

Bride, Spouse, Daughter

IMAGES OF THE FEMININE IN CLASSICAL JEWISH SOURCES¹

Arthur Green

FOR the first time in Jewish history, women are taking a full and equal role in the search for religious meaning in Jewish tradition. This coincides with their admission to positions of religious leadership in the community and with their full involvement in the life, on all levels, of the Jewish people. It seems entirely appropriate, at such a moment in history, that we comb our sources for images of the feminine in Jewish religious literature as they might be of use to such a generation of women. On the face of it, all of this is both obvious and entirely legitimate. As we probe a bit more deeply, however, two questions emerge that must be treated at least briefly as we begin to engage in such a search.

Is it really women who alone are in need of feminine imagery? Do images of the divine feminine belong only to women? Might they not belong to, and respond to the needs of, men as well as women? Or, as a friend posed the question a long time ago, with reference to Catholic spiritual literature, does Theresa of Ávila need to be the bride of God more than does John of the Cross? Does John need God the Father more than God the Mother? Indeed, is it Mother whom the passionate Theresa seeks so boldly? Might one not argue that men need the feminine, as women would need the masculine, if religious life involves some-

thing like what the depth psychologists call a search for polarities? In the course of our intense longing for the divine Other, a longing long depicted as having a strong erotic component, might it not be opposite rather than like that needs first to be sought out? This brings us, automatically, to a second important question in the anomalous situation in which we find ourselves.

As we turn to the tradition to seek out images of the feminine, we will have to admit that all the images we find are those of women as imagined by or created by men. We are not looking at the spiritual life of Glückel of Hameln or the pitifully few other women who have left us anything at all by way of written record, in the annals of Jewish history prior to modern times. Rail against this fact as we may, we simply cannot create historical sources that do not exist. Women as created by men, women in the fantasies of men, albeit sacred fantasies, are what we have.² Are these the kinds of texts women will need? Will the fact that such images of the feminine are male creations in itself somehow negate their usefulness? Might there emerge a feminist and female-created commentary or literature of commentary on the old male-created series of feminine images? Or need the old be negated altogether in the quest of women of our times?

Both of these questions, the question of who needs feminine imagery (in the truly spiritual sense, and not in the political appropriation of religious symbols) and the question of the usability of feminine imagery as created by a male religious community, will plague us throughout any such search.

The Jewish religious community, insofar as it existed as a public and corporate body in pre-modern times, was a male community. Women surely had a place in that community, indeed they had a vital role in Jewish life throughout history, one that need not be defended here. But insofar as that community saw itself as an assembled group, insofar as it came before God in the house of prayer or the house of study, it existed, it wrote for itself, it thought of itself, by and large, as a community of men. What does it mean then to note that this community regularly spoke of itself in the feminine, as *knesset Yisrael*? What does it mean that this primarily male community saw itself as the bride in its commentary on the Song of Songs? What does it mean that this male

community saw itself as the female spouse, as it were, of the masculine God? There are some who would turn to the sense of powerlessness and castration in Jewish history in order to answer such a question. It would be argued that it was because the Jewish people had no political independence, because we were not masters of our own lives and of our own historical situation, that we saw ourselves as “mere” powerless women rather than as real men. That works until one notices that the linguistic tradition is much the same in the Church. The Church, too, the allpowerful Church of the Middle Ages, saw itself as the *Ecclesia*, as the bride of God. While women had a more active role in the Church than in the synagogue, surely those images there too reflect the self-description of a male-dominated community.³

Why is it that men, in talking about their relationship with God, turned to images of the feminine in order to describe themselves? This seems to be a major issue in understanding the psychology of a religious community. What I want to propose is simply this: in the search for the kind of intimacy, tenderness, and warmth that such people wanted to express in talking about the relationship between God and Israel, they could not remain in the domain of the all-male universe where they lived their public lives. There is no way, without turning to images of the feminine, or without thinking of the relationships between men and women, that most men can express the degree of love, passion, and warmth that the spiritual life may arouse in them.

