

Historical Revisionism by the Families of Rav Kook's Disciples: Three Case Studies

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Introduction

Three famous rabbis with personal connections to Rabbi AY HaCohen Kook, to his inner circle, and to his yeshiva, are discussed in this article. While these rabbis never denied their connections to Rav Kook, their descendants—for various ideological and educational purposes—strove to rewrite their ancestors' histories by eliminating references to Rav Kook or to his yeshiva, Mercaz HaRav.

This revisionism is tightly correlated with the split of the Orthodox population in Israel into a Haredi community on the one hand and a national (Zionist) religious community on the other.¹ This split, which developed during the middle third of the 20th century and which solidified a decade later after the Six Day War,² is reflected in the inner circle of Rav

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¹ See Benjamin Brown, "From Political Isolationism to Cultural Entrenchment: Hazon Ish and the Formation of the Path of Israel's Haredi Community (1933–1954)" (Hebrew), in *On Both Sides of the Bridge, Religion and State in the Early Years of Israel*, Jerusalem 2002, ed. Mordechai Bar-On, Zvi Zammeret, pp. 400–408.

² My dear friend Yair HaLevy will shortly finish a doctoral dissertation entitled "The New Haredi Revolution of the 1970s." See also his thesis, "The mainstream Haredi Response to the Six Day War," Hebrew University, 2010.

Rav Eitam Henkin הי"ד, by the time of his death at age 31, had authored over 35 articles and three books. He was renowned both for his halachic writings and his mastery of the byways of the rabbinic world of the 19th and 20th centuries. He wrote *לכם יהיה לאכלה* on laws of insect infestation and *אש תמיד* on *hilkhot Shabbat* of the *Mishnah Berura*, as well as a soon-to-be-published historical work on *Arukh Ha-Shulhan*. His murder, together with his wife Naama הי"ד, on *Hol Ha-Moed, Sukkot* 5776 was a great loss to both the Torah and academic communities.

Kook's followers. This article will, with Hashem's help, serve as a basis for a separate article dedicated to this topic.³

1. Rav Yitzhak Arieli

The most famous rewrite, judging by its publicity at the time, was perpetrated on Rav Yitzhak Arieli, author of *Einayim La-Mishpat* (1896–1974). Rav Arieli, Jerusalem-born, learned in the yeshivot of the Old Yishuv and became close to Rav Kook upon the latter's return to Israel in Elul 1919. When Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav was founded, he was appointed its *mashgiach* and later functioned as a member of the yeshiva's administration. In 1941, he was appointed rav of the Knesset Yisrael neighborhood, and later functioned as the official *posek* for the Bikkur Cholim hospital. Simultaneously—due to an internal dispute beyond the scope of this article—his involvement with Mercaz HaRav waned, and he ceased his administrative role.⁴ He maintained, however, an active role in the yeshiva until the early 1950s, and continued afterwards for several more years to serve in an unofficial capacity. Until his death, Rav Arieli represented the face of the yeshiva to its students.⁵ One could argue that most of the rabbis who came to learn with Rav Arieli and who received *semikha* from him in the last twenty years of his life were students at Mercaz HaRav.⁶ He himself referred to Mercaz HaRav as “Our holy yeshiva,” (ישיבתנו הק' [דושה]) using the definite article,⁷ and he continued to participate in the yeshiva's

³ It is in the final stages of preparation. The present article was written in approximately 2009 and published in commemoration of the 80th anniversary of Rav Kook's passing.

⁴ For a biography of Rav Arieli, his ties to Rav Kook, his role in the history of Mercaz HaRav, the reasons he was forced out, and why he is relegated to a footnote in its history, I have dedicated an article that is still being written. Most of the material here regarding Rav Arieli is taken (in abbreviated form) from that forthcoming article.

⁵ See Rav Moshe Zvi Neriyah, *Bi-Sdei Ha-Ra'ayah*, Kfar HaRoeh, 1987, pp. 373–374. Compare to the interview conducted with him in 1966 upon his receiving the Israel Prize in Rabbinical Literature: “Even after he left the yeshiva, his students flocked from all over Israel to visit his home in Jerusalem to hear Torah from his mouth” (*Ma'ariv*, 4 Iyyar, 1966, p. 19).

⁶ Among others, it is worth mentioning: R Uzi Kalchheim, R Moshe Dimentman, R Eitan Eiseman, R Isser Klonski, R Aryeh Horowitz, R Zephaniah Drori, R Yaakov Ariel, R Yisrael Ariel, and others (Of course, there are other *musmakhim* of Mercaz HaRav from earlier years, including R Yeshayahu Meshorer.)

⁷ As he expresses the term on the *semikha* of R Eiseman, from 27 Iyyar 1967[!] (*Bi-Sdei Ha-Ra'ayah* p. 375).

important ideological ceremonies such as the celebrations of Yom Ha-Atzma'ut and Yom Yerushalayim.⁸

In the Introductions to the early volumes of *'Einayim La-Mishpat*, published by Rav Arieli between 1936 and 1948, he acknowledges the deep influence of Rav Kook during the sixteen years in which they were close, as well as the importance of his own role in the establishment of Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav. Here, greatly summarized, is how it is described in the Introduction to his first volume, on Tractate *Kiddushin*, as published in 1936:

Avraham [Kook] was unique, a giant among giants, sent by Hashem to sustain renewed generations in the Land of the Living. Pillar of Fire, Holy Crown, Wise One of the generation and its leader, our Master and Teacher, Rabbi AY HaCohen Kook, OBM [...] The chosen few in the Holy City of Jerusalem were drawn to him through bonds of strong love and fidelity [...].

Praise and thanks to Hashem who has enabled me to be one of the few who gathered this aforementioned group, and one of the early founders of The Holy Yeshiva. After much hard work and investment of spiritual and material energy, Hashem willed that our efforts be rewarded and develop into a great and wonderful yeshiva that serves today as a flagship of our glorious holy city, by the name of Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav. And here I am, a bearer of the holy ark, standing in service from its founding until today. May Hashem grant me the opportunity to continue in this holy work, to learn and to teach, etc. And I owe him [R Kook] a debt of gratitude for bringing me close to this holy work, and I had the merit to stand before him for sixteen years, to listen to his holy words and to meditate upon his holy ways. And he even recruited me to contribute to his massive work, *Halakha Berura*, of which two tractates, *Ketubot* and *Makkot*, were compiled by me, with Hashem's help [...]

