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Abraham Joshua Heschel and Theology after the Holocaust

Matthew Eanet

"Life in our time has been a nightmare for many of us, tranquility an interlude, happiness a fake. Who could breathe at a time when man was engaged in murdering the holy witness to God six million times?"¹

When Abraham Joshua Heschel entered the national spotlight as a profound religious thinker and strident social activist, he bore the garb and look of an Eastern European Jew. A man of short stature, Rabbi Heschel looked the way religious Eastern European Jews have for hundreds of years: the traditional dark-colored suit with the white fringes of his prayer shawl hanging out beneath his sport coat, a skullcap hidden beneath a black full-brimmed hat, and a long, thick gray beard. An American leader, Heschel was, in every sense, a European Jew, steeped in the traditional Jewish communities of both Warsaw and Vilna. His yearning for modernity brought him to the University of Berlin in 1927, where he eventually obtained a Ph.D. in philosophy. From Berlin, he and other members of the Jewish intelligentsia took part in the resurrection of Frankfurt's Jewish community. However, in the course of a few years, everything changed for Rabbi Heschel. Forcibly returned to an uncertain future in Poland, he bore witness to the roots of the destruction of the European Jew:

I speak as a person who was able to leave Warsaw, the city in which I was born, just six weeks before the disaster began. My destination was New York; it would have been Auschwitz or Treblinka. I am a brand plucked from the fire on which my people were burned to death. I am a brand plucked from the fire of an altar of Satan on which millions of human lives were exterminated to evil's greater

glory, and on which so much else was consumed: the divine image of so many human beings, many people's faith in the God of justice and compassion, and much of the secret and power of attachment to the Bible bred and cherished in the hearts of men for nearly two thousand years [italics mine].²

For the modern Jew (and many Christians), the Holocaust presents a challenge unlike any other: How may we, the Chosen People, continue to have faith in the God of Israel? Virtually every Jewish theologian must grapple with the daunting task of addressing the death of six million Jews. To be sure, the Holocaust is not a starting point for theology, but it is an important marker along the way. A valid theological perspective must address the Holocaust in a cogent and authentic manner without blaming the victims.

The present inquiry addresses Heschel's response to the Holocaust in three key areas: his life, his writing, and his theological perspective, in particular the twin concepts of Divine Exile and Divine Pathos.³ It explores the possibility that, although he never explicitly sought to do so, Heschel provides our contemporary generation with a meaningful and worthwhile response to the murder of six million Jews. Taken in their entirety, these three responses form a cogent encounter with the Holocaust, marked by a genuine quest for integrity.

Before embarking upon an inquiry into the character and nature of Heschel's post-Holocaust theology, we must first ask whether he even has one at all. If by this question we mean: Did Heschel ever consciously articulate a direct or systematic response to the challenge of Auschwitz, framed by a coherent religious system, then the answer is No.⁴ He fails to provide the reader with a comprehensive approach to the Holocaust. However, the challenge of six million murdered is prevalent throughout his thought.⁵ His post-Holocaust theology is woven across the entirety of his life and his writings.

The destruction of European Jewry had a profound effect on Heschel. In his own words, he was "a brand plucked from the fire."⁶ Heschel was acutely aware that the Holocaust distinctly and concretely affected his outlook and consequently his writing and lecturing. His religious perspective—his philosophy of Judaism—represents a profoundly human response to the catastrophe.

However, understanding Heschel as somebody exclusively concerned with the Holocaust would be a mistake. "No Religion Is an Island," the same article quoted above, begins with the following prefatory statement: "I speak as a member of a congregation whose founder was Abraham, and the name of my

rabbi is Moses."⁷ For Heschel, a philosopher of religion constantly exploring the depth of polarity and duality, the Holocaust was no different. The glory and sanctity of the Jewish tradition and the horror of Auschwitz exist in a polar relationship. Neither may be ignored or discarded. In the enduring quest for integrity, both command our attention and demand our response. Heschel framed his task within these two poles, of Auschwitz and Sinai, of destruction and revelation: "the Jewish philosopher must look for agreement with the men of Sinai as well as with the people of Auschwitz."⁸

I. A Response in Words and Actions

Upon his arrival in America, Heschel quickly and concertedly learned the English language. After a few short years, he was publishing books and articles on a variety of subjects, including religion, Judaism, prayer, humanity, the relationship between the divine and the human, and other related topics. Tying together his writing is a commitment to rescuing not only the Jewish soul but also the human soul. It reflects his desire not only to save Judaism from extinction but to save humanity from it as well. For Heschel, both Jews and Judaism had suffered tremendously in the Holocaust. The even greater challenge was survival after the destruction. In particular, he railed against the twin evils of assimilation and the 'dumbing down' of the religious life.

