

History and evolution of *tikkun olam*, according to the textual sources

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Abstract: This compendium of texts traces the development of several different interpretations of *tikkun olam* through Jewish intellectual history. These texts demonstrate conclusively that the roots of the social justice interpretation of *tikkun olam* are older than the roots of the Kabbalistic interpretation. Going back already to the 10th century, *tikkun ha'olam* is connected with religious humanism and with the idea of loving one's not-Jewish neighbor. These texts also reveal a firm foundation for an ecological interpretation of *tikkun olam* going back to early midrash. Furthermore, liberal Judaism's understanding of *tikkun olam* is shown to be sourced in Eastern European humanism going back to the 17th century, and transmitted in large part via Zionist thought in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Earlier versions of this compendium of source texts were published in Protocols, <https://prtcls.com/article/tikkun-olam-source-sheet/> and presented at Society for Jewish Ethics (<http://neohasid.org/pdf/TikkunOlam-34.pdf>). More resources can be found at: neohasid.org/torah/TO/.

“If you believe it's possible to ruin, you should believe it's possible to repair.” — Nachman of Breslov, *Likutei Moharan* 2:112

Towards an intellectual history of tikkun olam, based on the textual evidence.

Tikkun ha'olam תיקון העולם, in the earliest texts, means establishing order and balance, whether in Nature/Creation, as God does when balancing the forces of compassion and judgment, or in society, as the rabbis do when they amend the laws of the Torah. The social meaning of *tikkun olam*, which became primary, refers to acts that establish and repair or improve society (that is, the present world) in the course of our normal lives and institutions. An emergent meaning that has roots in these themes is that humanity is responsible for repairing the natural world that we have despoiled. (This meaning nevertheless also has a strong lineage; see texts 4, 19, 24 and 35.)

None of the earliest *midrashim*, nor the *Mishnah*, knows the meaning of *tikkun ha'olam* as something for which one strives in order to bring redemption, nor do they know the meaning of *tikkun ha'olam* as the end of idolatry. Both motifs may derive from the *Aleinu* prayer. But this prayer, though written as early as the 3rd century, originally may have used the term לתקן rather than לתקן, so it is not surprising that these motifs are not found in early rabbinic literature.¹

The meaning of *tikkun olam* through all periods includes varied actions people take to help each other and to create a society. From the earliest texts of Jewish philosophical thought (starting around the turn of the first millennium CE), *tikkun olam* also explicitly includes concepts of justice and loving one's neighbor. A messianic conception of social justice naturally flows out of the convergence of these themes with

¹ We find לתקן attested in Saadyah Gaon and Rambam. However, Rambam does use *tikkun ha'olam* in the Messianic sense (*Mishneh Torah, Hilkhhot M'lakhim* 11:4, 11:7). *Machzor Vitry*, which predates Rambam, has לתקן; in time this became the *musach* of almost every community except Yemenite (First, 2011). The meanings found in *Aleinu* evolved to become integral to the concept of *tikkun ha'olam*, but they cannot be treated as originary meanings that have priority over any other meanings. This includes the meaning of eradicating idolatry. At the same time, some critiques of social justice *tikkun olam* like to argue that because the motif of world transformation, so central to social justice, is not part of the original *Aleinu*, it is therefore inauthentic. But this is not significant from the perspective of “authenticity”, since many other meanings of *tikkun olam* accepted by the same critics arose even later than this emendation of *Aleinu* (see note 3).

eschatological motifs derived from the *Aleinu* and with ideas about sustaining and improving society found in the *Mishnah* and *midrash*.

The influence of religious humanism brought the integration of these concepts to its fullest fruition. A fairly complete expression of what we think of as social justice can already be found as early as 1797 in Pinchas Hurwitz's *Sefer Habrit*. More generally, religious humanism flourished in Eastern Europe and constituted the traditional (what we would call "Orthodox") Jewish mainstream. Full-throated expressions of *tikkun olam* as messianic social justice appear in Zionist writings at least by 1859, in Natan Friedland's *Kos Yeshu'ot* (published in Amsterdam), and this becomes a central motif in Palestine in the thought of Avraham Yitzhak Kook and Yehudah Ashlag. The latter two are explicit that *tikkun ha'olam* cannot be effectuated by individual or spiritual endeavor alone, but requires transformation of the social order toward equity and economic justice (texts 37 and 40).

One of the important discoveries of my research has been the direct lineage from Hurwitz to Friedland, who quotes *Sefer Habrit* without attribution. Another important realization is that the mantle of *tikkun olam* as social justice passes most directly from 18th century Eastern European humanism to Zionism. Youthful socialist pioneers in Palestine even aspired to be "*m'taknei olam*", world-shapers and reformers.² It is largely via Palestine and Zionism that social justice *tikkun olam* becomes a force in American Judaism, even though a less elaborated version of this concept appears in some earlier Reform thinkers (text 43).

Perhaps surprisingly, the idea that everyday ritual acts specifically bring about *tikkun ha'olam* also developed later in the work of Moshe Chaim Luzzatto, also 18th century (text 24), though this idea has clear roots in Gikatilla and in the *Zohar's* interpretations of the sacrifices and of *t'shuvah*.³ The claim that the association of *tikkun olam* with the observance of traditional ritual *mitzvot* is ancient, while social justice *tikkun olam* is recent, is insupportable.

Historically, the texts quoted herein bring us as far as pre-state Palestine and pre-war America. What happened in America after these texts is fairly straightforward: Mordecai Kaplan's student, educator Alexander Dushkin, made *tikkun olam* (as activist world-repair) a central pillar in his design for Jewish educational programs in America in the 1940's, and the same principle was popularized by Shlomo Bardin through his Brandeis Camp Institute in the 1950's. Both Dushkin and Bardin were deeply involved in developing the Israeli educational system, so it was natural for them to import this meaning from Zionist culture to America (Fine 1989). The Reform movement ran with this idea to create what people call "*tikkun olam*" Judaism, inspired (at its best) by prophetic principles of justice. However, Mordecai Kaplan himself already pointed out in 1934 the

² There were also contemporaries who critiqued the idea of being a *m'takein olam* both in Europe and Palestine — some because it was used by socialists who did not root their ideology in Torah, and some because it was not focused enough on the political practicalities of building a state. (See Yehudah Ashlag, text 41.)

³ In most earlier kabbalistic texts, *mitzvot* are done for the *tikkun* of divine worlds, *tzorekh gavoha*, not for the *tikkun* of this world. See, e.g., terms like *tikkun hakavod* or *hatikkun ha'elyon* (unifying/rectifying the divine presence/upper realm) in Meir ibn Gabbai (b. 1480, Spain), *Avodat Hakodesh* 18. Nevertheless, though this concept only reaches full flower in Luzzatto, Luzzatto is clearly drawing on Gikatilla's *Sod Hanachash* (text 15), as well as on *Sefer Hakanah* (text 16), which quotes Gikatilla. Gikatilla builds on the *Zohar* to say that human action may "repair the world and destroy it". The *Zohar* (3:122a-b) also states that, "Whoever bonds to the Holy One, blessed be, and performs the commandments of the Torah, it is as if they uphold the worlds / *kiyeim almin*, the world above and the world below." Though *kiyum ha'olam* can be a synonym for *tikkun ha'olam*, the same *Zohar* passage explains that *tikkun ha'olam*, repairing the whole world (*atkin l'khol alma*) is a result specifically of *t'shuvah*, repentance. Also significantly, where Gikatilla discusses the power of the human being to repair or destroy the world, *Sefer Hakanah* specifies that Israel is the agent of *tikkun* (ch. 92, *Sod Taharot Ut'mei'ot*). Note that most instances of *tikuna d'alma* in the *Zohar* are simply extensions of the midrashic meaning and do not invoke kabbalistic theurgy.

dangers of separating *tikkun olam* from national identity and from other *mitzvot* like Shabbat or Torah study (2002, 517).⁴

While it is clear that *tikkun olam* was connected to social justice long before its advent in North America, it has always been clear that *tikkun olam* includes much more than social justice. Furthermore, *tikkun olam* does not necessarily equate with liberalism or any other single political ideology. In fact, a few of the actions designated as *tikkun olam* in the medieval sources are distinctly contrary to a liberal agenda (see Rambam, text 9).⁵ Moreover, the enormous significance of *tikkun olam* in liberal Judaism blossomed after World War II and the Shoah. The historical meaning of this phenomenon as a response to the cataclysmic destruction of European Jewry is unclear, and it merits thorough exploration. (*Tikkun olam's* theological relation to the Shoah, however, *has* been deeply explored in the work of authors such as Emil Fackenheim and Yitz Greenberg.)

Principles of text selection.

Most of these texts were selected from a much larger collection of several hundred that I gathered to see how far back I could trace the motifs behind the idea that *tikkun olam* signifies social justice. In the process I also gathered many other sources, representing different streams in the evolution of *tikkun ha'olam*. I have drawn from this still growing collection of source texts to create this compendium.

Where a stream of meaning is quite well-known, or where the understanding is relatively static, I focused on gathering just a few early sources; a similar principle is applied here in deciding what texts would be included in this more limited selection. For example, I only include a single case from the larger set of rabbinic rulings in the *Mishnah* that are explained as being “*mip'nei tikkun ha'olam* / because of *tikkun ha'olam*.” Those rulings include laws related to *gittin* (divorce), *pidyon sh'vuyim* (freeing captives), freeing the half-slave (the case included), fair pricing, *prozbul* (a mechanism for allowing loans to outlast the cancellation of debt in the sabbatical year), returning a lost object, etc. There are also many thousands of examples in the halakhic literature where the phrase *mip'nei tikkun ha'olam* is cited as part of the discussion of these laws, though usually these texts are simply quoting the *Mishnah*, without telling us anything new about the meaning of the term *tikkun olam* or its evolution.