Our only remaining comfort is the light hidden within his holy books and his spirit which infuses this yeshiva, the embers of his holiness, the beautiful yeshiva, his soul's work and his life's joy, which grew

⁸ At the first annual banquet to commemorate the anniversary of Yom Yerushalayim, on 28 Iyyar 1968, Rav Arieli sat in a seat of honor between Rav Tzvi Yehuda Kook and the 'Nazir' and even delivered a speech (*Bi-Sdei Ha-Ra'ayah* p. 372). The prior year, Rav Arieli participated in a Yom Ha-Atzma'ut banquet hosted by the yeshiva on 5 Iyyar 1967, and delivered remarks on the topics of the day (as cited by Rav Yitzhak Shilat in his journal, *Arba'im Le-Binah*, Ma'ale Adumim, 2007, p. 13). There is photographic corroboration of both these events.

and was cultivated with great effort and influence of his splendor [...] And we can only grasp at his coattails and attempt to walk in his footsteps.⁹

Twelve years later, Rav Arieli wrote concisely, but in a similar vein, in his Introduction to the second volume, on *Berakhot*, published in 1948:

Some of these *hiddushim* were said before the *gedolim* of our holy yeshiva Mercaz HaRav, the yeshiva brimming with the spirit of its founder, the Gaon and Saint of Israel, our Master and Teacher Rabbi AY HaCohen Kook OBM [...] And through the grace of Hashem I had the merit to found and erect the holy yeshiva through hard work, with spiritual and material investment. And the great Rabbi OBM bestowed upon me administrative duties and various jobs. I was a bearer of the holy ark during all the days of its establishment.¹⁰

And yet, in 2006, several descendants of Rav Arieli published a new edition of *Einayim La-Mishpat* on *Berakhot*, omitting the end of the introduction just quoted above. Moreover, they appended a biography of Rav Arieli to the Introduction with no reference whatsoever to Rav Kook or Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav. This was immediately discovered and vilified by the national (Zionist) religious press¹¹ amidst calls to flood the publisher with complaints and to boycott the new edition.¹²

⁹ *Einayim La-Mishpat, Kiddushin*, Jerusalem 1936, Introduction, pp 2-3.

¹⁰ *Einayim La-Mishpat, Berakhot*, Jerusalem 1948, Introduction, p 2.

¹¹ See Rav Eliezer Melamed's column in *Revivim*, Volume 207, 7 Elul 2006; and the following footnote. [Translator's note: see, <https://www.inn.co.il/Besheva/Article.aspx/6057>]

¹² Rav Neriah Guttel, "A Protest for the Rav's Honor" (Hebrew) in *Ha-Tzofeh—Mosaf Sofrim U-Seferim*, 1 Elul 2006. Later, Rav Gotel testified that after exposing the revisionism, he received threatening calls from the publisher (Letter to the Editor, *Makor Rishon*, 1 Elul 2009). Ultimately, as told by Rav Melamed, after the publisher heard the criticism, he sought the advice of Rav Yosef Shalom Elyashiv, who ruled that his actions were improper. The books were returned to the publishing house, the first page was corrected, reprinted, and inserted in place of the censored page, "And this is how the book is sold today." (*Revivim*, Volume 216, 18 Heshvan 2006). In the letter from Rav Gotel cited above, there is one correction: It was not the publisher himself who turned to Rav Elyashiv, but the donor who commissioned the publication, Rav Eliyahu Mordechai Sonnenfeld (great-grandson of Rav Yosef Hayyim Sonnenfeld). We should point out that the publisher's introduction was not corrected, and still contains no reference to Rav Arieli's ties to Mercaz HaRav. [Translator's note: see <https://www.inn.co.il/Besheva/Article.aspx/6191>]

It is easy to understand their protest, as this type of censorship is wrongful and its intent is to erase history. Moreover, it serves to diminish the stature of Rav Kook. What is more difficult to comprehend is that this protest took place in complete ignorance of a much greater omission in the Introduction to the *'Einayim La-Mishpat on Kiddushin*, published a decade earlier in 1994 and prior to that in 1989. More than half the Introduction, including all the descriptions of cited above regarding Rav Kook and Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav, were omitted as if they had never existed. Moreover, the first edition to contain this drastic omission—to our great distress—is the 1967 edition published by Rav Yitzhak Arieli!¹³

If so, it was Rav Arieli himself who decided, by the end of the 1960s, to omit from his Introduction the references to Rav Kook and Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav. Why would he do this? One would expect an ideological shift, or a concern for his public image, or something similar. Beside this being anachronistic¹⁴ and not reflecting the very close relationship between Rav Arieli and Rav Kook,¹⁵ it is impossible to accept this in light of the above cited facts regarding the very public relationship during those very same years between Rav Arieli and Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav. A more plausible explanation is that Rav Arieli wanted this volume to be accepted by the growing community of yeshivot and institutions that did not look kindly at works that emphasize the persona of Rav Kook.¹⁶ The ultimate

¹³ *'Einayim La-Mishpat, Kiddushin*, New Edition with Revisions and Supplements, Tel Aviv 1967. This is photocopied from the 1936 edition. Appended to the end of the book is a letter from Rav Menachem Zemba and fifteen additional pages of corrections and additions. Erased from the Introduction are the words beginning from “Avraham was unique...” until the end, including the passages describing the composition of *'Einayim La-Mishpat*—except one sentence about the erasure of the author of *'Ein Mishpat*.

¹⁴ Later in this article, we will encounter a similar claim, specifically around this period immediately following the Six Day War.

¹⁵ If this were the case, then on the contrary, we would have expected Rav Arieli to emphasize the true nature of his revered teacher.

¹⁶ There are many examples of this. The most famous one is the book *Torat Ha-Nazir* by Rav Yitzhak Hutner, first printed in Kovno in 1932. In the photo offset copies produced during the author's lifetime, in 1965 and 1980, the approbations of Rav Kook were erased (as was that of Rav Avraham Dov Ber Kahane Shapira). Rav Hutner's son-in-law Rav Yonatan David claims that distribution considerations were behind this move. Moreover, similar incidents took place during Rav Kook's lifetime, when multiple editions of books were published, first with Rav Kook's approbation, and later without it. Examples include *Sefer Ha-Ma'aseh Ve-ha-Midrash*, Jerusalem 1937, and *Sefer Yabia' Omer*, Jerusalem 1924. I have written at length about this elsewhere and will return to the topic in the future.

proof is that when Rav Arieli republished his volume on *Berakbot* three years later,¹⁷ he retained, toward the end of the Introduction, references to Rav Kook and Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav (which would later be omitted in 2006), as they do not stand out as much as those in the Introduction to the volume on *Kiddushin*. This explains why even in the text of the *Kiddushin* volume Rav Kook's name is not entirely absent.¹⁸ Nor did Rav Arieli remove the reference to his position at Mercaz HaRav. These references were also retained in the rabbinic approbations printed at the end of the volume,¹⁹ just as in the original version.

In any case, the evidence suggests that the omissions from the new 2006 edition were not simply business considerations. Even more so, there is a fundamental difference between revisions by the author himself, and others who tamper with his writings. Who is the descendant of Rav Arieli responsible for this publication? Investigation leads us to a known personality from the family of Rav Mordechai Ilan, the oldest son-in-law of Rav Arieli. This descendant subjected his father's writings (Rav Mordechai Ilan's) to even greater editing than was done in the writings of his grandfather (Rav Yitzhak Arieli). We now move to the case of Rav Mordechai Ilan.