The entirety of Heschel's literary career is a response to the Holocaust insofar as it attempts to rekindle, reclaim, and reawaken the Jewish soul to the sublime mystery of the world. Its goal is to touch the inner life of each reader, Jewish or not, in order to prevent the type of environment that led to genocide.⁹ Heschel's general response to the Holocaust, embodied in each of his books and articles, is to maintain faith in God, humanity, and Judaism.

Heschel's writing as response takes two major forms, prophetic rebuke and Jewish renewal. Taken together, they form the focal task of his writing, reawakening of the individual soul. Heschel's writing is a poetic reflection of his own life. According to Heschel, "books...[are] windows, allowing us to view the author's soul."¹⁰ Heschel's critique of society is not a detached one; it is rooted in the atrocity of the Holocaust and the prophetic stream running through the Jewish tradition.

According to Martin Luther King Jr., Rabbi Heschel was "one of the truly great men of our day and age, a truly great prophet."¹¹ Heschel was not praised because he protected the status quo. Instead, he sought integrity and truth in spite of these conditions. This quest frequently led to conflict with the prevailing

social order—the defining element of prophetic critique.¹² For Heschel, the Holocaust was the product of humanity, an atrocity committed against all people at the hands of all people. In response, he committed himself to addressing the moral and spiritual bankruptcy of humanity and providing a path back to holiness. As Kaplan and Dresner point out:

Instead of emphasizing the horrors, Heschel proclaimed the prophets' antidotes to cruelty and racism: fervent devotion to holiness, compassion, and ethical responsibility.¹³

His response to the Holocaust was not one of destitution and paralysis. His was a call to action. The origins of the destruction lay in an infectious attitude of instrumentality: the failure to identify the individual as bound up in a web of relationships with both human and divine. From this foundation grew an absence of ethical commitment bound to the Ultimate, and the defeat of compassion by fear and hatred:

This essential predicament of man has assumed a peculiar urgency in our time, living as we do in a civilization where factories were established in order to exterminate millions of men, women, and children; where soap was made of human flesh.¹⁴

In the tradition of the prophets, Heschel carved a path for humanity to escape these destructive trends. He recognized this "civilization" of destruction not only in the Holocaust but also in segregation, Hiroshima, and the Vietnam War. Heschel's commitment to these social struggles was born out of his own experience as a survivor framed within his religious view that God was in need of man to redeem the world from the ever tightening grasp of evil.¹⁵

Heschel's commitment to social justice was never isolated to the written word. During the 1950s and 60s, he stood out as a figure committed to helping the victims of injustice. Although his involvement with a number of social movements is well documented, there is little information on any efforts he may have undertaken in the 1940s to help the Jews still trapped in the flames of Europe. We are inclined to ask why Heschel, a profoundly sensitive figure barely escaping the Holocaust, did not do more to save other Jews. In fairness, Heschel did in fact make several attempts, all of them unsuccessful, to alert the American Jewish community about the horrors taking place in Europe. Lest we forget, he was a recent immigrant who spoke little English and was of no real standing in America. Years later, Heschel recounted:

I was a stranger in this country. My words had no power. When I did speak, they shouted me down. They called me a mystic, unrealistic. I had no influence on leaders of American Jewry.¹⁶

If this was the case in the early 1940s, it was soon to change. With the success of his theological and philosophical treatises, his public prominence soon increased. Doors slammed in the face of Heschel, the immigrant, were now held open for Heschel, the intellectual. It was through his scholarship that Heschel became a figure of national prominence.