Most texts cited herein use the exact terminology of *tikkun ha'olam* or *tikkun olam*, or a verbal form such as *y'tukan ha'olam*. This would include texts that use less canonical forms, such as *takanat ha'olam* in Bachya ibn Pakuda (text 7). Some texts that do not use the exact terminology of *tikkun ha'olam* are included where it is clear that *tikkun ha'olam* is the target concept, and where the text illustrates something unique. For example, one finds near synonyms for *tikkun ha'olam* like *y'tukan hateva* in Shlomo Marini (text 22), *tikkun kol hab'ri'ah* in Luzzatto (text 21), and *y'tukan hakol* in Kalonymus Kalman Epstein (text 27). There are also parallel terminologies for *tikkun ha'olam* that appear consistently over many periods — most especially *yishuv ha'olam* and *kiyum ha'olam*. I have included several texts that use such terminology where it was clear to me that the author in question equated or was understood to equate those terminologies with *tikkun ha'olam*. The most important example below is text 6 from *Tanna deVei Eliyahu*, which names four qualities through which “*ha'olam mit'yashev* / the world is settled”, and which is cited by later authors as a *tikkun olam* proof-text.

Here are some examples of the many other uses and valences of *tikkun* that do not refer to the world as a whole, and which should therefore be omitted from any study such as this one: *tikkun hanefesh* (repairing the soul), *tikkun hamidot* (character improvement), the *tikkun* of *tefilah* (prayer) or of a particular prayer service

⁴ Diary entry for Monday March 5, 1934.

⁵ Another example not quoted below is *Sefer Chinukh*, commandment 243, on the judgment against a *moser* or informant.

(which means the institution of a prayer or liturgical recitation), of *korbanot* (sacrifices), of *avodah* (labor), of *t'shuvah* (repentance), etc. In particular, there is a multitude of kabbalistic uses for the term *tikkun*. One may find authors who draw connections between these activities or goals and *tikkun olam*, but they are not equated with or concomitant to each other. Note that while the last two texts in this compendium were written in English, we can be certain that they intend the concept of *tikkun olam* because they include a translation of the related liturgical passage from the *Aleinu* prayer.

Most importantly, despite the fact that *tikkun* is such a central concept in Lurianic Kabbalah, only a small number of texts in Lurianic sources deal with *tikkun ha'olam* or the *tikkun* of Creation as a whole.⁶ Lurianic Kabbalah therefore does not appear to exert a strong influence on the evolution of the idea of *tikkun olam* until the 18th century, when authors like Moshe Chaim Luzzatto use the term *tikkun ha'olam* in the messianic sense of redemption for the whole world. More often, Kabbalah talks about the *tikkun* of one particular world among the many many worlds and levels that are believed to exist (e.g., *tikkun olam ha'atzilut*, repairing the first world of Emanation, or *tikkun haShekhinah*, restoring the divine presence). Other unrelated uses of *tikkun* in Kabbalah include: the designation of ritual or liturgical practices as *tikunim* (e.g. *tikkun chatzot* or *tikkun k'lali*); or *tikkunim* in the sense of material from the book *Tikunei Zohar*; or *olam hatikkun*, the repaired/redeemed world, which is contrasted in Lurianic Kabbalah with *olam hatohu*, this world of chaos. Many scholarly articles include the corpus of Lurianic texts on *tikkun* even though it is not at all about the specific concept of *tikkun olam*. This has led to enormous confusion about the term's evolution and meaning.

One can only locate and search through so many of the tens of thousands of books that might contain a passage on *tikkun ha'olam*, even with modern databases and books online. Given that, I must be content with imagining I have sampled a statistically sufficient number of sources to arrive at a fair picture of the state of things for each period and genre. Nevertheless, even as of the week of rewriting this introduction for publication, I have come across new and interesting sources to consider. Nothing I have found since my initial survey was completed in spring 2019, however, has undermined the above conclusions, though they have been considerably refined, but it is certainly possible that one of these conclusions will be overturned by a newly discovered source. I remain curious to see what new and radical information might present itself that would significantly change this picture.

Earlier versions of this compendium were presented in *Protocols* (<https://prtcls.com/article/tikkun-olam-source-sheet/>), and at the Society for Jewish Ethics, which graciously invited me to prepare this version for publication in its journal. Following the 44 texts below, I enumerate some of the many possible meanings and translations of *tikkun* and *tikkun olam*, and provide a brief bibliography. It is important to acknowledge that because we are only looking at texts written before World War II (and before the subsequent viral explosion of *tikkun olam* in America), none of the authors are women.

The motivation behind this study.

As politics has become more and more polarized in the United States and in Israel, it has become a rallying cry of the political right-wing and the religious right-wing of the Jewish world, which often overlap, to say that social justice is a foreign value imported into Judaism, or more sharply, smuggled into Judaism, under the rubric

⁶ This compendium includes two sources that might be categorized as Lurianic, texts 20 and 21. Many of the kabbalistic texts that refer to *tikkun ha'olam* prior to Luzzatto have in mind its midrashic meanings, rather than the meaning later understood to be the kabbalistic interpretation of *tikkun ha'olam* (further evidence that the kabbalistic meaning is not ancient). See for example text 13; Meir ibn Gabbai, *Tola'at Ya'akov* 86; Cordovero, *Pardes Rimonim* 22:4; and Chayyim Vital, *Sefer Eitz Hada'at, Sh'mini*.

of *tikkun olam*.⁷ While there is no doubt that there exist “*tikkun olam* Jews” for whom the rest of Jewish practice is not even commentary, this cry against the authenticity of *tikkun olam* is not based on any actual study of the texts or intellectual history, but rather on a seeming agenda to delegitimize liberal Judaism. (I suspect that some of the energy behind this move is that people on the right themselves feel delegitimized by the left-wing’s self-confidence in its version of social justice.)

At the same time, it has always been clear that the range of meaning of *tikkun olam* is far broader than social justice. Although there have been many attempts to account for the actual meaning and evolution of the term *tikkun olam*, all have been incomplete. Thus there has been no firm basis on which to claim that social justice is a newer or more ancient interpretation, or a more or less “authentic” interpretation, of *tikkun olam*. This study of course is not a complete or final statement on the subject, but I believe it samples all the important strands that weave together to make *tikkun olam*, and that it will provide a valuable foundation for future research.

With the advent of “fake news”, the charge of “fake Judaism” has been cast against *tikkun olam* social justice in the right-wing social-media sphere, naturally with much gusto but without much reflection.⁸ The response coming from various Jewish thinkers on the left has been that social justice embraces a cluster of important Jewish values, even though its connection with *tikkun olam* may only be as old as liberal Judaism in North America, dating to the past century. My own response to this debate has been a burning desire to find out what actually happened in our intellectual history.

Not surprisingly, the answer to the question is more complicated and more interesting than any political debate can capture or harness. But one thing seems clear: the pedigree of social justice *tikkun olam* goes back to the universalistic ethics of religious humanism, which dates back far longer than the pedigree of the kabbalistic idea of *tikkun olam* (i.e., that cosmic reparation happens through the correct observance of Jewish ritual), and the idea that redemptive *tikkun olam* can be effected by Jews simply doing their prescribed *mitzvot* and taking care of “their own” is even more recent.⁹ There is simply no ground left for the charge that social justice *tikkun olam* is “fake Judaism”. Moreover, the idea that *tikkun olam* is about removing idolatry, may not be older than religious-humanistic ideas related to social justice, since it dates back not to the *Aleinu* prayer, but rather to the point when the *Aleinu* prayer changed in its wording from לתכן to לתקן (see text 2).

What is also clear is that it was the context of humanistic Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe where the term *tikkun olam* fully took on the meaning of social justice that has become so strongly wedded to it in our own time. Religious Zionism later came to play an important role in this evolution. Though liberal Jewish communities in America disseminated this concept of *tikkun olam*, they were not its originators.

We live in a time where it is no longer possible or realistic to imagine the *tikkun* of the Jewish people apart from *tikkun* of the human species, or the *tikkun* of the human species apart from the *tikkun* of the more-than-human world we call Nature. How this will affect the evolution of the concept of *tikkun olam* from this

⁷ See, for example, <https://www.jns.org/the-fallacy-delusion-and-myth-of-tikkun-olam/> (June 3, 2013, retrieved Sept 12, 2021).

⁸ The strongest statement of this perspective published thus far is Neumann’s *To Heal the World?: How the Jewish Left Corrupts Judaism and Endangers Israel* (New York: All Points, 2018). Unfortunately, the book is tendentious in the extreme, and the author did not (perhaps could not) do any of his own research into the primary texts. See my published critiques of this book at <https://momentmag.com/book-review-to-heal-the-world/> and <https://jewishjournal.com/culture/first-person/294508/a-tikkun-for-tikkun-olam-how-to-heal-the-world-corrupts-debate-endangers-judaism/> (retrieved Sept 12, 2021). My encounter with Neumann’s work is what motivated me to do the research found herein.

⁹ The social justice interpretation has roots in the equation of *tikkun olam* with loving one’s neighbor—specifically one’s not Jewish neighbor—appearing in the 10th century (text 6), while kabbalistic *tikkun olam*’s roots only go back to the 13th century (text 15). Moreover, the earliest full-bodied articulations of social justice *tikkun olam* (text 22) and kabbalistic *tikkun olam* (text 24) appear around the same time (with the kabbalistic interpretation actually appearing a bit later).

point on is something each reader of these texts may help decide. As someone who believes in engaged scholarship, it is my hope that the study of *tikkun olam*, and any exploration this study engenders, will also further the goal of *tikkun olam*.