2. Rav Mordechai Ilan

Rav Mordechai Ilan (Ilander) was born in Suvalk in 1915. From 1930 and on, he learned in the yeshiva of Ramailes in Vilna with "The Gaon, Tzadik, our teacher Rabbi Raphael Hayyim Shlomo Hyman, OBM, who nurtured me with great love in my youth." He was also educated by "the great Rav Hayyim Ozer Grodzenski, OBM, and the well-known Chanoch Henoch Eigos OBM HY"D, the author of *Sifrei Marbeshet*, who impressed upon me the light of their Torah and drew me close during the years I

¹⁷ Tel Aviv 1970, here too, in photo offset with five additional pages of corrections and additions.

¹⁸ See the errata section to 70b.

¹⁹ Especially in the approbation of Rav Yaakov Moshe Charlap: "He is the blessed fruit of the Torah of the great gaon and holy man of Israel, our master Rav AY HaCohen Kook OBM. Ever since he appeared in Jerusalem with his great vision to establish an everlasting yeshiva in the Holy City, he [Rav Arieli] was one of the distinguished few who was roused to implement this lofty and holy concept and became one of its key founders..." (p. 166). Had there been a serious ideological opposition, these words would also have been omitted. But because we are only talking about "distribution concerns" it was enough to omit the more obviously problematic material at the beginning of the book.

found myself in their domain.”²⁰ When he moved to Eretz Yisrael in mid-1935 he first learned in Mercaz HaRav with “the great Gaon, our strength, the holy master of Israel, Rabbi AY HaCohen Kook, OBM.” In the yeshiva he also met his future father-in-law, “the great Gaon Rav Yitzhak Arieli *shlit”a*, founder and *Ra”M* of Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav and one of the great rabbis of our generation in the holy city,” and married his daughter Sara Rivka.

Subsequently, Rav Ilan learned in Beit Midrash Ohel Torah, “led by the great rabbi, our strength, master of Eretz Yisrael, Rabbi Yitzhak Isaac HaLevi Herzog *shlit”a*, who kept me close to him from the day he arrived.”²¹ Along the way, Rav Ilan became close to “the Gaon and master, Rabbi Yitzhak Ze’ev Ha-Levi, OBM, the Brisker Rav, master of the Talmud, with whom I discussed many details of my book.” He was also close with “the Gaon Rav Isser Zalman Meltzer, OBM, who published my comments to his book *Even Ha-Ezra* on the laws of sacrifices.”²² In 1956 he was appointed *dayan* of the Tel Aviv *beit din*, where he eventually became the *Av Beit Din*. In addition to his work *Torat Ha-Kodesh*, he published many important works during the course of his life, from the novellae of Rishonim. He participated in Torah-related projects of the Harry Fischel Institute, the *Encyclopedia Talmudit*, and others. He also participated in many conferences of Mossad HaRav Kook until his death in 1981.

From this impressive background, it is plain to see the breadth and diversity of great rabbis whom Rav Ilan counts as major influences on his life. In the midst of all these, between his youth and his later rabbinic career, he did not fail to mention Rabbis Kook, Herzog, and his father-in-law, Rav Arieli. As we shall see, however, what was done to Rav Arieli’s

²⁰ Rav Ilan on the back of the title page to his *Torat Ha-Kodesh*, Volume 1, Jerusalem 1949. The letters he received from Rav Shlomo Hyman were published in *Ner Mordechai*, included in *Sbitah Mekubetzet*, Tractate *Tamid*, Makhon Knesset Ha-Rishonim edition, Bnei Brak 1982, pp. 268-269.

²¹ Rav Ilan in his Introduction to *Torat Ha-Kodesh*, *ibid.* Volume 1. Compare this to a letter of recommendation on behalf of Rav Ilan sent by Rav Isser Zalman Meltzer to the administrators of Ohel Torah, 24 Tishrei 1929: “. . . The Rav Ha-Gaon, the paragon of excellence, Rav Mordechai Ilander, son-in-law of my dear friend HaRav HaGaon Rav Yitzhak Arieli *shlit”a*, has received a stipend of two lira per month from Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav from the time he was a young man prior to marriage. And knowing well the situation of my friend Rav Arieli, and knowing the awesome potential of Rav Mordechai his son-in-law, I strongly request the honorable institution Ohel Torah to accept him. . .” (Catalog from the auction house Kedem, Summer 2011, Auction 16, Lot 469)

²² Rav Ilan at the end of his Introduction to *Torat Ha-Kodesh*, Volume 2, Bnei Brak 1969.

writings by some of his grandchildren was also done to Rav Ilan in the very year of his death—by some of his own sons.

In Bnei Brak in 1982, Rav Ilan's sons, headed by Rav Yaakov David Ilan,²³ released his work *Torat Ha-Kodesh*—the second version, Volumes 1 and 2. In the book's Forward, the sons provided a short biographical sketch of their father. It describes how he learned with Rav Shlomo Hyman, Rav Hayyim Ozer Grodzenski, and the author of *Marbeshet*. It then immediately skips to “his marriage and arrival in Eretz Yisrael, and entering the house of his illustrious father-in-law Rav Yitzhak Arieli...” with no mention at all of Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav or Rav Kook, nor of Ohel Torah or Rav Herzog. Several lines earlier, the sons mention that their father published his book “with the encouragement and approval of the *gedolei ha-dor* of that time, Rav Isser Zalman Meltzer and the Brisker Rav, OBM.” Rabbis from a different circle, who were also considered *gedolei ha-dor* by Rav Ilan, disappeared without a trace.²⁴

In addition, several passages authored by Rav Ilan himself were omitted. A comparison between the Introduction to the 1982 edition—termed the “Introduction from the First Edition”—and the actual Introduction to the 1949 edition reveals that the final third had been left out. In it, Rav Ilan describes how some of the topics in his book were reviewed “before the *Gedolei Torah* of the Holy City of Jerusalem”:

Several topics were discussed and elucidated through collegial Torah argumentation in the centers of Torah in which I sat during the compilation of this work. This is the great yeshiva, the central institution, Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav, whose founder is the great rabbi, the Gaon, our strength, Master of Israel, Rabbi AY HaCohen Kook, OBM,

²³ b. 1954. Resident of Bnei Brak, RaM at Yeshivat Knesset Yitzhak in Hadera, son-in-law of Rav Moshe Meir Halevi Pereg, who was the Rosh Kollel of Shomrei HaShomrot in Jerusalem. He authored *Massa' Yad* (3 volumes); *Kovetz 'al Yad on sha's*; edited various works of Rishonim (as part of the project *Knesset Rishonim*, and with the *Makhor Le-Hotza'at Rishonim Ve-Aharonim* of Mossad HaRav Kook, etc.), and served as one of the lead editors for the Schottenstein Talmud. He was awarded the **Rav Kook Prize** in Rabbinic Literature in 2008 by the municipality of Tel Aviv (ironic, considering the events we are about to describe).