A profound commitment to social action marked the last twenty years of Heschel's life. He assumed leadership roles in the Civil Rights movement as well as the efforts opposing the war in Vietnam. He was one of the first to speak up for the freedom of Soviet Jews and was an ardent champion of youth and the elderly. In an interview with Carl Stern, Heschel explained that his involvement in these movements developed out of his research on the prophetic tradition:

I've learned from the prophets that I have to be involved in the affairs of man, in the affairs of suffering man...I say that this book on the prophets which I wrote changed my life...The prophets mixed into socio-political issues.¹⁷

Heschel's commitment to peace and equality was inextricably bound to his religious perspective, "The essence of a Jew is his involvement in the plight of other people, as God is involved. This is the secret of our legacy, that God is implied in the human situation, and man must be involved in it."¹⁸ However, it was in the Holocaust that he bore witness to the totality of the human potential for evil. Only after his arrival in the United States, after escaping the inferno of Nazism, did Heschel stand out vocally against injustice everywhere. Heschel, the Holocaust survivor, marched for equality with Dr. King. Heschel, the Holocaust survivor, led protests against the Vietnam War. As Arthur Green points out, "It was in these acts that Heschel offered his response."¹⁹

Heschel's commitment to restoring the meaningfulness of Judaism is also properly understood as a response to the Holocaust. His depth-theology, an experiment in 'radical re-orientation,' was an attempt to reestablish in Judaism the moments and experiences that gave birth to religion. Radical re-orientation implies a turning. For Heschel, this turning was from man to God, from hollow ritualism to the humble presentation of self to the Almighty, from a religion based on culture to one centered upon the ever-present reality of revelation. His writing clearly embodies this task.

Rabbi Heschel's writings on prayer exemplify this commitment. Prayer, as a way of making oneself known to God, is central to his philosophy of Judaism:

God is not alone when discarded by man. But man is alone. To avoid prayer constantly is to dig a gap between man and God which can widen into an abyss. But sometimes, awakening on the edge of despair to weep, and arising from forgetfulness, we feel how yearning moves in softly to become the lord of a restless breast, and we pass over the gap with the lightness of a dream.²⁰

Prayer is a mode of communication between human and Divine. In order for Judaism to survive as a meaningful religion, that is to say a mode of communion, the regularity and spontaneity of prayer must find coexistence and balance. After the Holocaust, this task has assumed a new urgency:

We are either the last, the dying, Jews or else we are those who will give new life to our tradition. Rarely in history has so much depended upon one generation. We will either forfeit or enrich the legacy of the ages.²¹

The revitalization of prayer was a powerful weapon in the battle against spiritual extermination, a bridge stretching across the widening abyss between man and God, in crossing the chasm between human and holy.

Again, Heschel's writing on prayer reflected his own life. From his first days, he strictly followed the regulations of Jewish law: offering prayer at the appointed times, observing the Sabbath, and paying careful obedience to the minutiae that comprise Orthodox Judaism. He observed the Jewish Law and customs as if he were still living amongst his Hasidic ancestors in Poland.²² Were Heschel surrounded by Orthodox Jews, or employed at an Orthodox institution, this would be understandable. But he maintained these practices while living and working amongst the leaders of Reform and Conservative Judaism, Jews who had, for the most part, rejected the binding nature of the Law.

Heschel's private life, his observance of the Law and the performance of *mitzvot*, is a response to the Holocaust insofar as it marks a decision to continue a way of life essentially destroyed in the flames of the Holocaust. For many Jews of Heschel's generation, the atrocities of the Holocaust made observance impossible. They were unable to maintain faith in the God of Israel. From Heschel's writing, it is clear that prayer and *mitzvot*, as ways to the presence of God, are bound inextricably to faith in the God of Israel precisely because they

embody the divine will.²³ His decision to continue upon the path of observance is a clear sign that even after the Holocaust, his quest for faith continued.

For Heschel, prayer and observance were a path to redemption, acts to repair the relationship between God and humanity. Not a theory or general postulation, this occurred on an individual level through acts of spiritual and religious obedience. Since the Holocaust was historical and not transcendent, Heschel's challenge was not so much how to deal with a God who could allow such a thing but how we could bring ourselves back to God in the wake of the tragedy.

II. Where was God? Divine Pathos, Divine Exile

Heschel's theological response to the Holocaust is rooted in the twin concepts of Divine Pathos and Divine Exile. To be sure, these were not ideas that he conjured up in light of the destruction in order to make Judaism more palpable to the modern individual. Heschel had asserted that Divine Pathos was definitive of the relationship between God and humanity for years before the destruction. His dissertation on the prophets explored this relationship, and his entire enterprise is in line within this concept. Heschel found evidence for a theology of Divine Pathos running through the entirety of the Jewish tradition, from the book of Genesis through the prophets, in the early rabbinic tradition, Jewish mysticism, and Eastern European Hasidism.²⁴ It was not an innovation as much as a rediscovery or a re-emphasis.