Table of Contents 1. *Mishnah Gitin* 4:5 ❖ 2. *Aleinu* prayer, Rosh Hashanah Musaf ❖ 3. *Genesis Rabbah* 4:6 ❖ 4. *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* 7:13 ❖ 5. *Devarim Rabbah* 6:5 ❖ 6. *Tana devei Eliyahu* 15 ❖ 7. Bachya ibn Pakuda, *Chovot Hal'vavot* 8:3 ❖ 8. Rambam, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Sanhedrin* 23:9 ❖ 9. Rambam, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot M'lakhim* 3:10 ❖ 10. Rambam, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot M'lakhim* 11:4 ❖ 11. *Sefer Hachinukh*, 232 (240) ❖ 12. Rabbenu Yonah Gerondi, on *Pirkei Avot* 5:10 ❖ 13. *Sefer HaZohar*, 1:38a ❖ 14. *Sefer HaZohar*, 1:242a ❖ 15. Gikatilla, *Sod Hanachash* ❖ 16. *Sefer Hakanah* ❖ 17. Hasdai Crescas, *Or Hashem* ❖ 18. Yitzhak Arama, *Akeidat Yitzhak* 17 ❖ 19. Menachem ben Moshe Habavli, *Sefer Ta'amei Mitzvot* ❖ 20. Menachem Azariah DeFano, *Asarah Ma'amarot*, 3:34 ❖ 21. Avraham Azulai, *Chesed L'Avraham*, 1:24 ❖ 22. Shlomo Marini, *Sefer Tikkun Olam* on Isaiah 11:8 ❖ 23. Shlomo Marini, *Sefer Tikkun Olam* on Isaiah 60:18 ❖ 24. Moshe Chaim Luzzatto, *Derekh Hashem* 2, *Yisrra'el v'Umot Ha'olam* ❖ 25. Moshe Chaim Luzzatto, *Da'at T'vunot* 225 ❖ 26. Moshe Chaim Luzzatto, *Ma'amar Chokhmah* ❖ 27. Kalonymus Kalman Epstein, *Ma'or Vashemesh* ❖ 28. Nachman of Breslov, *Likutei Moharan*, 1:5 ❖ 29. Pinchas Hurwitz, *Sefer Habrit, Ma'amar Ahavat Rei'im*, ch. 1 ❖ 30. Pinchas Hurwitz, *Sefer Habrit, Ma'amar Ahavat Rei'im*, ch. 19 ❖ 31. Pinchas ben David Soshis, *Pardes Hamelekh* 107b ❖ 32. Chanokh Zundel ben Yosef, *Eitz Yosef al B'reishit Rabbah* 33:3 ❖ 33. Natan Friedland, *Kos Yeshu'ot* 13a ❖ 34. Chaim Yudel Leib Litvin, *Sha'arei Dei'ah*, §57, 27a ❖ 35. Aharon Shmuel Tamares, *K'neset Yisra'el Umilchamot Hagoyim*, ch. 5, 6. ❖ 36. Ben Zion Eisenstadt, *Or Lifnei Hadorshin* ❖ 37. Avraham Yitzhak Hakohen Kook, *Orot Hakodesh* 3, 180 ❖ 38. Avraham Yitzhak Hakohen Kook, *Orot Hatechiyah*, ch. 28 ❖ 39. Avraham Yitzhak Hakohen Kook, *Olat Ra'ayah* 1, 386 ❖ 40. Yehuda Ashlag, *Binyan Hachevrah Ha'atidit* ❖ 41. Yehuda Ashlag, *Hashalom Ba'olam I* ❖ 42. Yehuda Ashlag, *Hashalom Ba'olam II* ❖ 43. Kaufman Kohler, *Jewish Theology: Systematically and Historically Considered*, 365 ❖ 44. Mordecai Kaplan, *The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion*, 124

Some themes (by text number): Equity/Fairness and Social Justice, 1, 6, 23, 30, 33, 34, 40, 42, 44; Ordering Society, 1, 11, 12, 13, 29, 31, 33, 37, 42–44; Ending Idolatry/Eschatology, 2, 10, 20, 26, 33, 38; Ecology/Nature's Order, 3, 4, 5, 22, 27, 28, 32, 38; Non-human Beings/Non-human Agency, 5, 22, 32; Loving Neighbors, 6, 7, 10, 12, 19, 29, 33; Stumbling Block, 11, 19; Weapons, 11, 13, 35; Legal Justice, 8, 9, 33; Humanism, 6, 23, 29, 33, 35, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44; Unity ("One Shoulder"), 10, 17, 33; Anti-Humanism, 26; Agriculture, 13, 29, 30, 33; Invention, 13, 30, 36; Ritual and Theurgy/Temple, 14, 15, 21, 24, 25; Nationalism/Zionism 24, 35–39; Peace/War, 10, 33, 35, 38, 39, 43, 44.

Period/Genre: Rabbinic-Mishnah, 1; Rabbinic Liturgy, 2; Midrash, 3–6; Philosophy, 7–12, 19, 22, 23, 29, 30, 33, 43, 44; Kabbalah, 13–15, 20, 21, 24–26, 29, 30, 33, 35, 37–42; Hasidic, 27, 28, 34, 37–39; Modern-Traditional (Orthodox) Judaism (incl. *Mitnagdim* and *Musar*), 22, 32, 35, 36; Modern-Liberal Judaism, 43, 44.

Key words (left column) used below corresponding to these categories:

Equity, Soc-Justic, Order-Soc, Idolatry, Eschat, Order-Nature, Eco, Non-hum, Love, Stumbl, Weapon, Justice, Human, Anti-Hum, Agricult, Inventn, Theurgy, Temple, Nation, Peace; Mishnah, Rab-Lit, Phil, Kab, Has, Mod-Trad, Mod-Lib

A note on sources: all sources before the 20th century that do not list a place and date of publication can be accessed by their canonical references on sefaria.org. Most of these texts also appear on daat.ac.il. All pre-modern kabbalistic texts also appear on hebrew.grimoar.cz. Texts from Avraham Yitzhak Kook can be accessed through https://he.wikisource.org/wiki/קוּק_הַבְּהוֹן_יִצְחָק_מֵחֶבֶר:אברהם_יצחק_קוּק. Texts from Yehudah Ashlag can be accessed through kab.co.il/heb/content/view/frame/37070. The remaining texts include city and date of publication – most of these editions can be accessed through hebrewbooks.org.

<p>Key</p> <p>Mishnah Order-Soc Equity</p>	<p>1. <i>Mishnah Gitin 4:5 (2nd cent.)</i>¹⁰ משנה גיטין ד'ה'</p> <p>מי שֶׁחֲצִי עֶבֶד וְחֲצִי בֶן חֹרִין, עֹבֵד אֶת רַבּוֹ יוֹם אֶחָד וְאֶת עַצְמוֹ יוֹם אֶחָד, דְּבָרֵי בֵּית הַלֵּל. אָמְרוּ לָהֶם בֵּית שְׁמַאי, תִּקְנֶתֶם אֶת רַבּוֹ, וְאֶת עַצְמוֹ לֹא תִקְנֶתֶם. לִשְׂאָ שְׂפָתָהּ אֵי אֶפְשָׁר, שְׂכָרָר חֲצִי בֶן חֹרִין. בֵּת חֹרִין אֵי אֶפְשָׁר, שְׂכָרָר חֲצִי עֶבֶד. יִבְטַל, וְהֵלֵא לֹא נִבְרָא הָעוֹלָם אֶלָּא לְפָרִיָּה וְלִרְבִּיָּה, שְׂנַאֲמַר (ישעיה מה) לֹא תְהוּ בְרָאָה, לְשִׁבְתָּ יִצְרָה. אֶלָּא מִפְּנֵי תְקוּן הָעוֹלָם, כּוֹפִין אֶת רַבּוֹ וְעוֹשֶׂה אוֹתוֹ בֶּן חֹרִין, וְכוּתֵב שְׁטָר עַל חֲצִי דָמָיו. וְחֹזְרוּ בֵּית הַלֵּל לְהוֹרוֹת כְּדָבְרֵי בֵּית שְׁמַאי</p> <p>One who is half slave and half a free person, he serves his master one day and then himself one day — the words of Beit Hillel. Beit Shammai said to them: You set it right /<i>tikantem</i> for his master, for himself you didn't set it right. To marry a maidservant isn't possible because half of him is free. [To marry] a free woman isn't possible because half of him is still slave. —So [would you] cancel [his obligation to reproduce]! But isn't it true that the world wasn't created except for bearing fruit and reproducing – as it says, (Isaiah 45:18) “Not to be waste did God create her (the Earth); to be settled upon did God form her”! Rather, because of setting right¹¹ the world / <i>mip'nei tikkun ha'olam</i>, they force his master, who [must] make him a free person and write a contract for [him to redeem the remaining] half of his value. And Beit Hillel turned to teach according to the words of Beit Shammai.</p>
<p>Rab-Lit Eschat Idolatry</p>	<p>2. <i>Aleinu prayer, originally Rosh Hashanah Musaf (3rd cent./10th cent.)</i>¹² עלינו, מחזור ראש השנה מלכויות</p> <p>עֲלֵינוּ לְשִׁבְחָ לְאֲדוֹן הַכֹּל... שְׁלֹא עָשָׂנוּ כְּגוֹיֵי הָאֲרָצוֹת... שֶׁהֵם מְשַׁתְּחִים לְהִבָּל נְרִיק... וְאֲנַחְנוּ מְשַׁתְּחִים לְפָנֵי מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמַּלְכִּים הַקְּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא, שֶׁהוּא נוֹטֵה שָׁמַיִם וְיָסַד אֲרָץ עַל פִּי נִסְיָה לֵךְ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְרִאיוֹת מְהִרָה בְּתַפְאֲרַת עֲגוּדָה, לְהַעֲבִיר גְּלוּלִים מִן הָאָרֶץ וְהָאֱלִילִים פְּרוֹת וְפָרְתוֹן, לְתַקֵּן עוֹלָם [לְתַכֵּן עוֹלָם] בְּמַלְכוּת שְׂדֵי. וְכָל בְּנֵי בָשָׂר יִקְרְאוּ בְּשִׁמְךָ, לְהַפְנוֹת אֲלֵיךְ כָּל רִשְׁעֵי אָרֶץ.</p> <p>It is on us to praise [the One]...for You didn't make us like the nations of the Earth...for they pray to what is empty breath and emptiness... and we bow before the Sovereign of sovereigns, the Holy One, blessed be, who spread out heavens and founded an earth...therefore we hope for You, <i>YHVH</i> our God, to see quickly the manifest glory of Your strength, to cause the idols to pass away from the Earth and the unbreathing gods to be cut off, to establish a world under the reign of the Almighty/All-nourishing / <i>l'takein olam b'malkhut Shaddai</i>, and all people of flesh will call on Your name, to cause all the wicked of the Earth to turn toward you.</p>
<p>Midrash Order-Nat</p>	<p>3. <i>Genesis Rabbah 4:6 (4th cent.)</i> בראשית רבה ד:ו'</p> <p>למה אין כתיב בשני כי טוב? רבי חנינא אומר: שבו נבראת מחלוקת, שנאמר: ויהי מבדיל בין מים למים. אמר רבי טביומי: אם מחלוקת שהיא לתקונו של עולם ולישובו אין בה כי טוב, מחלוקת שהיא לערבובו על אחת כמה וכמה</p> <p>Why is it not written about the second day [of Creation], “for it is good”? Rav Chanina says: Because on [that day] division/argument was created, as it is said (Gen. 1:6): “Let there be a</p>