All this imagery of the feminine still assumes the basic masculinity of God. If we talk about the female community of Israel, or Israel as the bride, in such word pictures we are talking about God, of course, as “man.” When the sages spoke of the relationship between God and Israel in “man-to-man” terms, they found themselves limited primarily to two images: Israel (or the individual) as son and Israel as servant. The son, as is said so clearly in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy, may duly expect to be the object of divine loving kindness, while the servant may but turn to his Master in supplication for His pity (or His justice?). There is, of course, a depth of love between Father and son depicted in Jewish sources that is not to be underestimated. Much of the love literature, particularly within the context of liturgy, speaks about

Israel as the son of the King. ‘Eved, the servant, brings out more clearly the aspect of *yir’ah*, [the fear of God] and of a sense of complete dependency, while at the same time perhaps pointing to mutual responsibilities in a relationship of fealty.

Neither of these images, however, exhausts the full measure of our capacity for love, surrender, or passion. In a touchingly understated article published some years ago,⁴ Judah Goldin indicated that Rabbi Akiva’s emphasis on love as the center of the religious life—it was Akiva who said that “all of Scripture is holy, but the Song of Songs is the holy of holies”—had to do with his attitude toward his own marriage, and that his marriage was somehow a model for him of the relationship between God and Israel.

The rabbis say that the handmaiden at the crossing of the Red Sea saw more than Ezekiel the prophet. Ezekiel, it will be recalled, was the prophet who spoke in the most bold, open way of what he had seen in a visionary state. Here the handmaiden—not the servant, but the handmaiden—is said to have seen more than Ezekiel. Why the handmaiden? Only in the context of the rabbis’ reading of the Song of Songs does the passage make sense. God is Israel’s great lover, liberator, bringing her out from Egypt and across the sea. At that moment, the moment when she greets her lover, she sees more than the male Israel, Israel the son or servant, might. This is consistent with the imagery that runs through the entire Midrash on the Song of Songs. Despite a highly conservative and, from our point of view, at times prudish attitude toward the erotic in a religious context—an attitude in part inherited from the old biblical struggle against cultic sexuality—we find in early rabbinic sources a significant strand that recognizes the inevitability of this theme’s reappearance as one discusses “matters that touch the human heart.”⁵

The imagery of Israel as the bride of God shares its place in this search for feminine metaphors with another interesting and perhaps surprising image, that of Israel as the daughter of God. For this we turn to a text, quoting the Midrash on the Song of Songs (3:7):

“King Solomon made a palanquin for himself” (Cant. 3:9). Rabbi Azariah in the name of Rabbi Judah the son of Simon interpreted this verse

as speaking of the Tabernacle.⁶ The Palanquin is the Tabernacle. Said Rabbi Judah the son of Ilai, This may be compared to a king who had a young daughter. Before she grew up and the signs of puberty were found in her, the King would see her in the market place and speak to her openly, in the courtyard or in the alleyway. When she grew up, however, and she reached puberty, the king said: "It will not be proper for my daughter that I speak to her in public. Rather make her a pavillion, and when I need to speak to her I will speak to her in the pavillion." Thus, Scripture says, "When Israel was a lad I loved him" (Hos. 11:1). In Egypt they saw Him in public, as Scripture says, "The Lord passed by to smite the Egyptians" (Ex. 12:23). At the sea they saw Him in public, as Scripture says, "Israel saw the great hand" (Ex. 14:31). And then the young children pointed to him with their fingers and said, "This is my God and I will glorify Him" (Ex. 15:2). At Sinai they saw Him face to face, as Scripture says, "The Lord comes from Sinai" (Deut. 33:2). But once Israel had stood at Mt. Sinai and received the Torah, saying, "All that the Lord has said we shall do and obey" (Ex. 24:7) they became a mature people. Then the Holy One, blessed be He, said: "It is not proper for my children that I speak with them in public, rather let them make a Tabernacle for Me; when I need to speak with them I'll speak to them from within the Tabernacle." Thus Scripture says, "When Moses came into the Tent of Meeting to speak with Him" (Ex. 34:34). This palanquin was made by King Solomon; "Solomon" here refers to the King of Peace.

What we see in this text is surely a reflection of proper royal-class behavior in Mishnaic times. The daughter has a right to the protection of her modesty, and a casual approach to her on the streets, even by her own father, would demean her. This image is then applied to the relationship of God and Israel, superimposed on the classical period of Israel's sacred history. The truth is that there is something distinctive here in the relationship between father and daughter which is not present in the relationship between father and son. Father and daughter develop a certain shyness with one another as the daughter reaches puberty, a shyness which is not the same between fathers and sons. The daughter now has a right to privacy; the father accepts her as a mature woman and respects, indeed helps to set, the bounds of her contacts with men, including himself. Being the King's daughter is different from being His son; there is a relationship being spoken of here that a male can never fully understand, and that the tradition itself has not been able to fully appreciate until

now, because there has never been a commentator on any of this material who was herself a daughter and knew what the relationship between father and daughter was about.