²⁴ Indeed, in his Introduction to *Torat Ha-Kodesh*, Volume 2, Rav Ilan singles out these two rabbis (as described above) and even writes that “These two geonim were most responsible for shaping my learning style.” But he then goes on to qualify, “In addition to the instruction from my previous teachers, as I mentioned in Volume 1.”

whom I merited to stand before. And the great institution Ohel Torah under the leadership of our great Rabbi, the Gaon, our strength, Rav of Eretz Yisrael, Rabbi Yitzhak Isaac Ha-Levi Herzog *shlit"á*, who brought me close to him from the moment he arrived in this holy place (may he merit to speedily see the ultimate salvation on this holy ground with the rebuilding of the Temple, speedily in our days)[...] And I hereby am pleasantly obliged to mention with special blessings my father-in-law the great Gaon, Rav Yitzhak Arieli, *shlit"á*, founder and *RaM* of the holy yeshiva and one of the great rabbis of the holy city of Jerusalem, who is responsible for a large portion of this book. May he merit the continuation of his holy work in spreading Torah with peace of mind, and to complete his great Torah work, *'Einayim La-Mishpat on Sha"á*...²⁵

With respect to these types of omissions, his descendants could argue that their father himself cut his ties with the aforementioned rabbis and the institutions “of his past” during the course of his lifetime. “The past,” in our opinion, would seem to be the period of time before Rav Ilan entered into the orbit of the Brisker Rav (Rav YZ Soloveitchik). In this case, however, it is impossible to make this claim in light of the fact that in the beginning of *Torat Ha-Kodesh* Volume 2, published in 1969, Rav Ilan chose to republish two approbations that he received for *Torat Ha-Kodesh* Volume 1, one of which was from Rav Herzog.²⁶ His sons, not surprisingly, omitted this approbation from their version and kept only the second one (from Rav Isser Zalman Meltzer). Besides this, Rav Ilan’s connection to the Brisker Rav began even before he published Volume 1 of *Torat Ha-Kodesh*,²⁷ yet this did not cause him to deny his earlier rabbinic influences

²⁵ Of course, also omitted are the concluding lines from the Introduction, in which Rav Ilan expresses, “Thanks and blessings to Mossad HaRav Kook, at whose heads stands the great minister of the State of Israel HaRav HaGaon Y.L. Ha-cohen Maimon *shlit"á*.” (And instead, several *divrei Torah* were inserted in the empty spaces of the new edition.)

²⁶ This was a decade after the deaths of Rav Herzog (1959) and the Brisker Rav (1960). The significance is reinforced by the fact that the relationship between the two men was tense in the last years of their lives when they fought over the establishment of Heikhal Shlomo, the seat of the Israeli Chief Rabbinate, which was then headed by Rav Herzog. See also the letter from Rav Ilan to Rav Shalom Nathan Raanan, from the end of 1959, eulogizing his son Rav Avraham Yitzhak, in which he signs it, “Your friend and friend of the Yeshiva” (*Lahai Ro'i*, Jerusalem 1961, pp 72-73).

²⁷ Ideas from “Our Master, the Gaon, HaRav Yitzhak Ze’ev HaLevi *shlit"á* of Brisk” are cited numerous times throughout the book: Pages 14b, 25a, 41a, 47a,

or to completely adopt the positions of the Brisker Rav. It certainly did not cause him to downplay the honor of great scholars from other rabbinic circles.²⁸ The sons, of course, see things differently.²⁹

Moreover, it is clear that this case departs from a simple case of omitting “uncomfortable” passages that would potentially harm sales of the book among certain segments of the *haredi* public. It rises to a level of revisions and erasures within sentences across the entire Introduction, leading to instances where the intent of the author is materially changed, or even rendered nonsensical. For example, in the second sentence of the original, he writes:

On the one hand, God’s justice was revealed through the awful blood-letting in the body of Israel, “to the great depths.” On the other hand, emerging before us is a sign of the first appearance of God’s righteousness, whose peak is like “the mountains of the Lord.” [...] And therefore, praise for the current generation that is closer to the Redemption must come from the deep realization of God’s activity here in our world.

In other words, parallel to the horrible devastation of the Holocaust, the rise of the Jewish nation in its land is a sign of the coming Redemption. In the Introduction published in 1982, however, the words “emerging before us” are missing. According to Rav Ilan’s sons, the Holocaust itself was both “the great depths” and also “[heights that rise] like the mountains of the Lord!”

69b (where a responsum is cited), 72b, 94b, 96b, 104b. Also see the next two footnotes.

²⁸ To wit, in *Torat Ha-Kodesh* (1949 edition), pages 87b-88a, the Brisker Rav is cited. Shortly afterwards, in a footnote on 89a, he cites, “a great question posed by the Chief Rabbi of Israel, our great Gaon, Master Rav Yitzhak Isaac Halevi Herzog *shlit”a...*” Further, in the errata at the end of the book (page 104b), note 5, he cites, “the novella from the Gaon Rav YZ Ha-Levi [the Brisker] *shlit”a*.” Several lines later, note 7 mentions, “I saw that, in *Mishpat Kohen*, the Chief Rabbi of Israel the Gaon and Master Rabbi AY Kook OBM dealt with this issue, and look there to see his beautiful words in this matter.”

²⁹ In *Torat Ha-Kodesh*, Section 1, Letter 8 (page 6a), Rav Ilan added parenthetically, “And see *Mishpat Kohen* by our Master, the Rav, OBM, in *Hilkehot BeHaB* where he dealt with a contradiction between two Toseftot.” In the edition published by the sons (page 81), this note is omitted. We should note that Rav Ilan himself had begun to prepare a second edition of his book, as the sons mention in their Introduction. However, this fact cannot be used as a blanket automatic cover-up for such a significant act of omission.

Similarly, in the next sentence, Rav Ilan writes in the original: “[God’s] appearance and revelation is correlated with the increased pace of yearning [for it]. **The current generation is beginning to ‘clothe’ itself in the ‘attire of action’ envisioned by generations of Israel.** This is in the merit of the unceasing strong yearning of the past generations.” The sons omitted the bolded line (my emphasis) in the 1982 version. The author continues, “And appearing before our eyes—from the hope that **these are the first sprouts of the flowering of the redemption of our holy land and nation**—they are the fruits of passion.” Again, the bolded phrases were omitted.

We find similar conduct in the new version of *Torat Ha-Kodesh* Volume 2, published in Bnei Brak, 1985. Besides certain additions taken from the author’s original manuscript (in this case annotated correctly), there appear many more changes in the content. Here too is an obvious intent to erase any hint of Rav Ilan’s relatively positive attitude towards the events of that era.³⁰ It goes without saying that the second Forward to the book, which was entirely marked by the events of the Six Day War (which occurred two years before the original version), was completely removed.