¹⁰ Among the possible Mishnaic candidates for this compendium of texts, I chose this one because it closely relates to several later themes related to *tikkun olam: yishuv ha'olam* (settling the world), reproduction, supporting a smoothly functioning society, and the idea that human freedom is attached to some kind of imperative.

¹¹ The word *tikkun* has been translated in different ways throughout – see Appendix. This is the opposite of my normal practice, but in every place where *tikkun* or its root is used, transliteration is also to given to provide continuity.

¹² Tradition attributes *Aleinu* to Joshua, while most scholars consider Rav (3rd cent. Babylon) as its author or compiler. The original wording of *Aleinu* may have been עולם – לתכן עולם – if so, then the standard wording of לתקן עולם might date as late as 1000 CE or later (First, 2011). From that perspective, the place of *Aleinu* as a *tikkun olam* text should be after the four midrashic texts that follow.

	separation between waters [above] and waters [below].” Said Rav Tavyomo (Rabbi “Good Day”): If a division that was created for the sake of ordering the world and settling it / <i>l’tikuno shel olam ul’yishuvo</i> doesn’t have an “it is good” in it, any division that disturbs [the world], all the more so.
Midrash Order-Nat Eco Eschat	<p>4. <i>Ecclesiastes Rabbah</i> 7:13 (5th cent.) קהלת רבה ז:יג</p> <p>רָאָה אֶת מַעֲשֵׂה הָאֱלֹהִים כִּי מִי יוּכַל לְתַקֵּן אֶת אֲשֶׁר עָוְתוֹ (קִילַת ז:יג)— בְּשָׁעָה שֶׁבָּרָא הַקְּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא אֶת אָדָם הָרִאשׁוֹן, נָטְלוֹ וְהִחְזִירוֹ עַל כָּל אֵילָנֵי גֶן עֵדֶן, וְאָמַר לוֹ, רָאָה מַעֲשֵׂי כַּמָּה נְאֻמִּים וּמְשֻׁבְּחִין הֵן, וְכָל מֵה שֶׁבָּרָאתִי בְּשִׁבְלֵךְ בְּרָאתִי, מִן דַּעְתָּךְ שְׁלֵא תִקְלַקֵּל וְתִחְרִיב אֶת עוֹלָמִי, שָׂאֵם קִלְקַלְתָּ אִין מִי שִׁיְתַשֵּׁן אֶחְרִיד</p> <p>“See the work of God—who can fix what he¹³ twisted?” (Eccl. 7:13) —In the time that the Holy One created the first human, He took [that one] and brought him around all the trees of Gan Eden, and said to him: See My works, how lovely and praiseworthy they are, and all I created, for your sake I created [it]. Put your mind [to this], that you don’t ruin or destroy my world /<i>olami</i>, for if you bring ruin, there is no one who will set [the world] right /<i>y’takein</i> after you.</p>
Midrash Order-Nat Eco Non-Hum	<p>5. <i>Devarim Rabbah</i> 6:5 (9th–10th cent.) דברים רבה ו:ה</p> <p>”שְׁלַח תְּשַׁלַּח אֶת הָאֵם, וְאֶת הַבְּנִים תִּקַּח-לָךְ” – אֲר”א לֹא הִיָּה צָרִיךְ לוֹמַר כֵּן אֲלֵא אָמַר הַקַּב”ה הוֹאִיל וּנְתַעֲסַקָה¹⁴ בַּכְּבוֹדוֹ בְּבִנְיָנוּ שֶׁל עוֹלָם וּבְתִיקוּנוֹ שֶׁל עוֹלָם כְּדִי שְׁתִּינְצַל</p> <p>“[When you come across a bird’s nest on the way...], send, you will send away the mother, and the children you may take” – Said R’ Eliezer: It wouldn’t be necessary to say so, except the Holy One said, “Since she busies herself with building the world / the glory of the world and maintaining the world / <i>tikkuno shel olam</i>”, it is right/worthwhile that she be saved.</p>
Midrash Order-Soc Love Equity Human	<p>6. <i>Tanna deVei Eliyahu</i>, 15 (10th cent.)¹⁵ תנא דבי אליהו, פי ט”ו</p> <p>וּבִארְבַּעַה דְּבָרִים הָעוֹלָם מִתְיַשֵּׁב מִתּוֹךְ הַצַּדִּיקָה וּמִתּוֹךְ הַדִּין וּמִתּוֹךְ הָאֵמֶת וּמִתּוֹךְ הַשְּׁלוֹם וְאָמַר לִי רַבִּי מַעֲשֵׂה שְׂמִכְרָתִי לַעֲכוּ”ם אֶחָד אַרְבַּעַה כּוֹרִין שֶׁל תְּמָרִים וּמִדְּדַתִּי לוֹ בְּבֵית אֶפֶל מַחְצָה עַל מַחְצָה וְאָמַר לִי אֱלֻקִּים עַל הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאַתָּה יוֹדֵעַ עַל מִדָּה שְׂאֵתָה מוֹדֵד לִי וּמִתּוֹךְ שְׂמִדְּדַתִּי לוֹ בְּבֵית אֶפֶל חִסְרַתִּי לוֹ שְׁלֹשָׁה סָאִין שֶׁל תְּמָרִים וְלֹאֲחֵר כִּךְ נִטְלַתִּי הַמְּעוֹת וְלִקְחַתִּי בְּהֵן כֹּד אֶחָד שֶׁל שֶׁמֶן וְהִנַּחְתִּי אוֹתוֹ בְּמִקּוֹם שְׂמִכְרָתִי הַתְּמָרִים לַעֲכוּ”ם נִקְרַע הַכֹּד וְנִשְׁפַךְ הַשֶּׁמֶן וְהִלֵּךְ לוֹ אִמְרַתִּי לוֹ בְּנֵי כְּתִיב (וַיִּקְרָא יוֹט:יג) לֹא תַעֲשׂוּק אֶת רֵעֶךָ וְלֹא תִגְזוֹל וְגוֹ’ רֵעֶךָ הִרִי הוּא כֹּאֲחִיךָ וְאֲחִיךָ הִרִי הוּא כְּרֵעֶךָ הֵא לְמַדַּת שְׂגוֹל עֲכוּ”ם אֲסוּר</p> <p>[I explained,] “Through four things the world is made settled / <i>ha’olam mit’yasheiv</i>: through charity and justice and truth and peace.” And he said to me, ‘Rabbi, it happened that I sold to one idolater four <i>kor</i> of dates, and I measured it in a dark place . . . and he said to me, ‘God upon heaven and you know about whether the measure you [used is just] . . . and I shorted him three <i>sa’in</i> of dates, and after that I took the money and bought a pitcher of oil and placed it on the spot where I sold the dates to the idolater, and the pitcher shattered and the oil spilled and was gone.” I said to him, “My son, it’s written ‘Don’t oppress your neighbor and don’t steal’ (Lev 19:13) — your neighbor behold is like your brother, and your brother is like your neighbor, so you have learned that stealing from an idolater is forbidden.”</p>

¹³ In the verse “He” refers to God, but the midrash interprets it as referring to Adam, who is “the work of God”.

¹⁴ The commonly published version of this teaching has נְתַעֲסַקָה (“he busies himself” instead of “she busies herself”), but the correct version is found in numerous sources. This change in wording may have been due to discomfort with ascribing moral agency to other animals. In most sources, the bird is busy with “the glory of the world”, but some have “building the world”, which makes more sense. The latter version is also more consistent with *tikkun*, while the former version adds a certain poetry.

¹⁵ This source references *yishuv ha’olam*, which is often a synonym for *tikkun ha’olam*. In fact, later sources understand this passage from *Tanna deVei Eliyahu* to be a proof-text about *tikkun ha’olam*. See Natan Friedland, *Kos Y’shu’ot* (text 33) and Meir Ish-Shalom’s explanation of this passage in his 1902 commentary on *Tanna deVei Eliyahu*.