Man is Not Alone and *God in Search of Man*, Heschel's two primary theological treatises, explore the notion of Divine Pathos. They share profoundly intentional and meaningful titles. "Man is not alone" implies that human existence is not one of lonely solitude—that something greater exists. In this world, with all of its decidedly human trials and tribulations, there is a power greater than ourselves, a power involved with the affairs of humanity. Heschel provides us with a beautifully moving description of this moment of realization:

A tremor seizes our limbs; our nerves are struck, quiver like strings; our whole being bursts into shudders. But then a cry, wrested from our very core, fills the world around us, as if a mountain were suddenly about to place itself in front of us. It is one word: GOD. Not an emotion, a stir within us, but a power, a marvel beyond us, tearing the world apart. The word that means more than universe, more than eternity, holy, holy, holy...He to whom our life can be the spelling of an answer.²⁵

The essence of this moment is the realization that we are not alone. The human quest for meaning, ascribed by Heschel as essential to our being, is not futile. There is in fact something beyond us: God. But what defines the character of this relationship?

The reality that God is in search of man defines this relationship, what Heschel calls "the summary of Jewish theology."²⁶ The title of the companion to *Man is Not Alone*, "God in search of man" radically inverts the traditional religious and philosophical inquiry. It is the essence of Divine Pathos:

Pathos in all its forms reveals the extreme pertinence of man to God, His world-directedness, attentiveness, and concern. God "looks at" the world and is affected by what happens in it; man is the object of His care and judgment.²⁷

Out of divine love, God engages himself with the feelings, emotions, and situation of each individual. Thus, God rejoices with us, shares in our happiness, and revels in our delight.

Not only does God share our happiness, but also our pain and anguish. This is the power of the concept of divine pathos. God's concern necessitates that God share in our suffering and misery. Human actions affect God; He is pained when humans act with malice and contempt. God is never indifferent to human suffering, because divine pathos is characteristic of God's relationship with humanity.²⁸ The victims and survivors of the Holocaust were never alone. In Auschwitz, not only did humans experience unknown degrees of suffering, but so did God. In the Divine, there is strength after the Holocaust because God has suffered alongside us. This is the significance of the covenantal relationship between God and humanity.

While some have asserted that the notion of a God who suffers is foreign to the Jewish tradition, there is in fact ample evidence demonstrating Heschel was well within the bounds of his heritage. While his extensive exploration of prophecy demonstrated suffering as a characteristic of God, it is possible that Heschel also received inspiration from the early rabbinic sources.²⁹

Theologians, academics, and reviewers typically cite *The Earth is The Lord's*, Heschel's first book in English, as a stirring eulogy to the destroyed Hasidic Jewry of Eastern Europe. In this sense, it is Heschel's first real effort to respond to the Holocaust. Moreover, it introduces American readers to the concept of God's exile, one of Heschel's primary theological responses to the Holocaust. Chapter 10, entitled "Kabbalah" represents his earliest English statement on Jewish

mysticism. In Jewish mysticism, Heschel highlights a profound theological insight into our relationship with the divine, namely that "Even the Shekhinah itself, the Divine Indwelling, is in exile. God is involved so to speak, in the tragic state of this world; the Shekhinah 'lies in dust.'"³⁰ Since the destruction of the Second Temple, exile has been the defining theme of Jewish history. Exile, or *galut* in Hebrew, has consistently marked the Jewish situation—a people wandering through the wilderness of the world, never truly at home amongst the nations. In emphasizing God's exile, Heschel offers spiritual solace to a persecuted people. The exile known to generation upon generation is bearable precisely because God is also in exile, sharing in the pain of deracination and alienation.