In this last instance, perhaps the author’s sons will justify their actions with the claim that the “current events” discussed in the original Introductions were appropriate only for their era (only 15 years prior), but not for posterity. But this claim is not enough reason to cover up: the act of rewriting that was undertaken with the remaining material; the omission of Rav Herzog’s approbation; the disappearance of Rav Kook and his institutions from the biography; and the other changes described above. It is also not acceptable on its face, in light of the fact that other sections that can also be classified as “current events,” but with less disturbing content from the sons’ *hashkafic* perspective, seem to have been left alone.³¹

³⁰ A long parenthetical sentence has been erased, “And this is proof for the generation of the Holocaust and the *Akeidah*...” (end of s.v. *Avraham Avinu*). In addition, a sentence in the Conclusion that read, “As the beginning and end of our existence,” was changed to read, “the beginning and end of his existence.” A little further, the sentence “In light of the events of our generation, it is our hope that we are taking great strides towards the Messianic age” is erased. And the words that immediately followed, “And we are ever closer to ‘may the Temple be speedily rebuilt,’” were revised to “we look forward to ‘may the Temple be speedily rebuilt.’” And so on.

³¹ For example, Rav Ilan mentions that “In the last generation, the *Gedolei Ha-Torah* revived the practice of learning the *halakhot* of *Seder Kodashim*.” Can “the last generation” really be referencing the new edition’s publication date?

3. Rav Yitzhak Schulzinger

Now we come to the most drastic example of a man's life and works being completely recast by his sons. Rav Yitzhak Schulzinger was born in Siemiatycze, Poland, in 1904. As a youth, he learned in the Radin Yeshiva. He made *aliyah* in 1924 and learned in Mercaz HaRav for ten years, receiving *semikha* from Rav Kook and Rav YM Charlap. In the winter of 1934 he married and became the rav of Kfar Ganim. In 1935, we find his approbation on the compilation *Mi-Peninei Ha-Rambam* alongside those of Rav Kook and Rav Charlap. Beginning in 1936, Rav Schulzinger served as a lecturer in Haifa, supervised the local slaughterers, and was also the rabbi of the local synagogue. He continued in these roles until his sudden death in the winter of 1956.³²

In Jerusalem in 1950, Rav Schulzinger published *Imrot Yitzhak* on *Bereshit*—a compilation of weekly lectures delivered during his tenure as rabbi in Haifa. In the front of the book, alongside his *semikhot* from Rabbis Kook, Charlap, and Abba Yaacov Borochoy, he published approbations from Rav Charlap; Rav Yitzhak Arieli; Rav Shalom Natan Raanan, the son-in-law of Rav Kook and director of Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav; and the Chief Rabbis of the time, Rav Herzog and Rav Ben Zion Meir Hai Uzziel. It even included a letter from the director of the Chief Rabbinate's office, Rav Yaacov Barukh. In his Introduction (p. 2), Rav Schulzinger describes how:

I was fortunate to bask in the holy shadow of our teacher, the holy light of Israel, crown jewel of his generation, my master and teacher, Rabbi of all Israel, The first Chief Rabbi in Eretz Yisrael, the great Gaon, Rabbi AY HaCohen Kook, OBM, the priest and judge of the Holy Place [...] Our teacher OBM led and judged the entire nation righteously, dedicating his life for what is just and viewed favorably by the entire nation [...] For many years I was privileged to pour water on his holy hands, to listen to his teachings on *halakha*, *aggada*, *musar*, theology, and esoterica. And all of it was delivered 'from the mouth of the High Priest in holiness and purity...'

Further on, Rav Schulzinger continues to praise Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav and to quote the teachings of Rav Kook. Similarly, he describes the personality of Rav Charlap and cites his teachings as well, writing (p. 3) as follows:

³² For more on him, see Rav MZ Neriya, *Bi-Sdei Ha-Ra'ayah*, pp. 465–472; Eliezer Tosh in *Sefer Kehillat Siemiatycze*, Tel Aviv 1965, p. 251; and in his sons' books, see below.

God also granted me the unique privilege to become close to the Rosh Yeshiva, the great genius, Rabbi YM Charlap *sblit"u* [...] who drew my soul close with both of his holy and faithful hands. I was a constant guest in his home during Shabbat and weekdays...

Later in the Introduction, Rav Schulzinger expounds upon the virtues of Torah, the Nation, and the Land, declaring explicitly (p. 11): “We must give thanks to Hashem—after the horrible devastating Holocaust in Europe, after this great tragedy—for the beginning of the Redemption, the establishment of the State of Israel and the government of Israel, and the beginning of the ingathering of the exiles.” In conclusion, he notes the many lives lost “on the altar of the holiness of the Nation and the Land” during the War of Independence, including two of his own nephews.

At the end of the book, Rav Schulzinger returns to the subject of his nephews’ activities in Tzahal,³³ constantly repeating the refrain that the establishment of the State of Israel represents the beginning of the Redemption:

The fallen ones have brought us, with God’s help, to the beginning of the Redemption, bringing the Yishuv to the redemptive Israeli State... (p. 286).

We are approaching the era of the War of the Beginning of the Redemption [...] and through the spirit of the holy Torah he was able to rise as a hero with all his soul, to go out heroically to war for the Sanctification of the Name and the Land, and he played a significant part in the war against the enemy—the War of Independence... (p. 289).

Our enemies did not want us to go from destruction to rebuilding, from exile to freedom. Against this cruel and evil desire of the enemy, he waged a difficult war with no respite. And at the beginning of Adar, when the first light of the Redemption began to illuminate [...] his life was cut short. After all the hardships he endured, and all his toil on behalf of the nation’s independence, he did not merit to see its establishment, dying the death of a hero on its very doorstep (p. 291).

The entire book is embedded with similar expressions in this vein, declaring the State of Israel’s establishment to be the beginning of the

³³ Amongst other places, he writes (p. 282), when detailing the activities and heroism of his nephew Amihai in the Haganah and Tzahal until his death on the battlefield, “We have reached, thank God, the beginning of the Redemption. Yet we are still tense and on alert before our enemies, as we are still far away from the complete Redemption...”

redemptive process.³⁴ The author even dedicated a special lecture in honor of the day on which “the United Nations accepted a Jewish State in the Land of Israel,” an anniversary that became known as “29 November,” and in it (pp. 205-6) he writes:

What occurred then, when the United Nations decided to give the Jews a Jewish State in the Land of Israel, for which we have waited almost 2,000 years, is a significant and important historic moment. We are obligated to view it as a miracle from Heaven [...] Our precious and holy blood has been spilled in the war to redeem our land, God have mercy, but we will not fear nor despair [...] Now, with the Beginning of the Redemption, we fight as a nation defending its territory and homeland...

These words were written during the period surrounding the establishment of the State of Israel. Within the next two years, during the elections for the first Knesset, the secular goals of the government regarding the political and judicial character of the State began to take shape. The Zionist establishment wanted the Yishuv’s existing institutions to continue operating the way they had under the Mandate. But this conflicted with the desires of the observant community, who had hoped that a Jewish State would be characterized by a greater fealty to traditional Jewish values. These policies caused many rabbis of the religious Zionist community, headed by Chief Rabbi Rav Herzog, to fight for strengthening the religious character of the State and to protest against secular trends in lawmaking. These protests took place **alongside** their praise of the State, and did not negate it.³⁵ Rav Schulzinger was part of this group and delivered many lectures on the subject, writing (pp. 153-4):

³⁴ See pp. 62-63, 89-90, 110-111, 135, 171, 227-228, 268.