<p>Phil Order-Soc Love</p>	<p>7. Bachya ibn Pakuda (1050–1120, Spain), <i>Chovot Hal'vavot (Duties of the Heart) 8:3</i> בחיה אבן פקודה, חובות הלבבות ח:ג</p> <p>ועל המאמין לחשוב עם נפשו במה שהוא חייב לאלקים ית'. . . . אבאר מהם שלשים פנים. . . . והשנים ועשרים, חשבוננו עם נפשו על התערבו עם בני אדם בתקנת העולם מחרישה וקצירה ומקח וממכר והעניינים שנעזרים בהם קצת בני אדם בקצתם על ישוב העולם שיאהב להם מה שיאהב לנפשו מהם וישנא להם מה שישנא לנפשו מהם ויחמול עליהם וידחה מהם כפי יכלתו מה שיזיקם כמו שכתוב (ויקרא יט) ואהבת לרעך כמוך</p> <p>[C]oncerning the one who believes in taking account with oneself concerning what one is obligated [to do] for God blessed be. . . . I will explain thirty ways [to do this]. . . . And the twenty-second is: one's account with oneself concerning one's involvement with people in establishing the world / <i>takanat ha'olam</i>, from plowing and harvest [to] buying and selling and [such] matters through which some people are helped by some [others] in [the process of] settling the world / <i>yishuv ha'olam</i> — [namely,] that one should love for them [to receive] what one would love for oneself from them, and that one should hate for them what one would hate for oneself from them, and should have compassion for them, and according to one's ability [one should] push away from them whatever would harm them, as it's written (Lev. 19:18), “And you will love your neighbor like yourself.”</p>
<p>Phil Justice</p>	<p>8. Moshe ben Maimun (Rambam/Maimonides), 1135–1204, Spain, Egypt), <i>Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Sanhedrin 23:9</i> רמב"ם (ר' משה בן מיימון), משנה תורה, הלכות סנהדרין כג:ט</p> <p>וְכָל דִּין שֶׁדִּין אָמְתוֹ לְאִמְתוֹ אֶפְלוּ שְׁעָה אַחַת כְּאִלוֹ תִקַּן אֶת כָּל הָעוֹלָם כְּלוֹ גִּוְרָם לְשִׁכְנָה שְׁתִּשְׂרָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁנֶאֱמַר (תהילים פב:א) אֱלֹקִים נֹצֵב בְּעֵדוּת אֵל</p> <p>Every judge who judges truth unto its [deepest] truth, even for one hour, it's as if one fixed the whole world entirely / <i>tikein et kol ha'olam kulo</i> and caused the <i>Shekhinah</i> (divine presence) to rest upon Israel, as it is said (Ps. 82:1), “God stands in the council of the divine.”</p>
<p>Phil Justice</p>	<p>9. Rambam, <i>Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot M'lakhim 3:10</i> [יא] רמב"ם, משנה תורה, הלכות מלכים ג:יא</p> <p>כל הורגי נפשות שלא בראיה ברורה או בלי התראה אפילו בעד אחד... יש למלך רשות להרגו ולתקן העולם כפי שהשעה צריכה</p> <p>Any who kill people without being clearly seen or without [being given] warning even with one witness... [since there isn't enough evidence for them to be found guilty by a court,] the king has authority to execute them and to [thereby] fix the world / <i>l'takein ha'olam</i>, according to what the hour needs.</p>
<p>Phil Eschat Idolatry Peace Human Unity</p>	<p>10. Rambam, <i>Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot M'lakhim 11:4</i> רמב"ם, משנה תורה, הלכות מלכים יא:ד</p> <p>וְאִם יֵעָמֵד מֶלֶךְ מִבְּיַת דָּוִד . . . וְיִלְחָם מִלְחָמוֹת ה', הָרִי זֶה בְּתוֹנֶקֶת שֶׁהוּא מְשִׁים. אִם עָשָׂה וְהִצְלִים וּבָנָה מִקְדָּשׁ בְּמִקְוָמוֹ וְקִבֵּץ נְדָחֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הָרִי זֶה מְשִׁים בְּנֻדָּא. וְיִתְקַן אֶת הָעוֹלָם כְּלוֹ לְעֵבֵד אֶת ה' בְּיַחַד שְׁנֶאֱמַר (צפ' ג:ט) כִּי אֵין אֶהְפֹּךְ אֵל עַמִּים שְׂפָה בְּרוּרָה לְקִרְאָה כָּלֵם בְּשֵׁם ה' וְלַעֲבֹדוֹ שְׂכֵם אֶחָד</p> <p>If a king will arise . . . [a]nd if he waged [wars] and succeeded and built the Holy Temple...and gathered the dispersed of Israel, behold this is certainly <i>Mashiach</i>. And he will reform the whole world / <i>y'takein et ha'olam kulo</i> to serve <i>Hashem</i> together, as it is said (Zeph. 3:9), “For then I will turn over to [all] peoples a pure speech for all of them to call out in the name of <i>Hashem</i> and to serve the One [as with] one shoulder.”</p>

<p>Phil Stumbl Order-Soc Weapon</p>	<p>11. Sefer Hachinukh (13th cent., Spain), §232 (240) (מ"מ) ספר החינוך (מאה 13, ספרד), רל"ב (ר"מ)</p> <p>רל"ב: שלא להכשיל תם בדרך . . . שנאמר: וְלִפְנֵי עֵצֶר לֹא תִתֵּן מִקְשָׁל (ויקרא יט:יד) . . . שורש המצוה ידוע, כי תיקון העולם ויישובו הוא להדריך בני אדם ולתת להם בכל מעשיהם עצה טובה . . . וכן מה שאמרו זכרונם לברכה (עבודה זרה טו): שאסור למכור כל כלי מלחמה וכל דבר שיש בו נזק לרבים לגוים, אלא אם כן מוכרן כי היכי דמגנו עלן, וכן אסור למוכרו לישראל המוכרו לגוי, וכן לישראל ליסטים, ואסרו הכל משום ולפני עור.</p> <p>Commandment #232: To not cause a naive/unaware person to stumble on the road — as it is said (Lev. 19:14), “And before a blind person don’t place a stumbling block” . . . The root of the <i>mitzvah</i> is known, for [the way of] setting right the world and settling it / <i>tikkun ha’olam v’yishuvo</i> is to guide people and to give them in all their actions good advice . . . and so did [the sages] say (<i>Talmud Avodah Zarah</i> 15b), that it is forbidden to sell weapons (instruments of war) or anything that has in it [the capacity to] harm many to non-Jews, except if it is to sell them so that they can defend us, and so too is it forbidden to sell them to a Jew who sells to non-Jews, or to Jewish criminals, and all of it is forbidden because of the command “before a blind person [don’t place a stumbling block].”</p>
<p>Phil Order-Soc Love</p>	<p>12. Yonah Gerondi (“Rabbenu Yonah”, 1200–1263, Spain), commentary on Pirkei Avot 5:10 רבינו יונה גרונוני, פירוש על פרקי אבות ה:י</p> <p>שלי שלך ושלך שלי עם הארץ. מפני שזה רוצה בתיקון העולם נקרא עם הארץ שרוצה ליקח וליתן כי בזה מתרבה האהבה ביניהם. ואף שהיא מדה טובה לתיקון העולם לא מחכמה היא זאת כי שונא מתנות יהיה והמדה הטובה ליתן ושלא ליקח</p> <p>“[There are four types of people. . . . One who says,] ‘What’s mine is yours and what’s yours is mine’ [is] a ‘people of the land’ / <i>am ha’aretz</i> (= an ignorant peasant)” (<i>Pirkei Avot</i> 5:10) — Because this one wants the betterment of the world / <i>tikkun ha’olam</i>, he/she is called an <i>am ha’aretz</i> (= one who cares about the people), for [this one] wants [people] to take and to give, because through this the love among them increases. And even though this is a good quality for organizing the world / <i>tikkun ha’olam</i>, it does not come from wisdom, for the one who hates gifts [and doesn’t accept them] is the one who will [truly] thrive, and the best type is [one who wants] to give and not to take.</p>
<p>Kab Order-Soc Inventn Weapon Agricult</p>	<p>13. Sefer HaZohar (The Book of Radiance, 13th cent., Spain), 1:38a ספר הזוהר א:לח</p> <p>אמר רבי יצחק, כל דרין דאשתכללו משת, כלהו צדיקי וחסידים. לבתר אתפשטו ואולידו, ואוליפו אומנותא (וחכמתא) דעלמא לשצאה ברומחין וסייפין, עד דאתא נח ואתקין לון תקונא דעלמא, למפלח ולאתקנא ארעא, דהא בקדמיתא לא הוו זרעין וחצדין, לבתר אצטריכו להאי, דכתיב עוד כל ימי הארץ וגו' (בר' ח:כב). רבי אלעזר אמר, זמין קב"ה לתקנא עלמא, ולאתקנא רוחא בבני נשא בגין דיורכון יומין לעלמין — הדא הוא דיכתיב כי כימי העץ ימי עמי וגו' (ישעיה סה:כב):</p> <p>Said Rabbi Yitzhak: All the generations that developed from Seth (the third son of Adam and Eve), all of them were righteous and pious. Afterward they spread out and bore children, and they learned crafts and wisdom of the world, [how] to finish off [each other] with spears and knives, until Noah came and made for them a reparation of the world / <i>itkin lon tikuna d'alma</i> (= <i>tikkun ha’olam</i>), to farm and to prepare the earth / <i>l’atkanah ar’a</i>, for in early times there was no sowing and reaping, [but] after they needed this, as it’s written (Gen. 8:22), “Unto all the days of the Earth [sowing and reaping and summer and winter. . . won’t stop].”¹⁶ Rabbi Elazar said: The Holy One prepares for fixing the world / <i>l’takana alma</i>, and repairing the spirit / <i>l’atkana rucha</i> of humanity, so that they may extend [their] days forever—that is what’s written (Isaiah 65:22): “For as the days of the tree are the days of my people”.</p>

¹⁶ The idea that Noah invented the tools of agriculture is found in *Midrash Tanchuma (B’reishit 11)*.