But it is not only Israel who is described as being the king's daughter. We find quite a few sources describing *Torah* as daughter of God. In this example the reference is, again to the building of the Tabernacle:

"Moses has commanded the Torah to us, an inheritance for the house of Israel", read not "inheritance" [*MoRaSaH*] but rather "betrothal" [*Me'oRaSaH*]. The bridegroom, so long as he has not actually married his bride, becomes a regular visitor in the house of his future father-in-law. From the time they are married, however, her father must come to visit her. Similarly, so long as the Torah had not been given to Israel, Scripture tells us, "Moses went up to God" (Ex. 19:3). Once the Torah was there with Israel, God said to Moses, "Make Me a Tabernacle and I will dwell in their midst" (Ex. 25:8).⁷

The image of Torah as feminine is, of course, related to ancient traditions of wisdom, *hokhmah* or *sofia*, which in biblical literature and elsewhere is frequently described in feminine terms. Such description has a long history, first in ancient Wisdom-literature, later in both Gnostic and Neo-Platonic sources. A latterday mystical transformation of that symbol lies behind the well-known passage of the *Zohar* that describes the Torah as a beautiful and stately maiden, hidden away in a castle, who reveals bits of herself only to her lover as he walks by her gate each day to seek her out. It is a passage filled with the imagery of medieval courtly love.⁸ These passages demand that we consider seriously the notion that the Torah is woman. This becomes particularly interesting in the context of the current controversy over the ordination of women as rabbis. The rabbi in Judaism, unlike the Christian priest, is in no way the personification of God in the liturgy. If anything, the rabbi is the embodiment of Torah, the one who represents Torah in the midst of the Jewish community. But if the Torah, in a significant part of ancient rabbinic imagery, is described in feminine terms, what inadequacy can one find in its being represented by a woman?

Still, let us not rush to politicize our study of symbols. The

question is meant in the first place as a devotional one: What does it feel like to be the King's daughter? What particular devotional content might a woman find in that metaphor of relationship? Might it offer some new/old enrichment to *all* of us who seek, both male and female? What does it feel like for a man to be wedded to the daughter of a king? Have we fully understood both the joy and the awesome responsibility of that self-description?" What does it feel like to be an embodiment of Torah, Torah as a feminine presence, perhaps a female wisdom on a deeper, more hidden, or more subtle level than the conventionally "masculine" wisdom of cumulative law and tradition.

There is in the tradition of the rabbis a great love of feminine imagery. Again and again the most poignant passages to be found in rabbinic literature will involve a female voice or image. One need think perhaps only of one of the most famous of rabbinic homilies on the destruction of Jerusalem, in which, after the Patriarchs, Moses, Jeremiah, and the Prophets all stand up to accuse God of His unfaithfulness in allowing His Temple to be destroyed, it is only mother Rachel, in talking about how she set aside her jealousy of Leah, who can shame God into setting aside his jealousy of the petty and foolish idols that Israel had taken to worship.

There is little question that even this wealth of traditional imagery will not suffice for our own day. Many will rightly claim that new kinds of female images are needed, and that the multiplicity or variety of female models sought today are not all there in the early sources. There is, however, a body of material to work with, and it is considerably greater than many would first assume when looking at what is frequently dismissed as a male-dominated religious tradition. This material might form the basis of a contemporary commentary—though surely such commentary must go beyond anything found in the prior literature.

All of the above has to do with the situation in which the masculinity of God is still assumed, while that which stands in relation to God may be seen as feminine. We turn now to a new sort of literature, that of the Kabbalah, in which a female component of divinity itself is given place. Here, of course, the roster of sources is somewhat shorter, and we must beware of exaggerated

and ahistorical claims that are sometimes made for this material. A new myth of Judaism emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, hiding behind the word *kabbalah*, which means tradition itself. Here is presented a Judaism of mythic complexity that had been previously unknown, one in which the single, static, and essentially masculine God of biblical-rabbinic monotheism is replaced by a dynamic, multifaceted, ever-flowing, separating and uniting, new kind of ten-in-one monotheistic deity. In that paradigm of the inner life of God, described through so many rich and varied images in the kabbalistic literature, the *Shekhinah* took a major role.