³⁵ Compare Rav Schulzinger’s comments with those of Rav Herzog: “It is inconceivable in the mind of the truly religious Jew, for the Jewish State to abandon its source of water, our Holy Torah, and to dig empty wells of another nation [...] We always thought that, immediately upon declaration of a State, those in power would confer with the religious representatives of the nation [...] Who will save us from this disgraceful, painful situation!” (*Ha-Torah Ve-ha-Medina*, Volume 7, Tel Aviv 1957, p. 10. See also Rav Shaul Yisraeli, Introduction to Volumes 1–4, Tel Aviv 1949–1952. Also see Rav Zvi Pesach Frank’s approbation to *Sefer Mishpat Ha-Tzava Be-Yisrael*, Jerusalem 1949.) Of course, the emergent Haredi camp did not view the State of Israel as the beginning of the Redemption and so reacted differently. They found it much easier to retreat from the overt support of the State that they had expressed in the immediate aftermath of the Declaration of Independence and to advocate a separation from the rest of the Jewish community in the State.

The protest rallies of today are, to our great distress, not against foreign rulers or invaders, but against our own ministers, our Jewish brethren. We are full of thanks to God for the miracles He performed for us. We merited to establish the State of Israel and a Jewish government after 2,000 years of exile and great tribulations. Now we protest against the government for feeding the Jewish people under its auspices forbidden foods [...] It is foolishness on the part of this heathen-like government to deliberately violate the Torah's commandments [...] We must ask the question: Is it feasible to have two different kitchens, two tables? [...] We are one Nation, we must be united in the home, in the family, at the table, in the one Torah and Land, one State, the State of Israel. We should not be separated...

Rav Schulzinger expresses the same sentiment, in fiery language, in an additional lecture (pp. 245–9) prior to the vote for the first Knesset:

We face a grave danger, the establishment of laws and character in the State of Israel and the Nation that lives in Zion that contradict the Torah!! We must ask: Is this what we prayed for all these years, suffered in exile, kept the Nation of Israel from assimilating [...] that after we finally merited the beginning of Redemption, there are those who want to simply cross out the glorious past of the Jewish Nation of God's Holy Torah [...] Let us all rise up and vote for representatives loyal to the Divine mission [...] to establish the law of the land and character of the State in accordance with a Torah way of life.

In summary, we could characterize the two previous cases of revisionism, those of Rabbis Arieli and Ilan, as erasing personal connections between the subjects and Rav Kook and Mercaz HaRav, but not at all connected with any particular pro-Religious Zionist ideology (even if one could detect this between the lines, especially with regard to Rav Arieli). However, in this case, *Imrot Yitzhak* is unequivocally a Religious Zionist text, both in its content and in its intended audience. The author is tightly wedded to the idea that the State of Israel represents the Beginning of the Redemption, and from this position, he fights for the religious character of the State.

Here too, however, the biography of Rav Schulzinger, his connection to Rav Kook's circle, and his book, published just seven years before his death, were not enough to save him when his sons proceeded to get involved with his life and writings. In Bnei Brak, in 1974, fifteen years after his death, a second publication of *Imrot Yitzhak* was released by his sons,

led by Rav Moshe Mordechai Schulzinger.³⁶ In the Introduction, Rav MM Schulzinger publicized a biography of his father,³⁷ in which he describes at length how his father learned in the yeshivot of Europe, mainly in Radin, where he incurred the favor of the Chofetz Chaim.³⁸ He continues at length, quoting from the Introduction to *Imrot Yitzhak* and from a letter his father received from Rav Naftali Tropp. Yet when he reaches the year 1924, when his father came to Israel and entered Mercaz HaRav to learn under Rav Kook, not a word is mentioned, other than this laconic sentence: “And he learned in Jerusalem for ten years until he married.”³⁹ The son makes no mention of, nor even hints at, which yeshiva his father learned in, whom he learned from, which teachers he was close to, who gave him *semikha*, who gave approbations to his books, and whom he valued most over all his other teachers.

In a later instance, we find interference not just in the biographical details of Rav Schulzinger, but also in the content itself. In the introduction to *Mishmar Ha-Levi* on *Bekhorot* (Bnei Brak, 1997, p. 1) Rav MM Schulzinger cites a passage from his father’s introduction to *Imrot Yitzhak*, quoting the following sentence: “From time to time, I would go to Jerusalem

³⁶ B. 1949 and learned as a youth in Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav (see further, note 45). From 1959 and on, he learned in various yeshivot in Bnei Brak, and in 1964, became the son-in-law of Rav Shlomo Cohen, a close disciple of the Hazon Ish. He published dozens of books in his lifetime, most notably *Sidrat Mishmar Ha-Levi* on the Talmud. He was known as a great Torah scholar and influential lecturer. He was close with the Lithuanian haredi leadership: Rav Yechezkel Abramsky, Rav YY Kanievsky (the Steipler), Rav Eliezer Menachem Man Shach, and others. He died in the summer of 2010. A book about him was recently published: *Rabbi Moshe Mordechai*, Volume 1, Modi’in ‘Illit 2013.

³⁷ This article was previously published in his Introduction to *Mishmar Ha-Levi* on Tractate *Yoma*, Bnei Brak 1971, and was published in many of the subsequent volumes of *Mishmar Ha-Levi*, including *Temura*, Bnei Brak 1999; *Ketubot*, Bnei Brak 2000; *Megilla*, Bnei Brak 2000; *Sukkah*, Bnei Brak 2002; *Rosh Hashanah*, Bnei Brak 2003; *Shabbat/Erwin*, Bnei Brak 2003; also in the Introduction to *Shalmei Sara*, Bnei Brak 2000; and in the books mentioned below in note 40.

³⁸ With this, Rav MM Schulzinger attempts to portray the Chofetz Chaim as his father’s main teacher and mentor, even though Rav Schulzinger only studied briefly in Radin during his youth. However, in Mercaz HaRav, he learned for a full ten years, beginning at age twenty, and those rabbis conferred his *semikha* to the rabbinate. This is why Rav Schulzinger himself, in the Introduction to *Imrot Yitzhak*, gives Rav Kook much more gravitas than he does the Chofetz Chaim.

