, 'Devekut, or Communion with God', in *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (London, 1971), pp. 213-14; Schatz (note 69 above), pp. 15, 27-9.

71 *Maggid Devarav le-Yaakov* (note 62 above), pp. 38-9. On man's view of himself as inhabiting the upper world and having shaken off the values of this world, see *Zava'at ha-Ribash* (note 70 above), ss. 6, 53, 62, 84.

72 The Hasidic interpretation of the talmudic saying 'Children, life and sustenance are a matter dependent not on merit but on planetary influence (*mazzala*)' (*Mo'ed Katan* 28, 1) is based on the kabbalistic understanding of the word *mazzala* as derived from the noun *nezilah*, 'flow', i.e. what is described here is the flow of the *shefa*, the divine flow of bounty which is the source of 'children, life and sustenance'. Cf. also *Noam Elimelech* (note 13 above) on 'Toledot', p. 12c and d.

73 On the views of the Maggid, see *Maggid Devarav le-Yaakov* (note 62 above), p. 351, index entries for *ayin*, *mahazik azmo le-ayin* ('holds himself to be nought') and *mahshiv et azmo le-ayin* ('considers himself as nought'). On the dialectical relationship between *ayin* and material bounty, cf. I. Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar* (Jerusalem, 1957, 1961), Pt. 2, pp. 253-4.

74 On the mystical meaning of conversion to *ayin*, cf. William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1929), pp. 379, 408-10; and cf. Schatz (note 69 above), pp. 24-31.

75 In the doctrine of the Maggid the Zaddik turns *yesh* into *ayin* by way of reversing the action of God, who brings forth *yesh* from *ayin*, whereas in the Seer's doctrine the Zaddik turns *yesh* into *ayin* but also turns *ayin* into *yesh*. See the enlightening remarks of R. Elimelech, *Noam Elimelech* (note 13 above) on 'Terumah', p. 48a. On the central position of this concept in Hasidic thought, cf. Elior, 'Iyyunim be-Mahashev Habad' (note 62 above), pp. 143-72.

76 See Scholem, 'Ha-Zaddik' (note 33 above), pp. 252-3.

77 R. Jacob Isaac's views on humility and lowliness were greatly influenced by his teacher, R. Elimelech, who stressed this requirement repeatedly: 'for in order to reach the root it is principally necessary for man to be very humble, and lowly in his own eyes, and [bear in mind] "how little he is to be accounted"' (Is. 2:22) (note 13 above), on 'Hayyey Sarah', p. 10b). 'Lowliness and humility' in the Seer's doctrine are his new formulation of the quality of *ayin* as described by the Maggid of Mezritch. Cf. also R. Shneur Zalman's statements on the centrality of lowliness in the Hasidic tradition, *Iggerot Kodesh* (note 32 above), p. 183; 'Hanhagot Yesharot' ('honest guidelines') at the end of *Teshuvot Heri*, by R. Gedaliah of Linitz (Jerusalem, 1965); Dresner (note 33 above), pp. 142-7; Dinur (note 33 above), p. 210. And see Kornblit (note 3 above), pp. 46-50. See also *Zikaron Zoi*, p. 79, and cf. the unequivocal view of R. Elimelech on 'the Zaddikim who regard themselves as more worthless and lowly than all other men', *Noam Elimelech* (note 13 above), pp. 50d-51a.