Using an ancient term for the indwelling or presence of God, the Kabbalists now employed *Shekhinah* to symbolize a particular realm within the divine world. Described as daughter, bride, mother, moon, sea, faith, wisdom, speech, and a myriad of other figures, usually but not always feminine by fact or association, the *Shekhinah* is the chief object of both the divine and human search for wholeness and perfection. She is the bride of God within God, mother of the world and feminine side of the divine self, in no way fully separable from the male self of God. Indeed, the root of all evil, both cosmic and human, is the attempt to bring about such a separation. The picture of that feminine aspect of divinity is a complicated one. As the tenth of the *sefirot*, or manifestations of divine selfhood, she is, when facing those above, passive and receptive. She takes all the upper powers into herself; "All the rivers flow into the sea," as the Kabbalists love to quote from the Book of Ecclesiastes (1:7). But as the sea transforms all the rivers, gives them new life as a dynamic power all her own, and reaches her destined shores as a new being, so is the *Shekhinah*, when facing the lower worlds, described as giver, provider, ruler, and judge. In a way that cannot be fully understood, she is represented as the mystical embodiment of the Community of Israel: the Kabbalist has transferred the locus of mystical marriage from the relationship of God and the earthly Israel to an entirely divine plane. Rather than seeing himself and his people as the bride of God, he now joins with God above in rejoicing at a sacred marriage that has taken place, as it were, within God. Perhaps most interestingly, *Shekhinah* is the only

aspect of divinity that most Kabbalists ever claim really to experience. The *Shekhinah*, the outermost gate to the divine mysteries, is all the Kabbalist dares to say that he has attained. It is through the union of *Shekhinah* with God above that the Kabbalist, too, is bound to those higher forces. He serves as "attendant of the bride," knowing secretly at the same time that his soul is born of this union that he has helped to bring about.

We read now of the *Shekhinah* from the earliest text we have in all of Kabbalistic literature, the *Sefer HaBahir*, that appeared in southern France in the latter decades of the twelfth century. The *Bahir* is written in an intentionally mystifying and yet defiantly simple tone, one that does much to set the stage for the later symbolic development within Kabbalah. Here the *Bahir* is commenting on the biblical verse "Blessed be the Glory of God from His place" (Ezek. 3:12). *Glory*, in Hebrew *kavod*, is the Biblical term which the Kabbalists (following the *Targum*) usually took as a code word for the *Shekhinah*.

This may be compared to a king who had a matron in his chamber. All his hosts took pleasure in her. She had children, and those children came each day to see the king and greet him. They would say to him, "Where is our mother?" And he would answer, "You cannot see her now." To this they would reply, "Blessed be she, in whatever place she is."

Immediately the *Bahir* adds a second parable:

This may be compared to a princess who came from a faraway place. Nobody knew where she came from. Then they saw that she was an upstanding woman, good and proper in all her deeds. They said of her, "This one surely is taken from the place of light, for by her deeds the world is enlightened." They asked her, "Where are you from?" She said, "From my place." They said, "In that case, great are the people of your place. Blessed are you; blessed is she and blessed is her place."¹⁰

The *Shekhinah*, the mysterious woman, queen or princess, hidden or coming from a place beyond, is the only one we see, the only one we greet. What is her place, what is her origin? These are hidden somewhere in the mysteries of God beyond. All we can say of the God we know, of that feminine God we encounter is "Blessed is she and blessed is her place." The glory of God is

apparent to us, the glory of God lies within the realm of human experience. The *Shekhinah* is the God we know. Surely, that *Shekhinah* stands in relation to a transcendent deity, whether described in male terms or in terms of more pure abstraction, but our knowledge of that is only through her. Blessed is she and blessed is her place.