³⁹ Later on (p. 6 of the Introduction), Rav MM Schulzinger quotes his brother Rav Shmuel Schulzinger, describing his father’s practical rabbinic training. He mentions only Rav Shimshon Aharon Polonski from Teplik, and adds innocently, “After his death, I heard that he also trained with great rabbis in Jerusalem.”

to greet my teachers, where I would also exchange written articles and responsa with them. Due to lack of funds, I hereby publish at this time only on *Sefer Bereshit*.” One who looks at the source (p. 10) will find that after the word “responsa” there appears another sentence: “And two responsa directed to me from the Rabbi OBM were published in his book *Da’at Kohen*”—of course referring to Rav AY Kook.⁴⁰ It goes without saying that Rav MM Schulzinger declines to mention in any of his books all references to the fact that his grandfather—the father-in-law of Rav Schulzinger—Rav Avraham Hayyim Chechik, was extremely close to Rav Kook from his tenure in Jaffa, and was famous for being his aide during the entire time that Rav Kook resided in Jerusalem.⁴¹

The force behind these historical revisions, and the underlying motivations, seem to be clear. There is no need to explain why, even though Rav MM Schulzinger published tens of books over the years, he never republished the one book that his father published during his lifetime, *Imrot Yitzhak*. Nor did he publish additional lectures from the manuscripts

⁴⁰ At the end of the Introduction to the aforementioned book (where Rav Schulzinger’s biography was published a second time), Rav MM Schulzinger mentions again that his father arrived in Israel in 1924. Here again, he does not mention where his father learned. So too, in an article printed in *Mishmar Halevi* on *Be-rakhot* (Bnei Brak 2005, p. 7) eulogizing his mother, he relates that his father brought with him a letter signed by the Chofetz Chaim “on a promise that, immediately upon disembarking at the port, he would go to yeshiva.” Again, no mention is made of the yeshiva’s identity. Parenthetically, it should be noted that Rav Schulzinger did not travel to Israel as a young, single yeshiva *babur*, as implied by the article. In fact, he arrived with his family (see the description of his niece, in *Sefer Kehillat Siemiatycze* [above, note 32], pp. 248-249).

⁴¹ See, for example, Rav AH Chechik’s memories of Rav Kook, brought in Rav MZ Neriya in *Likkutei HaRa’ayah*, Vol. 2, K’far HaRo’eh 1991, pp. 358–360. Compare to what Rav Chechik wrote in 1966 (several years after his grandson’s ideological turnabout, described below): “Heaven granted me the opportunity to actively serve [...] the great rabbi, Master of Israel, who, when I uttered his holy name my bones would shudder in awe and fright, our Master and Teacher Rabbi AY Kook OBM...” (Rav MZ Neriya, *Hayyei Ha-Ra’ayah*, Tel Aviv 1983, p. 337). Rav MM Schulzinger published a memorial volume to his grandfather, *Hayyei Avraham* (Zichron Meir 1982). In the Introduction, he lists a short biographical sketch, which of course, mentions nothing about Rav Kook. It just says that his grandfather was born during the lifetime of the Maharil Diskin and grew up together with his son Rav YY Diskin, etc.

of *Imrot Yitzhak* that his father “has with me on all five books of the Torah” but was unable to publish due to lack of funds, only succeeding to release a volume on *Beresbit*.⁴²

Rav MM Schulzinger’s younger brother, Rav Elazar Schulzinger, followed in his footsteps. Among other roles, he served as a community *askan* and was the son-in-law of MK Rav Shlomo Lorencz. In Bnei Brak in 1988, he published the book ‘*Al Mishkenot Ha-Ro'im*, dedicated to the theological conflict between the Religious Zionist community and the mainstream Lithuanian Hareidi community. The book’s first chapter, ‘The Son Respects the Father’ (pp. 15–23), describes his father’s personality in an expanded context, and more systematically than his brother’s article. But here too, there is no mention of Rav Kook or Mercza HaRav. However, unlike his brother’s revisionism, in which he omits material in passing, Rav E Schulzinger decided to mention the omission explicitly and to justify his brother’s actions (pp. 16-17):

In 1971 my brother, Rav MM Schulzinger *shlit"á*, published his first book, *Mishmar Ha-Levi*, and mentioned that our father learned in Jerusalem for ten years without mentioning that he learned in Yeshivat Mercza HaRav. Rav Moshe Tzvi Neriyah *shlit"á* approached my cousin and asked him, ‘Rav Yitzhak Schulzinger was a true *talmid* of Mercza HaRav. He learned there for ten years straight. Why did his son remove the name of the yeshiva from his book?’

My brother, Rav MM *shlit"á*, said to my cousin, ‘Answer him as follows: Yeshivat Mercza HaRav is no longer what it was. If I were to write that my father OBM learned in Mercza HaRav, people would think he wore short sleeves, short pants, sandals without socks, and was a farmer in the hills of Hebron. If Yeshivat Mercza HaRav of today would be like it was when my father OBM learned there, when

⁴² The deep ideological chasm between the father and the son is further illustrated in the eulogy that Rav Yitzhak Schulzinger delivered in 1949 for his brother Rav Moshe Simcha, who died in 1921 (*Imrot Yitzhak*, pp. 281-282)—and was the namesake of the son, Rav Moshe Mordechai: “In these recent years, the Nation of Israel and the Land of Israel have experienced a cataclysmic turnabout... I want to tell you that God has granted us the great miracle of the Beginning of the Redemption. The great ideals of the Love of Zion and the return of Israel to its Land that you lamented over in your heart with a burning flame... has borne fruit... and in this past year the State of Israel was founded and a Jewish government rules over it, as it begins to sprout and illuminate the light of Redemption. This is what you had so yearned to see... But this miraculous wonder bestowed from on high has not come without sacrifice. Many have fallen, young heroes who died martyr’s deaths in the heroic conquest of the Land. Your two sons who grew up to make you proud... served loyally in the Haganah and the IDF for several years now...”

the overwhelming majority of the students educated their children in the way of the holy Torah, and not like these distorted ways, I would have been happy to write that he learned in Mercaz HaRav. I published this book in his memory and for his legacy. To say today that he learned in Mercaz HaRav, and to have to explain that this was the Mercaz HaRav of fifty years ago, has no relevance. It is two different worlds. It appears that today, Mercaz HaRav educates people to become pioneers, but they do not teach that the main purpose in life is to learn Torah and live a life of Torah. Rather, one who dresses as a pioneer and works the land is better than one who sits all day learning Torah and performing *mitzvot*.

These lines, besides revealing the stereotypical prejudices common among part of the Haredi community regarding the nature of Mercaz HaRav, also testify to the unwillingness of Rav Schulzinger's sons to recognize how far their paths have diverged from their father's.⁴³ We are talking not just about the disappearance of the name of the yeshiva where Rav Schulzinger learned, but about the systematic erasure of all his (and his father-in-law's) connections to Rav Kook and his inner circle, and with it, any mention of his approach to the establishment of the State of Israel.

Afterword

Over the course of this article, we have surveyed blatant examples of how descendants, firmly grounded in the Haredi world of our time, dealt with the fact that their ancestors were, in their own generation, personally, and sometimes ideologically, connected strongly to Rav Kook, his circle, and Yeshivat Mercaz HaRav. Sometimes, they took relatively minor steps, such as omitting approbations from republished books. In some cases, they took bolder actions, such as eliminating important biographical details of their fathers' histories. And in other cases, as we have seen, they took drastic measures to interfere with the actual bodies of work that appeared in print.