Kab Blessing Theurgy Temple	<p style="text-align: right;">ספר הזוהר א:רמד.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">14. Sefer HaZohar, 1:242a</p> <p style="text-align: center;">אתערותא דקרבנא תקונא דעלמא, וברכאן דעלמין כלהו</p> <p>[T]he awakening [caused by] sacrifices is restitution for the world / <i>tikuna d'alma</i> and blessing for all the worlds.</p>
Kab Order-Nat Theurgy Temple	<p style="text-align: right;">יוסף ג'יקטליה, סוד הנחש</p> <p style="text-align: center;">15. Yosef Gikatilla (1248–1305, Spain), Sod Hanachash (The Secret of the Serpent)</p> <p>לפי שהאדם משוכלל בכל הדברים העליונים והתחתונים נתן השם ית' בידו לבוא להיכל הקדש ולצאת לחוץ ולהכניס ולהוציא, אבל צוה אותו והפקידו שישמור לכל יכניס טמאים לפניו ואל יוציא טהורים לחוץ. מכאן תבין כמה הוא כחו של אדם בקיום המצות או בעשות עבירה . . . ואחר שידעת זה דע כי כל הכחות החיצונים הטמאים השוכנים בחוץ ורואים מבחוץ מעלת היכל פנימי . . . משתוקקין ונכספים לידבק באדם, שאינם יכולים לידבק באדם אם לא יעבור עבירה מעין אותו הדבר שהם רוצים . . . שאין להם רשות להכנס אלא על ידי אדם. וזהו סוד ראה נתתי לפניך היום את החיים ואת הטוב ואת המות ואת הרע (דברים ל:טו) ונמצאו כל הטהרות והטומאות דבקות באדם והאדם גורם לתקן עולם או לחורבנו</p> <p>Since the human being is the most perfect over all things above and below, <i>Hashem</i> gave unto [this one's] hand [the capacity] to come into the holy Sanctum (of the Temple) and to leave [it] and to bring in and to bring out, but [God] commanded [them] and charged [them] to guard [oneself], to not bring impurities inside and to not bring purities outside. From here you may understand how much is the power of a human being in keeping the commandments or doing a transgression. . . . [F]or all the impure external powers, the ones dwelling outside, they see the exalted nature of the inner Sanctum. . . . They desire and yearn to cleave to humanity [so they can enter, but] they are not able to cleave to a person until they commit a transgression... And this is the secret of [the verse] “See I have set before you life and the good, and death and the bad” . . . and so the human being [may] cause the world's restoration or its destruction / <i>I'takein olam ul'chorbano</i>.</p>
Kab Theurgy Nation	<p style="text-align: right;">ספר הקנה, ד"ה סוד טהרות וטמאות, פ' צב</p> <p style="text-align: center;">16. Sefer Hakanah (late 14th -15th century, Byzantium)</p> <p>ראה נתתי לפניך את החיים ואת הטוב ואת המות ואת הרע (דברים ל:טו)—נמצא כל הטהרות והטומאות דביקות בישראל וישראל מתקן עולם או מחריב עולם ותבין מדרך אדה"ר שהניחו הקב"ה בג"ע וציוהו שלא יוציא טהורים לחוץ ולא יכניס טמאים בפנים ולא יערב טמאים עם הטהורים לא במעשה ולא בדבור ולא במחשבה לא במאכל ולא במשתה. . . וטימא היכל הפנימי. . . ושמלכות ישראל שהוא כנ"י הנק' מב"ד יושב על כסא ואז מלכות הרשעה נקראת שפחה. . . לכן הזהיר לכם את ישראל לקיים מצות ושלא לעבור עבירות להזיז מלכות ב"ד ממקומה ח"ו ולהעלותה מלכות הרשעה ח"ו וזו להבדיל בין הטמא ובין הטהור</p> <p>“See I have set before you life and the good, and death and the bad” (Deut. 30:15)—all the purities and impurities cleave to Israel, and Israel [can] restore a world or destroy a world / <i>m'takein olam o machriv olam</i>, and you can understand this through <i>Adam Harishon</i>, for [God] put him in Gan Eden and commanded him not to take purities outside, nor to bring in impurities inside, nor to mix impurities with purities, not in deed nor in word nor thought, not with food and not with drink. . . and he made the inner sanctum impure. . . and when the kingdom of Israel, which is <i>K'neset Yisra'el (Shekhinah)</i>, called the kingdom of the House of David, sits on [the] throne, then the wicked kingdom is called “handmaid” [and serves the rightful ruler]. . . therefore [God] warned you all, Israel, to uphold commandments and not transgress transgressions, to cause the kingdom of the House of David to be moved from its place, God forbid, and to raise up the wicked kingdom, God forbid, and this is [what it means] to make a separation between the impure and the pure.</p>

<p>Phil Human Peace Idolatry Unity</p>	<p>17. Hasdai Crescas (1340-1410, Spain), <i>Or Hashem</i> 3:1:8:2</p> <p style="text-align: right;">חסדאי קרשקש, אור ה'</p> <p>רמז על הגאולה העתיד והוא אמרו (תה' קלו:כד) ויפרקנו מצרינו כי היא תהיה גאולה שלמה שוב רמז אל תיקון העולם בכללו להיות כלם שכם אחד לעבוד את י"י להיות כל העמים שפה אחת מושפעים מזיו כבודו ולהיות מאכלי שלחנו</p> <p>[The Psalm] hints at the future redemption, and so they say, “and [the One] will break us free from our narrow straits” (Ps. 136:24), for this will be complete redemption, again pointing toward the universal repair of the world / <i>tikkun ha'olam bik'lalo</i>, to become all of them (all peoples) “serving <i>Hashem</i> [as with] one shoulder” (after Zeph. 3:9), all the peoples being of one speech, receiving the [divine] flux from the radiance of God’s glory and being [all of them] among those eating at [God’s] table.</p>
<p>Phil Eco Nation</p>	<p>18. Yitzhak Arama (1420-1494, Spain), <i>Akeidat Yitzhak</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">יצחק בן משה ערמה, עקדת יצחק, בראשית, שער יח, פירוש יז:א</p> <p>אמר רבי ברכיה... ואעשך (בר' ישאני בוראך בריאה חדשה תהיה פרה ורבה (ב"ר פ' ל"ט) וכבר היה הברית הזאת בקשתו של אברהם אבינו וזרעו אחריו תקון מוסיף על ברית הקשת הנתן לנח על קיום העולם בכללו כמו שהיה ברית הקשת ההוא תקון נוסף על ברית העולם אשר עליו נאמר לנח והקומותי את בריתי אתך כי הוא אשר בו שם גבול לים... ואמר כי כאשר לא ימושו שני החקים והבריתות האלה מלפניו מהיות כל אחד מהם מעמיד ומקיים המכוון ממנו כן יהיה ענין הברית השלישי הזה אשר כרת עמם להיות לו לעם והוא יהיה להם לאלהים קיים לעולם</p> <p>“Said R’ Berakhyah... ‘I will make you’ (Gen. 12:2)—when I create you as a new creation, you will become fruitful (<i>Gen. Rabbah</i> 39)”—and this covenant was already what was sought by Avraham our father by and his seed after him: a <i>tikkun</i> added on top of the [rain]bow covenant given to Noach concerning the universal sustaining of the world / <i>kiyum ha'olam</i>, just as that rainbow covenant was an added <i>tikkun</i> on top of the covenant [with] the world [at its creation], about which it was said to Noach: “And I will uphold My covenant with you” (Gen. 6:18), through which [God] set a boundary for the sea. . . just as these two statutes and covenants will not fade away from you, from being stable and remaining established. . . this third covenant which was cut with them, to be God’s people and for the One to be their God, would be established forever.</p>
<p>Phil Stumbl Love</p>	<p>19. Menachem ben Moshe Habavli (d.1571, Hevron, <i>Eretz Yisrael</i>), <i>Sefer Ta'amei Mitzvot (Book of the Reasons for the Commandments)</i>, §130 (Zholkva 1804, 49a)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">מנחם בן משה הבבלי, ספר טעמי מצות, קל</p> <p>שלא להכשיל תם בעצה שאינה הגונה, שנאמר (ויקרא יט:יד) ולפני עור לא תתן מכשול. טעם מצוה זו, משום (שם יח) ואהבת לרעך כמוך, מאי דסאני לך לחברך כו' (שבת לא), והוא תיקון עולם ויישובו.</p> <p>One shouldn't cause a naive person to falter through advice that isn't sensible, as it says (Lev. 19:14), “before a blind person don't put a stumbling block”. The reason for this mitzvah is “And you will love your neighbor like yourself” (Lev. 19:18) — “what is hateful to you don't do to your friend” (<i>b.Talmud Shabbat</i> 31a), and this [brings about] repairing/establishing the world and settling it / <i>tikkun olam viy'shuvo</i>.</p>
<p>Kab Eschat</p>	<p>20. Menachem Azariah DeFano (1548–1620, Italy), <i>Asarah Ma'amarot (Ten Utterances)</i>, 3:34</p> <p style="text-align: right;">מנחם עזריה מפאנו, עשרה מאמרות, ג:לד</p> <p>והאר"י זצ"ל דרש על קרח פסוק צדיק כתמר יפרח (תהלים צו:יג) שכן שמו רשם בסופי תיבות אלה ללמד שבסוף תקון עולם גם הוא יתקן</p>