Heschel's brief chapter in *Man Is Not Alone*, "The Hiding God," develops *Shekhinah b'galut*, God's Exile. In this chapter, he directly confronts the question asked by countless others, "Where is God?"³¹ Emphasizing both his theocentric perspective and human responsibility for modern horrors and inequities, Heschel contends that "God is not silent. He has been silenced."³² To be sure, this silence is not absolute. It is not an essential or defining characteristic of God or God's relationship with humanity. Divine silence is not a declaration of atheism; it does not imply that God does not exist. Instead, Heschel expresses the insight that "Man cannot see God, but man can be seen by God."³³

According to Heschel, human actions bring about God's silence and exile:

We have trifled with the name of God. We have taken ideas in vain, preached and eluded Him, praised and defied Him. Now we reap the fruits of failure. Through centuries His voice cried in the wilderness. How skillfully it was trapped and imprisoned in the temples! How thoroughly distorted! Now we behold how it gradually withdraws, abandoning one people after another, departing from their souls, despising their wisdom.³⁴

The Divine Indwelling does not depart by its own volition or caprice. It is, in a sense, forced out by humanity. Divine exile and silence are responses to human behavior. Nor is this a uniquely modern phenomenon. Citing the biblical account of Adam, the first man, Heschel explains:

Man was the first to hide himself from God, after eating of the forbidden fruit, and is still hiding. The will of God is to be here, manifest and near. But when the doors of this world are slammed on Him, His truth betrayed, His will defied, He withdraws, leaving man to himself...He was expelled. God is in Exile.³⁵

For Heschel, God's exile is a condition brought about by humanity. It is a response to our actions, a radically different claim than the assertion that God hides from humanity out of capriciousness or anger. If our actions have caused God's withdrawal, then our actions can also help to bring God's presence back to this world. When we are ready to allow God back into our lives and our world, God will no longer be in hiding, "Our task is to open our souls to Him, to let Him again enter our deeds."³⁶ This is not punishment for our sins or the sins of our fathers. Instead, our refusal to see God compels Him to hide.

The final two pages of the chapter quote Psalm 44 in its entirety. As Professor Kaplan correctly points out, this is not an interpretation or an exegesis but a "bold prayer," a confrontation with God's illusory invisibility.³⁷ The Psalm itself begins by addressing the incongruities of Israel's history. The psalmist remembers God's great acts of liberation, guiding Israel to safety, and defeating her enemies. However, the psalmist bears witness to a different reality: defeat and communal disaster, "Thou hast cast us off, and put us to shame; and goest not forth with our armies..." Where is God in the moments of despair? The Psalm gives no answer; it concludes in a tone of faith mixed with anguish:

All this has come upon us; yet have we not forgotten Thee:
 neither have we dealt falsely in Thy covenant...
 Awake, why sleepest Thou, O Lord? Arise, cast us not off forever.
 Wherefore hidest Thou Thy face? and forgettest our affliction,
 and our oppression?
 For our soul is bowed down to the dust; our belly cleaveth unto
 the earth.
 Arise for our help, and redeem us for Thy mercies sake.³⁸

Thus concludes Heschel's chapter on the Hiding God. No analysis or interpretation is given. He shares no more parables or Hasidic stories to address the ambiguities of the psalmist. Instead, he presents it as a testament to the challenge of history and the resilience of faith. Heschel reinvigorates the ancient psalm with relevance and urgency; the challenge renewed in the destruction of the Holocaust.

Heschel's theological perspective is particularly meaningful today. It requires an intense dedication to the act of turning toward God. It emphasizes the importance of our corporeal actions. It is neither eschatological nor retreatist. It is a call to action. For Heschel, the Holocaust has left the Jew with an important charge, to open ourselves to the possibility of the Holy. We open

ourselves in words and deeds. After the destruction, we need not search beneath the smoldering ashes to find the remnants of our faith. We must only be open to the Holiness of the Divine and the humanity of our fellows. Such is Heschel's message, and in his life we find the powerful example of an individual committed to discovering integrity between the spiritual and the mundane, between the earthly and the Holy, between the crematoria of Auschwitz and the walls of the synagogue.