⁴³ There is a single reference in the book (p. 86) where Rav E Schulzinger mentions Rav Kook respectfully. In contrast, in the one place I was able to find Rav Kook's name in the numerous publications of his brother Rav MM Schulzinger, it was in the context of a story that contained more than a nugget of disrespect towards Rav Kook. (See *Kuntres Simhat Ha-Levi*, Zikhron Meir 2009, 'Simhat Ha-Levi Be-Hakarat Ha-Emet, p. 50.) However, I have heard from people who were close to Rav MM Schulzinger that he did, in fact, speak respectfully of Rav Kook in conversation.

This behavior is consistent with the general attitude towards revisionism as an accepted historiographical tool in the Haredi world. It arises from the combination of a desire to maintain ideological hegemony in which little legitimacy is accorded to modernity in general, and to the State of Israel in particular, with an accepted norm that prefers the bending of historical details to pedagogical concerns.⁴⁴ Yet, on the other hand, one can still wonder: What drives these descendants, in so many instances, to distance themselves from the fundamental paths of their ancestors, to the point where they are unwilling to lay out the facts as they occurred, and making it impossible to relate to the fathers?

In certain circumstances, we can find potential answers within the family dynamics. In the case of Rav Yitzhak Schulzinger, for example, it is plausible that the matter is entwined with his early, untimely death in 1957. His son Rav MM, born in 1941, was sixteen years old at the time. Shortly before his father's death, he began to learn at Mercaz HaRav, but was forced to leave after a year and a half (in 1958) because he disrespectfully protested one of the teachings of the Rosh Yeshiva, Rav Tzvi Yehuda Kook.⁴⁵ In early 1959 he began to learn in the Yeshiva of Slobodka in Bnei Brak under Rav Yehezkel Abramsky. Even prior to this, he came under the influence of his uncle Rav Ze'ev Dov Chechik, who was close with the Brisker Rav.⁴⁶ As described by his brother Rav Menachem Mendel Chechik, in a letter dated 1985 and printed in the introduction to *Torat Ze'ev*, "Did he not bring you in at that time, during bitter and difficult days,

⁴⁴ Haredi historiography has benefited from much scholarly research over the last twenty years, even though it is not specifically related to the Zionist/Anti-Zionist axis. See, among others, David Assaf, *Ne'ehaz Ba-Senakh: Pirkei Mashber U-Mevokha Be-Toldot Ha-Hasidut*, Jerusalem 2006, Introduction (pp. 19–49). Also see the recent book by Marc Shapiro, *Changing the Immutable: How Orthodox Judaism Rewrites its History*, Oxford 2015, especially Chapter 5.

⁴⁵ A description of the incident, with the student's name redacted, is brought by Rav Hayyim Steiner in Hilah Walberstein's *Mashmia' Yeshu'ab*, Mercaz Shapira 2010, p. 109. Rav Steiner told me the fully detailed story (private conversation, 7 Elul 2011), in which he was the *havruta*, at the time, of Rav MM Schulzinger. The general details are also confirmed by additional rabbis who learned in Mercaz HaRav at the time. For another version of the incident, which is deficient in several respects (this is not the place to discuss them), see the book mentioned above in Note 36, Rav MM, pp. 92–96.

⁴⁶ His story was eventually published in *Torat Ze'ev*, Zikhron Meir 2000. (This was a combination of the third edition of *Peninim Ve-Igrot Torat Ze'ev*, Zichron Meir 1981/1987, with the second edition of *Torat Ze'ev* on Tractate *Zevachim*, Zikhron Meir 1985). The title page describes Rav Ze'ev Dov Chechik as one who "lights up the eyes with God's Torah and with pure Fear of Heaven."

when the splendor of our family, your sainted father, fell [...], under the shadow of the great and holy rabbi, the Brisker Rav..." The timing and circumstances of this ideological shift, therefore, are abundantly clear. So too with the second brother, Rav E Schulzinger, who was even younger when his father died. In the introduction to his book *Mishkenot HaRo'im* (p. 10) we see that even he underwent a similar shift after his father's passing, upon arriving to learn in Slobodka in 1961, following in his brother's footsteps. By way of contrast, their older brother Rav Shmuel Schulzinger was already twenty-two when his father died, and was educated under his tutelage for a more significant time span, including the early years of his studies in the yeshivot of Bnei Brak.⁴⁷ Although he identifies with the same Haredi community as his brothers, he did not take part in the public ideological debates or the familial historical revisionism project.

In truth, the breadth and diversity of this phenomenon prevents us from attributing it solely to personal characteristics and behaviors of the descendants of these men and others. The causes are complex and widespread. This is where we reach the point at which we began: the separation of the Orthodox population in Israel into two distinct communities. This is a topic that I hope to explore in depth in a separate article, with particular emphasis on its reflection within Rav Kook's inner circle. ❧

⁴⁷ Rav Shmuel Raphael Schulzinger was born in 1925 (it is rumored that Rav Kook was the *sandek* at his *brit milah*). He learned in Yeshivat Ponivezh and became the son-in-law of Rav Yehuda Aryeh Leib Gefen, the Rabbi of Kfar Atta (known today as Kiryat Atta). After the untimely death of his father-in-law in 1957, he was chosen to fill the position (at the behest of Rav Dov Berish Weidenfeld of Tshubin) at the age of twenty-three. He served in that capacity for forty-seven years until his death in the winter of 2004. See the article by his son Rav Tuvia Schulzinger, *Yeshurun* 16 (2004), pp. 207–214. Some of his Torah thoughts are also cited there (pp. 215–232). Recently, his estate has published his books *Atarot Shmuel* (Kiryat Atta 2005), *Gilyonei Ha-Gra"Sh* (Bnei Brak 2008), and others.

Addendum

Upon his death, Rav Eitam Henkin ר"י עיטא was mourned by a great number of representatives of different, and often opposing, camps. His gentleness of manner was matched only by his unwillingness to forego trenchant criticism of attempts to doctor the truth. Following the current article about historical revisionism in the *haredi* camp, a second article will follow in the next issue of *Hakirah* pointing out historical revisionism in Merkaz Harav circles. Rav Eitam traces this to a struggle among Rav Kook's disciples over his heritage, and the elements in Rav Kook's *hashkafa* to be stressed in the yeshiva. While Rav Kook's force of personality had successfully united disciples of diverse ideologies and backgrounds, Rav Eitam suggests that, following Rav Kook's death and as the State of Israel developed, Orthodoxy began dividing along the fault lines that Rav Kook had succeeded in blurring. The cultural and religious differences separating the Mizrachi movement from Rav Kook in his lifetime were forgotten, enabling religious Zionism to semi-officially "adopt" Rav Kook as their patron. Others within Rav Kook's circle joined the *haredi* camp which was developing along more militant lines. Amongst these were some of Rav Kook's most illustrious *talmidim*.