	<p>[T]he Ari (Isaac Luria) expounded the verse “A righteous person will flourish like a date palm, <i>tzadik katamar yifrach</i>” (Ps. 96:13) to be about Korach. For so is Korach’s name impressed in [the letters at] the end of these words (ת, ר, ק), to teach that at the end of world rectification / <i>tikkun olam</i>, even he will be fixed / <i>y’takein</i>.</p>
Kab Theurgy	<p>21. Avraham Azulai (1570–1643, Morocco), <i>Chesed L’Avraham (Kindness to Abraham)</i>, 1:24 אברהם אזולאי, ספר חסד לאברהם, מעין א, נהר כד</p> <p>והנה ג' גליות שהיו במציאות זה קשה מזה, הא' הוא גלות מצרים שאז הנשמות הקדושים שהם ע' נפש דישראל לא פגמו כלל ח"ו, ואדרבה השכינה ירדה עמהם לתיקון העולם, וגלותם היה כעין יסורין של אהבה בסוד תקון העולם כנזכר בספר הפרדס בשער השערים</p> <p>Behold, there were three exiles, this one harsher than that. The first was the exile of Egypt, for at that time, the holy souls which were the seventy souls of Israel were not damaged (had not sinned) at all, God forbid! On the contrary, the <i>Shekhinah</i> (divine presence) went down with them to repair the universe / <i>l'tikkun ha'olam</i>, and their exile was of the type [called] “chastisements of love” (and therefore not a punishment), in the secret of repairing the world / <i>b'sod tikkun ha'olam</i>, as is mentioned in the book <i>Pardes Rimonim</i>, in the “Gate of Gates”.¹⁷</p>
Phil Order-Nat Eco Non-Hum	<p>22. Shlomo Marini (d. 1670, Italy), <i>Sefer Tikkun Olam (Repair of the World)</i>, on Isaiah 11:8 (Verona 1650, 38)</p> <p>שלמה מריני, ספר תקון עולם, על ישעיה ס:יח</p> <p>וְגַר נֶאֱבַע עִם כֶּבֶשׂ – כאשר יתקן האדם את מעשיו יתקן הטבע שנשחת בעבורו וישוב על הסד' הראשון שלא יהיו נזוני' בב"ה אלא מן הצמח ולא ירעו ולא ישחיתו לא את האדם ולא את הבעל חי</p> <p>“And wolf will dwell with lamb” (Isa. 11:8) — When humanity will fix its deeds/actions / <i>y'takein et ma'asav</i>, Nature, which became destroyed because of [humanity], will be fixed / <i>y'tukan hateva shenishchat ba'avuro</i>, and it will be restored to its original order, that none would be nourished by [eating] animals but only by plants, “and none will harm and none will destroy”, neither any human being nor any animal.</p>
Phil Human Justice	<p>23. Shlomo Marini, <i>Sefer Tikkun Olam</i>, on Isaiah 60:18 (168)</p> <p>שלמה מריני, ספר תקון עולם, על ישעיה ס:יח</p> <p>לא ישמע עוד חמס בארצך שד ושבר בגבולך וקראת ישועה חומתך ושעריך תהלה (יש' ס:יח), יתוקנו תכונות האנשים וירדפו הצדק והיושר כל אנשי העיר אלו עם אלו וגם מחוצה לה יהיו בטוחים משוד ושבר באופן שישועת ה' ותיקון העולם היא היא חומתך</p> <p>“No more will violence be heard in your land, destruction and shattering in your borders, and you will call salvation your walls, and your gates, praise” (Isa. 60:18) — The character of humanity will be repaired and all the people of the city will pursue justice and uprightness, these with those, and even [when they are] outside the city they will be secure from destruction and cataclysm, in the manner that God’s salvation and the world’s restoration / <i>tikkun ha'olam</i> are “your walls”.</p>

¹⁷ While *Sha'ar* 13, titled “Gate of Gates”, deals extensively with the exile of Egypt, Cordovero does not use the language of *tikkun ha'olam*. Azulai, however, had no trouble seeing that motif in Cordovero’s discussion of the necessity to refine the people and break the power of the *klipot* (divine shards) by means of the Egyptian exile.

Kab Blessing Theurgy	<p>24. Moshe Chaim Luzzatto¹⁸ (1707–1746, Italy), <i>Derekh Hashem (The Way of God) 2, Yisra'el V'umot Ha'olam</i> (“Israel and the Nations”)</p> <p>משה חיים לוצאטו, דרך ה', ח"ב, ישראל ואומות העולם</p> <p>במעשיהם של ישראל תלה האדון ב"ה תיקון כל הבריאה ועילויה . . . ושעבד כביכול את הנהגתו לפעלם להאיר ולהשפיע או ליסתר ולהתעלם ח"ו על פי מעשיהם.</p> <p>Upon the actions of Israel did the Lord blessed be hang the restoration of all Creation / <i>tikkun kol hab'ri'ah</i> and its elevation...and made God's behavior, as it were, consequent upon their work to shine and to make [blessing] flow, or to close off and to be hidden, God forbid, according to their actions.</p>
Kab Theurgy Temple	<p>25. Moshe Chaim Luzzatto, <i>Da'at T'vunot (Knowing Understanding)</i>, §126</p> <p>משה חיים לוצאטו, דעת תבונות, קכ"ו</p> <p>האדם המצווה יש כח בידו, מסור ממנו ית', שיתקן במעשיו התיקונים המצטרכים בבריאה, מה שאינו כן שאינו מצווה. וראיה לדבר הכהונה, שהכהן העובד מתקן כל העולם, וזר שעבד חילל, וחייב מיתה</p> <p>The person who is commanded (by Torah/God) has power in [their] hand, given from the One who is blessed, that [they] may repair with [their] actions the repairs needed by Creation, which is not the case for one who is not commanded. And the proof of the matter is the priesthood, for the priest (<i>kohen</i>) doing service is repairing the whole world / <i>m'takein kol ha'olam</i>, and (yet) the stranger who does service profanes, and is subject to death.</p>
Kab Eschat Anti-Hum	<p>26. Moshe Chaim Luzzatto, <i>Ma'amar Chokhmah</i></p> <p>משה חיים לוצאטו, מאמר החכמה</p> <p>הנה תיקון העולם, הוא שיהיה הטוב שולט והרע נכפה, ובמין האנושי ישראל שולטים ואומות העולם משתעבדים תחתיהם, והנה בהיות הדבר כן הנה טוב לכל</p> <p>The complete repair of the world / <i>Tikkun ha'olam</i> will be when Good rules and Evil is forced down, and in the human species [this is when] Israel rule and the nations of the world are servile under them, and when the state of things is thus, “behold, it is good” for all.</p>
Has Order-Nat Eco	<p>27. Kalonymus Kalman Epstein (1751-1823, Poland), <i>Ma'or Vashemesh¹⁹ (Light and the Sun), Behar, Vay'daber</i> (n.p., 1842, 141a-b)</p> <p>ר' קלונימוס קלמן אפשטיין, מאור ושמש, בהר וידבר, קמא</p> <p>והנה כתיב ויאמר אלהים תדשא הארץ דשא עשב מזריע זרע עץ פרי עושה פרי ותוצא הארץ דשא וכר ועץ עושה פרי ופירש"י שהארץ עברה על הצווי שהקב"ה אמר לה שתוציא עץ פרי עושה פרי שיהיה טעם העץ כטעם הפרי והיא לא הוציאה אלא עץ עושה פרי ושמעתי מהרב הקדוש דק"ק מעזיבוז ש"י שהארץ עשתה עבירה לשמה שהיתה יודעת שהאדם יעבור על ציות המקום ואם יהיה הוא תחילה לחטא לא יהיה לו תקומה ח"ו לכן עברה היא תחילה על הציווי כדי שיהיה לו במה להתנצל</p> <p>[B]ehold, it's written, “And Elohim said: the Earth will grow growth, grass seeding-seed...fruit tree</p>

¹⁸ Luzzato employed the term *tikkun ha'olam* and related terms more frequently than anyone represented here except Avraham Yitzhak Kook. The texts selected represent ideas that he uniquely expressed.

¹⁹ One could argue to exclude this source, since the terminology (“*y'tukan hakol*”) is inexact and *Ma'or Vashemesh* does not use the term *tikkun ha'olam* elsewhere. Besides finding its richness irresistible, I would note that *Ma'or Vashemesh* frequently uses *kiyum ha'olam*, one of the synonyms for *tikkun ha'olam*, with the exact same meaning. See e.g. *Shabbat Shuvah, Shuvah Yisra'el* 4. For those curious about the ecological implications of this source, it is embedded in an explanation of the *Shmitah* year.