- 78 Cf. the Seer's 'Guidelines', in which he again stresses this consciousness of being 'a worse sinner than all other men'. And see Schatz (note 36 above), pp. 376-7. Cf. also the letter of Zachariah Mendel of Jaroslaw (note 14 above): 'They [the Zaddikim] always make known their disgrace and put themselves to shame in public', and similar statements.
- 79 For the concept of humility and lowliness as a basis for empathy, cf. Samuel of Sieniawa (note 57 above), ch. 24, s.22. And see Schatz (note 36 above), p. 370. Cf. a tradition quoted by the Seer's disciple, Itamar of Konskowola: 'I heard this from the holy mouth of the *Admor*, the rabbi of Lublin, may his soul rest in Paradise: heartbroken and with extreme humility, he condemned himself, "Alas for the generation which has me as its leader".' *Mishmeret Itamar* (Warsaw, 1869), on 'Ki tsa'.
- 80 On 'the descent of the Zaddik' see Weiss, 'Reshit Zemihatah' (note 33 above), pp. 69-88, and M. Piekarz, *Bi-Yemey Zemihatah ha-Hasidut* (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 280-304; Nigal (note 13 above), introduction, pp. 63-4; Tishby and Dan (note 20 above), pp. 779-81.
- 81 Etinger (note 18 above), p. 235.
- 82 On the tension between devotion to communal needs and his own spiritual exaltation cf. R. Shneur Zalman of Lyadi, *Iggeret Kodesh* (note 32 above), letter no. 24 'venil'eti linso' ('I am weary of bearing'), and cf. Scholem, *Major Trends* (note 33 above), p. 343. On R. Elimelech's viewpoint on this subject see Nigal (note 13 above), pp. 33-7. For a literary expression of the powerful tension between the two poles of the Zaddik's existence see the tales about the Seer 'flying', falling and being thrust into the 'abyss' in the anthologies mentioned in note 3 above.
- 83 On this question, which is central to the doctrine of the Zaddik, see Rapoport (note 33 above), pp. 305-6, 313, 318-22. And see the Seer's own words on the relationship between the Zaddik and God: 'And those who love Him have dominion over all his works, and they have power to draw down all kinds of bounty and to nullify all decrees' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 3).
- 84 See Scholem, 'Ha-Zaddik' (note 33 above), pp. 213-36.
- 85 *Zikaron Zot*, pp. 78, 32.
- 86 'And this is the meaning of "he that has no light" [Is. 50:10], let him trust in the name of the Lord and lean upon his God, for it is He who saves and bestows bounty by the hand of the Zaddik, for such is his pleasure, blessed be He' (*Zikaron Zot*, p. 34).
- 87 'We draw Him down to this world so that His presence should be among us', *Noam Elimelech* (note 13 above), on 'Korah', p. 79d. 'Attain the state of *ayin*, for *Hokhmah me-ayin limaze* (see note 68 above) and thereby there will be brought about a renewal of everything which requires the bringing forth of *yesh* from *ayin*, like the Creation' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 141).
- 89 On the responsibility of the Zaddik for the material state of society cf. Dresner (note 33 above), pp. 148-73; Etinger (note 18 above), p. 232; Tishby and Dan (note 33 above), pp. 780-2. On the social framework of the relations between Zaddik and community, see Scholem, 'Ha-Zaddik' (note 33 above), pp. 251-2; Schatz (note 36 above), pp. 373-4.
- 90 On *shefa* in its kabbalistic sense, see Scholem, 'Ha-Zaddik' (note 33 above), pp. 228-31, 249; Tishby (note 73 above), Pt. 1, pp. 265ff. On its Hasidic sense see Nigal (note 13 above), introduction, pp. 24-40, and cf. A. Gottlieb, *Studies in the Literature of the Kabbalah* (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv, 1976), pp. 29-37.
- 91 On the Zaddik as a hypostasis of the kabbalistic *sefrat Yesod*, see Scholem, 'Ha-Zaddik' (note 33 above), pp. 218, 228, 249.
- 92 Cf. note 72 above.
- 93 On Joseph the 'Zaddik' the *sefrat Yesod*, the channel through which the *shefa* flows,