While the *Shekhinah* plays a central role in all of Kabbalistic literature, it is especially in the *Zohar* that its feminine character is highlighted. The author of the *Zohar* was possessed of a seemingly boundless mythic imagination, a great deal of it centering on female figures, both sacred and demonic, as well as on deeply ambivalent fantasies concerning human women in this world.¹¹ In what is surely one of its most strikingly impassioned passages, the *Zohar* speaks of the love of God through the symbol of the kisses that Jacob gives to Rachel. From the passage it becomes clear that the experience of the mystic is that of being aroused, drawn into, and kissed by God. As the passage develops, Rachel, the recipient of the kisses, is really related to an entirely hidden and abstract God beyond, a God so abstract and hidden, however, that He cannot be described as one who kisses. How, indeed, can one be loved by a God who is hidden beyond all being? Jacob is the personified manifestation of this hidden God, personified only, as it were, in order that the great mystery be enabled to kiss the bride. The passage reads as follows:

When it (the spirit of love) enters the palace of love, the love of supernal kisses is aroused, those of which Scripture says: "Jacob kissed Rachel" (Gen. 29:11). This arousal brings about the kisses of supernal love, as needs to be. These kisses are the beginning of all love, attachment, and binding above. That is why the *Canticle* opens its praises with: "Let Him kiss me." Who is to "kiss me"? The one hidden in sublime hiding, but should you ask: "Do kisses apply to the most hidden One? Does that one kiss below?"—come and see: that most hidden of hidden, no one knows it. It reveals of itself but a slim ray of hidden light, revealed only through a narrow path that proceeds from it. But this is the light that gives light to all. This is the arousal of all the sublime secrets, yet it remains hidden. Sometimes hidden, sometimes revealed. But even when it is not revealed at all, it remains the source of arousal for those ascending kisses. And since it is hidden, the *Canticle* begins its praises in a hidden (i.e., third-person) way.¹²

But if kisses are from there, what need have we of Jacob here? Do not the kisses proceed from Him? The matter is thus: "Let Him kiss me—the One who is hidden above. But how? Through that plane in which all the colors are reflected and joined together, and that is Jacob."¹³

So here we are, Israel, male and female, personified together as Rachel, receiving the kisses of God as Jacob. No, we receive the kisses of the God beyond, the God who is neither male nor female, neither here nor there, not this way or that way, the God who is utterly beyond all such duality and polarization. Here it seems that it is only the reality of human life and the gender-defined nature of our passions that cause the mystic to speak, for those of us who cannot follow him utterly into abstraction, in the language of male and female.

This all-too-brief selection from the Kabbalistic sources on *Shekhinah* might best be concluded with a line from another thirteenth-century work, the *Gates of Light* by Joseph Gikatillia. We have seen the *Shekhinah* as locus of the classic symbols of the feminine and as the mystical Community of Israel. Here we see her represented by *individual* women, an aspect seldom found in the early sources. Gikatillia writes:

"In the time of Abraham our father, of blessed memory, the *Shekhinah* was called Sarah. In the time of Isaac our father, she was called Rebecca. In the time of Jacob our father, she was called Rachel."¹⁴

The point is clear. The names of the *Shekhinah* change with the generations, as do the names of every other aspect, male and female, of divinity. God is identified with all of the patriarchs, with all of the heroes. *Shekhinah* is identified with all of the mothers, the heroines of the Bible.

Are we the bride of God, the people whom He weds on that Sabbath of revelation? Are we related to God as female to male, seemingly an image so clear in commentary on the Song of Songs? Or are we, as some other imagery seems to say, God's son-in-law, wedded to his daughter the Torah or his daughter the Sabbath? Try to sort out the imagery of *lekhah dodi*, "Come, my dear friend to greet the bride." Whose bride is it that we are greeting? Sabbath, *Shekhinah*, the bride of God? Ourselves, col-

lectively Israel, the bride of God? Or Sabbath, the bride of Israel? Or can no such clear or clean distinctions be made? Must we not rather say that we are at once male and female in relating to God, who is Him/Herself at once male and female; both of them inadequate metaphors to describe the mysterious self beyond all gender, indeed, beyond all distinction, but lacking none of the passion we know in our fragile human attempt to unify the polarities?