- ¹ Abraham Joshua Heschel, *A Passion For Truth* (Woodstock: Jewish Lights, 1995) 300-301.
- ² Abraham Joshua Heschel, "No Religion Is an Island," *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity*, ed. Susannah Heschel (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1996) 236.
- ³ While several other works have looked at various elements of Heschel's response to the Holocaust, none have addressed how his response stretches across his life, writing, and theology. Edward Kaplan's chapter "Confronting the Holocaust" in *Holiness in Words: Abraham Joshua Heschel's Poetics of Piety* is the most insightful of these attempts, emphasizing Heschel's concept of God in exile. (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996) 115-131. Along with Samuel Dresner, Kaplan has also provided a summary of the intimate pain Heschel experienced at the loss of his family to the Nazis in *Abraham Joshua Heschel: Prophetic Witness* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998) 305-307. In a brief article appearing in *Tikkun* magazine, Arthur Green points out the relationship between Heschel's social action and the Holocaust, to the exclusion of the other forms of his responses. "Abraham Joshua Heschel," *Tikkun* 13.1 (1998): 44-45. Morris Faierstein has disputed this perspective by providing an analysis of Heschel's response in his Yiddish writing in "Abraham Joshua Heschel and the Holocaust," *Modern Judaism* 19.3(1999): 255-275. Finally, in his article on the concept of the "eclipse of God" in Jewish theology, David Wolpe dedicates a section to Abraham Joshua Heschel's concept of the "hiding God." "Hester Panim In Modern Jewish Thought," *Modern Judaism*, 17.1 (1997): 25-56.
- ⁴ Kaplan, *Holiness in Words* 116.
- ⁵ As Faierstein points out, this is typical of many of the Orthodox thinkers of Heschel's generation. See Faierstein 256-257.
- ⁶ Abraham Joshua Heschel, "No Religion Is an Island," 236
- ⁷ Heschel, "No Religion is an Island," 236.
- ⁸ Abraham Joshua Heschel, *God In Search of Man: A Philosophy of Judaism* (New York: Noonday, 1955) 421.
- ⁹ Kaplan, *Holiness in Words* 121.
- ¹⁰ Heschel, *God in Search of Man* 6.
- ¹¹ See back cover of *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity*.
- ¹² This is according to Heschel's own conception of prophecy and the role of the prophet within society. See Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Prophets*, vol. 2 (New York: Harper & Row, 1962) 204.

- ¹³ Kaplan and Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel* 306.
- ¹⁴ Heschel, *God in Search of Man* 369.
- ¹⁵ Heschel's prophetic rebuke of contemporary society is contained in several of his works, namely his collection of essays in *The Insecurity of Freedom: Essays on Human Existence* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1966) and the book he coauthored on Vietnam with Robert McAfee Brown and Michael Novak, *Vietnam: Crisis of Conscience* (New York: Association Press, 1967). Additionally, this is one of the major themes of *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity*, the collection of essays edited by his daughter, Susannah Heschel. Finally, Heschel's English work on the Kotzker Rebbe, *A Passion For Truth*, exposes a dearth of insight into the human propensity towards evil and self-injurious behavior.
- ¹⁶ Quoted in Kaplan, *Holiness In Words* 119.
- ¹⁷ Abraham Joshua Heschel, "Interview With Carl Stern," *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity* 399-400.
- ¹⁸ Abraham Joshua Heschel, "What Happens to Them Happens to Me," *Bridges and Boundaries: African Americans and American Jews*, ed. Jack Salzman (New York: Jewish Museum, 1992) 86.
- ¹⁹ Green 44.
- ²⁰ Abraham Joshua Heschel, "Prayer," *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity* 346.
- ²¹ Heschel, *God in Search of Man* 421.
- ²² Kaplan and Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel* 154.
- ²³ Abraham Joshua Heschel, "Toward an Understanding of Halacha," *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity* 129.
- ²⁴ John C. Merkle, *The Genesis of Faith: The Depth Theology of Abraham Joshua Heschel* (New York: Macmillan, 1985) 130.
- ²⁵ Abraham Joshua Heschel, *Man is Not Alone: A Philosophy of Religion* (New York: Noonday, 1951) 78.
- ²⁶ Abraham Joshua Heschel, "Teaching Jewish Theology" in *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity* 12. Also, see Merkle 252.
- ²⁷ Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Prophets* (vol. 2) 263.
- ²⁸ Heschel, *The Prophets* (vol. 1) 4.
- ²⁹ For example, the image of God as mourner that is prevalent in the first chapter of Lamentations Rabbah and other places in the rabbinic material.
- ³⁰ Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Earth is The Lord's: The Inner World of the Jew in Eastern Europe* (Woodstock: Jewish Lights, 1995) 72.
- ³¹ Heschel, *Man is Not Alone* 151.
- ³² id. at 152.
- ³³ id. at 129.
- ³⁴ id. at 152.
- ³⁵ id. at 153.
- ³⁶ id. at 154.
- ³⁷ Kaplan, *Holiness in Words* 129.
- ³⁸ Psalm 44. Quoted in Heschel, *Man is Not Alone* 156-7.