- cf. Isaiah Horowitz, *Sieney Luliat ha-Berit*, (Amsterdam, 1748), p. 299b.
- 94 M. Levin, *Erekiy Heurah ve-Khalkalah ba-Ideologyah shel Tekufat ha-Hasidut* (Jerusalem, 1976), should be consulted for evidence on the world-view underlying this approach—which caused intense irritation to *Maskilim* in Galicia—and on the explicit accusations of the *Maskilim* in regard to the spiritualization of materiality and its severance from the domain of rationality, which, they said, drew the Hasidic community into passivity and anarchy.
- 95 Weiss (note 33 above), 'Reshit Zemihatah', p. 70; *Melkharim be-Hasidut Braslav*, p. 102.
- 96 Schatz (note 36 above), p. 373; see also p. 371.
- 97 Cf. the criticisms by R. Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk and by R. Shneur Zalman of Lyadi (who began to lead the Hasidim of White Russia in the 1780s, at about the same time as the beginning of R. Jacob Isaac's leadership in Galicia) and their negative attitude to material Zaddikism: *Peri ha-Arez* (Zhitomir, 1849), p. 38b; *Tanya*, *Iggeret ha-Kodesh*, letter no. 22, p. 134. And see Hillmann (note 16 above), p. 56; Elior (note 32 above), pp. 189-93; Etkes (note 32 above), pp. 323-7, 329-30. Etkes has reservations as to whether R. Shneur Zalman's viewpoint should be defined as a rejection of material Zaddikism, but he does not take into account his fundamental theological standpoint, which denies the validity of the charismatic relationship in regard to worldly affairs.
- 98 Solomon ha-Cohen of Radomsk (note 17 above) on 'Vayyeshvev' pp. 65-6. For a characterization of the two kinds of Zaddikim, see *Noam Elimelech* (note 13 above), on 'Shemot', p. 30b, and 'Shelah lekha', p. 72b. Cf. R. Jacob Isaac's own words: 'For there are degrees of elevation at which a man concerns himself to correct his soul and attach it to its root, but that is not the highest degree, for there is a degree higher than that—at which he concerns himself for the good of Israel . . . a man over the congregation [from Num. 27:16] to declare His praise, one who has not sought to advance his own affairs but only the needs of the community' (*Zot Zikaron*, p. 77). And see Katz (note 40 above), Hebrew version, *Masoret u-Mashebet* (Jerusalem, 1958), p. 158, on the importance of the concepts of 'the needs of the community' and 'the good of Israel'. (The English version, which is abridged, omits the relevant paragraph.)
- 99 Later on, of course, some members of the Hasidic camp sharply criticized the socio-religious system that had been developed in the Hasidism of Lublin and the place of materiality in that system. R. Jacob Isaac of Pshikha and his followers protested at the position occupied by earthliness and material Zaddikism in Lublin. They broke away from the world and denied its religious value, demanding the restoration of the spiritualistic tendencies of the movement to their former pre-eminence. From a study of the arguments of the Pshikha school it is possible, by inferring opposites, to characterize the Seer's form of Hasidism. However, as the controversy arose at a later time, it is not dealt with in the present study. For the time being, see Rabinowicz (note 1 above).
- 100 For the rejection by the school of the Maggid of the principle of prayer for material aid, cf. Schatz (note 69 above), pp. 80-2, 87-95; Etkes (note 32 above), p. 330, and *Iggeret Kodesh* (note 32 above), pp. 57-8.
- 101 See R. Schatz, 'Adam nokhah Elohim ve-Olam be-Mishant Buber la ha-Hasidut', *Molad*, nos. 149-50 (1960), pp. 596-609. Cf. note 70 above.
- 102 See Scholem, 'Devekut' (note 70 above), pp. 208, 212; Weiss, 'Reshit Zemihatah' (note 33 above), p. 63; Rapoport (note 33 above), pp. 305-6, 309; Etkes (note 32 above), p. 322.
- 103 Schatz (note 101 above), p. 597.
- 104 Scholem 'Perusho shel Martin Buber la-Hasidut', *Devarim be-Ga* (note 35 above),