None of this will probably suffice for a new generation of women, those who are for the first time becoming fully involved in the creative spiritual life of the Jewish people. The foundation for such creativity, however, is here. The situation of women fully entering participation in the Jewish community is entirely anomalous. The new generation should rejoice in that, seeing its holy duty as one of creating an element in our shared myth that has been developed in only a fragmentary way. It will be a tragedy—one of the great Jewish tragedies of our age—if those women who enter roles of leadership in Jewish life become "sons of the King." That will do none of us any good. They will remain awkward in that role, and the Jewish people will remain unenriched. A truly feminine, and truly Jewish, spirituality is one of the urgent tasks of our age. A proper point of origin for it would be the encounter of contemporary Jewish women with those symbols of the sacred feminine given us by our tradition.

NOTES

1. Adapted from an address given to the Women's Rabbinical Alliance, 1979.
2. A possible exception is provided by some of the literature of *tehinot*: prayers and supplications written specifically for women. Quite a number of these were published in various collections, especially in Yiddish, over the past three hundred years. In most cases it is unknown, however, whether the authors themselves were women.
3. Of course the marital motif for the relationship of God and Israel goes back to the Bible; the prophet Hosea makes especially strong use of it in describing Israel's infidelity. Given their early histories of persecution as well as their later competitive claims, it is not hard to see why both the rabbinic and the ecclesiastic authors chose to highlight the faithfulness of God's spouse and the undying affection He has for her.

4. "Toward a Profile of the Tanna, Aqiba ben Joseph," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 96, 1976, p. 1.
5. I have discussed these sources more fully in an article published in *Judaism* 24 (1975), p. 4.
6. The portable sanctuary, in the form of a tent, that was used during the forty years of wandering.
7. *Exodus Rabbah* 33:7.
8. *Zohar* 2:99a-b.
9. They are most fully drawn out in the fantasy-creations of Rabbi Nahman of Bratslav. See the first two in his collection of *Tales*, now available in the faithful English rendition of Arnold Band, published in the *Classics of Western Spirituality* series of the Paulist Press.
10. *Bahir* (Margoliat edition, 131-2; Scholem edition 90).
11. The reader of Hebrew or German will have access to Gershom Scholem's study of *Shekhinah*, either in its original form in *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit* (Zürich, 1962) or as translated in *Pirkei Yesod be-Havanat ha-Kabbalah u-Semaleha* (Jerusalem, 1976). Isaiah Tishby's lengthy introduction to the notion of *Shekhinah* in his *Mishnat ha-Zohar* is also a basic source for the Hebrew reader. A study of the *Zohar's* author with emphasis on psychosexual attitudes, if possible, would be a major contribution to Jewish scholarship.
12. Rachel does not say to Jacob: "Kiss me!" as the Canticle opens, but rather "Let Him kiss me." The hidden God beyond cannot be addressed in the second person of prayer, but can only be hinted at in the more secretive third person manner.
13. *Zohar* 2:146b.
14. *Sha'arey Orah*, ed. Ben-Shlomo, ch. five, p. 230.

Feminist Judaism

RESTORATION OF THE MOON

Arthur I. Waskow

THERE is a strand of Jewish tradition that has some curious things to say about the moon. Says the Prophet Isaiah (30:26), "The light of the moon shall become like the light of the sun." And the Babylonian Talmud expands on this unsettling notion:

[When God created the sun and moon, the two great lights], the moon said to the Holy One, "Sovereign of the Universe! Can two rulers wear one crown?" He answered, "Go then and make yourself smaller!" . . . R. Simeon ben Lakish declared, "Why is it that the he-goat offered on the New Moon [for a sin-offering] is distinctive in that there is written concerning it, 'unto the Lord'?" Because the Holy One said, "Let this he-goat be an atonement for Me [for My sin] in making the moon smaller." (*Hullin* 60a)

R. Akha said to R. Ashi: In the West, they pronounce the following blessing: "Blessed be the One Who renews the moons." Whereupon he retorted: "Such a blessing even our women folk pronounce." [Let there be added] . . . "The moon He ordered that she should renew herself as a crown of beauty for those whom He sustains from the womb, and who will someday, like her, be renewed and magnify their Maker in the name of the glory of His Kingdom." (*Sanhedrin* 42a)

These texts express an ancient tradition that when Creation began, the moon was equal to the sun; that God reduced its brightness just as the *Shekhinah*—God's Presence in the world, a brooding, nurturing female aspect of God—went into mourning

ON BEING
A JEWISH FEMINIST

*Edited with
Introductions and a new Preface by*

SUSANNAH HESCHEL

SCHOCKEN BOOKS NEW YORK