pp. 372-8. Schatz (note 101 above), pp. 596-601; for an examination of the central place of these concepts in Hasidic thought, see *Zava'at ha-Rishash* (note 70 above) and the index to *Maggid Devarav le-Yaakov* (note 62 above).

105 For an analysis of the socio-religious cause of a parallel separation of responsibilities which required, of the Zaddik, devotion (*devotus*) to God and, of his Hasidim, devotion to the Zaddik, see Rapoport (note 33 above), p. 320; Tishby and Dan (note 33 above), p. 801.

106 On the place of poverty and wealth in Hasidic thought, cf. Dinur (note 33 above), pp. 155-7, and Piekartz (note 80 above), index entries for 'osher' and 'ashirai' ('riches, wealth'). For R. Jacob Isaac's viewpoint as described in the traditions of his disciples see Berger (note 2 above), p. 105, s. 113. And see the Seer's enlightening remarks in *Diveiy Emet* on 'Be-haalotekha', pp. 96-9.

107 Poverty 'ma'avirah et ha-adam al da'ot ve-al daat kono' (*Erubin* 41b. Jastrow translates: 'makes a man disregard his own sense (of right) and the sense of his Maker', but other dictionaries translate the verbal phrase as 'confuses'). On the significance of this evaluation of poverty, specifically in Galicia, see Jacob Goldberg, *Converted Jews in the Polish Commonwealth* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1985), p. 35.

108 See Mahler (note 40 above), p. 430, for a description of the situation at that time: 'In the second half of the eighteenth century the economic plight of the Jewish masses in Poland reached its lowest level; their great poverty was the result of the political situation and also of the first changes in the legal position of the Jews connected with the Reform.' See also *ibid.*, p. 440. Several students of Poland have argued recently that the economic position of Polish Jewry in the eighteenth century was not critical, contrary to the opinion of Dubnow and Mahler. But it appears that this is not valid for Galicia, where conditions of hardship prevailed. For a detailed documentation of this assertion in regard to the Jewish community in the period under review, see the sources quoted in Magocsi (note 25 above), pp. 92-115, 235-6. Cf. E. Ringelblum, *Die Poylishc Yidn in Ojstland Jan Kosciuszko 1794* (Warsaw, 1917). On exceptionally severe economic conditions in Galicia in the 1780s—in R. Jacob Isaac's time and in his area—following the prohibition of the *arends*, see Brauer (note 25 above), pp. 151-3, 162-7, 190-1. Brauer analyses the economic and political data and concludes that the Jews of Galicia in 1785 were left destitute, describing their condition as 'calamitous' (p. 165). He identifies as harshest the years 1785-9, coinciding with the beginning of the Seer's leadership. On poverty in Galicia see *ibid.*, p. 185. See also Dinur (note 33 above), pp. 125-31, and the essays by M. Balaban and I. Schiper in Halpern (note 1 above), vol. 1, which summarize their detailed studies, reviewed by Magocsi in his bibliography (note 25 above). Against the background of such hardship it is reasonable to assume that the doctrine of material Zaddikism was not divorced from the actual circumstances of those who propounded it; it was no mere abstract theory, but an expression of the effort to contend with social realities and a bold attempt to offer remedy to both physical and spiritual distress.

109 On the negative attitude of R. Jacob Isaac to rebukes which ignore actual conditions, see the very end of *Zikaron Zot* and Berger (note 2 above), p. 107, s. 125, quoting traditions handed down orally by his disciple Jacob Zevi Jolish, author of *Melo ha-Ro'im*. See also Weiss, 'Reshit Zemihatah' (note 33 above), pp. 58-60, 71-2.

110 Cf. the attitude of R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk, who emphasized the importance of preaching rebuke, and see Nigal (note 13 above), introduction, pp. 19, 61-3. On the relationship between the preacher who rebukes and the Zaddik, see Weiss, 'Reshit Zemihatah' (note 33 above), pp. 58-60, 71-2, and Scholem, 'Ha-Zaddik' (note 33 above), p. 242.

111 Cf. Piekartz (note 80 above), pp. 96-170, and in particular p. 160. On the extreme ascetic orientation of R. Elimelech, and his outright hostility to materiality, see the

beginning of *Noam Elimelech* (note 13 above), in the 'guidelines' and in the 'small Zettei'. It is interesting to examine the dialectical relationship between estranging oneself from materiality, on the one hand, and the doctrine of material Zaddikism, on the other—both of which are combined in the Seer's teaching. For testimony to the asceticism of R. Elimelech, see Moses of Koznitz, *Be'er Moshe* (Josefov, 1883), on 'Va-ethanan' and 'Mase'ey'.

112 Compare this with the opposite view, current in the Hasidic camp, which holds that the correction of faults will, of itself, solve the problems of earning a living (see Etkes (note 32 above, p. 325) or which tends to ignore material needs and to cast man's burden upon God. See *Zava'at ha-Rishash* (note 70 above) opening paragraphs.