	<p>making fruit / <i>eitz p'ri oseh p'ri</i>... and the Earth brought forth growth...and tree making fruit / <i>eitz oseh p'ri</i>" (Gen. 1:11–12), and Rashi explains that [this indicates] the Earth transgressed against the command, for the Holy One said to her that she should bring forth “<i>fruity tree making fruit</i>” – [meaning] that the taste of the tree (wood) would be like the taste of the fruit, but she only brought forth “<i>tree making fruit</i>”. And I heard from the Rav of the holy community of Mezibozh that the Earth committed this sin for a pure purpose /<i>lishmah</i>, for she knew that the <i>adam</i> would [come to] sin against the command of the Place (God), and if they would be first to sin, they would have no <i>t'kumah</i> (capacity to withstand the consequence), God forbid. Therefore, she transgressed first against the command, so that there would be for [human beings] with what to repent/overcome <i>b'mah l'hitnatzeil</i>. . . .</p> <p>ולפי הסברה שכוונתה היה לטובה בזה צריך האדם לשוב בתחילה ולהזכך עצמו ועי"ז תזדכך גם הארץ... אך העיקר תיקון הארץ תלוי באדם כי אף שבדבר זה שינה הארץ תחילה שלא הוציאה עץ פרי מ"מ הוציאה תבואתה בלא חרישה וזריע כמשי"ה ואדם אין לעבוד את האדמה ר"ל שיתפלל על הגשמים בפירש"י ואח"כ שבא אדם והתפלל על הגשמים עלו פירותיה... ואח"כ כשחטא אדם כתיב וקוץ ודדר תצמיח לך והוצרכו לחריש ולזרוע וזה כתיב אחר חטא דור המבול זרע וקציר וכו' אבל קודם החטא אדם הוציאה תבואתה כפי רצון הבורא ב"ה בלא חרישה וזריעה כלל וכן יהיה לעתיד כשיתוקן הכל</p> <p>[A]nd according to the reasoning that her intention was for the good, according to this humanity needs to return first, to purify himself/themselves first, and by this means the Earth will also be purified. . . . [T]he essence is that the repair/<i>tikkun</i> of the Earth is dependent on human beings, for even though in this matter the Earth changed first when she didn't bring forth “<i>eitz-peri</i>” (fruity trees), still she brought forth her produce without plowing or sowing, as scripture says, “there was no <i>adam</i> to serve the ground” – [no <i>adam</i>] to pray for the rains, according to Rashi, and after that, when the human came and prayed, her fruit came up (without plowing or sowing). . . . After that, when the human sinned, it's written “thorn and thistle she will grow for you”, and [the land] would need plowing and sowing. And this [is why] it's written after the sin of the generation of the flood: “sowing and harvest [will not cease]”, but before humanity's sin she brought forth her produce according to the Creator's will, without any plowing or sowing at all. And so it will be in the future, when all will be fixed / <i>y'tukan hakol</i>.</p>
Has Eco	<p>28. Nachman of Breslov (1772–1810, Ukraine), <i>Likutei Moharan (Collected Teachings of Rebbe Nachman)</i>, 1:5</p> <p>נחמן מברסלב, ליקוטי מוהר"ן א:ה</p> <p>נמצא, כשהעולם נברא בשבילי, צריך אני לראות ולעיין בכל עת בתיקון העולם ולמלאות חסרון העולם ולהתפלל בעבורם</p> <p>One finds, since the world is created for my sake, I need to see and look in every moment into repairing the world / <i>b'tikkun ha'olam</i>, and to replenish what the world lacks, and to pray on their behalf.</p>
Phil Human Love Order-Soc Agricult	<p>29. Pinchas Hurwitz (1765–1821, Lithuania), <i>Sefer Habrit</i>²⁰ (<i>Book of the Covenant</i>) 2, <i>Ma'amar 13, Ahavat Rei'im</i> (“On Loving Neighbors”), ch. 1 (Brno 1797)</p> <p>פנחס הורוויץ, ספר הברית, מאמר י"ג אהבת רעים, פ' א</p> <p>מהות אהבת רעים הוא שיהיה האדם אוהב כל מין האנושי יהיה מאיזה עם שיהיה ויהיה מאיזה לשון שיהיה בעבור אדם</p>

²⁰ *Sefer Habrit* was one of the most published and widely read books among religious Jews through the entire modern period.

	<p>בדמותו ובצלמו כמוהו ועוסק בישובו של עולם או בונה או חורש או זורע או סוחר או מוכר או איזה בעל מלאכה או חושב בחכמות ותחבולות יקנה לצרכי העולם וחושב מחשבות לבלתי ידח דבר מצרכי הבריות והוא מכין תבל בחכמתו ואזן וחקר ותקן כלים נפלאים ברעיון לבו שהוא עמל כי על ידי אלה הדברים העולם עומד כתקונו ומתקיים בשלמותו ונמצאים כל הדברים אשר ברא א"להים לעשות ואשר עשה והנה טוב מאד לכל אדם</p> <p>The essence of loving neighbors is that a person would love all humanity, being from whatever people they are from and from whatever language they speak, for each is a person in [God's] image and in [God's] likeness like oneself, and engaged in settling the world or building or plowing or sowing or distributing or selling or whatever kind of craftsperson, or one who figures out how to attain the needs of the world with wise designs and inventions . . . for by means of these things the world is established according to its proper form / <i>ha'olam omeid k'tikuno</i> and is sustained in its wholeness / <i>umitkayeim bishleimuto</i>, and all things [come to] exist "which God created to do" (Gen. 2:3), and which people have done, and "behold it is very good" (Gen. 1:31) for all humanity.</p>
<p>Phil Soc-Justic Love Inventn Agricult Human Unity</p>	<p>30. Pinchas Hurwitz, <i>Sefer Habrit</i>, "On Loving Neighbors", ch. 19</p> <p>פנחס הורוויץ, ספר הברית, מאמר אהבת רעים, פי י"ט</p> <p>נאמר שאחר העיון האמיתי הנדבות שבגוף יותר מפואר יותר משובה מהנדבות שבכיס . . . ואמנם לא בעבור שזה המין יותר מפואר יעזב איש המין הב', כי באמת המין הב' יותר נצרך לתקנת הקהלת של מין האנושי. ויותר טוב בעיני א"להים ואדם להעניק לאביון מברכת ביתו להונן דלים מממונו, להתיר אסורים ונתון פדיון נפשם ולא יהוש את כסף הפדוים, לחמו לרעב יתן וערום יכסה בגד כסף ילוה את עני וכדומה לזה. ועקר תשלום חובת אהבת רעים הוא במין השני הזה אף כי <i>שניהם כאחד טובים</i> לתקנת העולם ולתועלת התחברות מין האדם . . .</p> <p>It is said that after true examination, giving through [using one's] body is more glorious and praiseworthy than giving through the pocketbook. . . . However, just because this type [of giving] is more glorious, a person should not abandon the second type [of giving], for truly the second type is more needed for repairing the community of humanity / <i>l'takanat k'hilat min ha'enoshi</i>. And it's better in the eyes of God and humanity to furnish the poor from the blessings of one's house, to supply the poor from one's own money and to free the captives and give ransom for their lives and not feel [the loss of] the ransom money, to give one's bread to the hungry and to cover the naked with clothing, to loan money to the poor, and things like this. And the essence of fulfilling the obligation of loving one's neighbor is of this second type, even though "both of them as one are good" (Eccl. 11:6) for the fixing of the world / <i>l'takanat ha'olam</i>, and for the purpose of joining together the human species. . . .</p> <p>ועתה נחקורה כמה מעלות יש בשלש אלה מיני ההטבה. ונאמר שבכל אחת מאלה יש שלשה מעלות טובות זו על זו ואלו הן: (א') שעוזר ליחיד . . . (ב') שעושה כזאת לרבים כגון שלא היה בעיר אמת מים . . . והוא בכחו חפר להם באר . . . (ג') שמטיב לכל אנשי העולם כגון שעשה בגופו וכחו גשר על הדרך אשר רבים עוברים שמה מקצות הארץ אלה מפה ואלה מפה, או שהוא היה השוכר את הפועלים לעשות הגשר ושילם מכיסו, או שברוב שכלו המציא איזה כלי חדש הטוב לכל העולם כנח שהמציא כלי המחרישה בעולם וכדומה שאר כלים המשלימים תיקון העולם וטובו</p> <p>And now let us explore how many levels there are in these three kinds of doing good [through ideas, through one's body, and through property], and they are: 1) that one should help a single person. . . . 2) that one should do this for many, for example if there were a town without a source of water. . . and one dug with one's strength a well for them. . . . 3) that one does good for all the people in the world, for example, one used one's body and one's strength to make a bridge for a road that many pass through...or that one would hire workers to make the bridge and pay them from one's pocket, or through the power of one's intellect invent some new tool that is good for the whole world, like</p>

	<p>Noah invented plowing tools in the world, and similarly any tools that make complete the establishment of the world / <i>hamashlimim tikkun ha'olam</i> and its well-being.</p> <p>ומי שהטיב לכל אנשי העולם כגון שהמציא כלי חדש הטוב לעול' או ספר טוב ראוי לכל משכיל על דבר אהבת רעים לכל הפחות שיקנה אותו כדי שירוויח ויאמץ האיש את לבבו עי"ז להמציא עוד כלים טובים בעולם, וכן שאר כל חכמי לב יתאמצו וישתדלו ג"כ להמציא דברים טובים וכלים נצרכים לתקנת העולם ולהשלמתו.</p> <p>And one who does good for the people of the world, such as one who invents a new tool that is good for the world, or a good book, it is appropriate for someone who is enlightened on the subject of loving neighbors that at the least he would buy it in order that [the inventor or author] would expand and strengthen his/her heart by means of this to invent more good tools for the world, and so for the rest of all those who are wise of heart, that they should strengthen themselves and strive also to invent good things and necessary tools for the improvement of the world and its completion / <i>l'takanat ha'olam ul'hashlamato</i>.</p>
<p>Has Order-Soc Order-Nat</p>	<p>31. Pinchas ben David Soshis (1770–1841), <i>Pardes Hamelekh (The King's Orchard)</i> (Buczacz 1907, 107b)</p> <p>פנחס בן דוד, פרדס המלך, קז:</p> <p>...תכלית הבריאה היה בעבור האדם להיות בחיריי להיות לו שכר ועונש. והשכר והעונש אינו מצד ה"בה (הקדוש ברוך הוא) בהיות לו ח"ו תועלת והיזיק במעשה אדם. . . . אלא הוא מצד תיקון העולם ויישובו כי הצדיקים מתקנים העולם במעשיהם והרשעים מאבדים אותו להחזירו לתוהו ובוהו ולמעט השפע.</p> <p>[T]he purpose of Creation was for the sake of the human being to have free choice in order for them to be punished or rewarded. And the reward and the punishment is not from the perspective of the Holy One, God forbid, that there would be some benefit or harm to God from the actions of a person. . . . rather it is from the perspective of fixing the world and settling it / <i>tikkun ha'olam viy'shuvo</i>, for the righteous are restoring the world / <i>m'taknim ha'olam</i> through their actions, and the wicked are destroying it and turning it back into chaos and void, and limiting the flow [of divine abundance].</p>
<p>Mod-Trad Non-Hum</p>	<p>32. Chanokh Zundel ben Yosef (d. 1859), <i>Eitz Yosef (Joseph's Tree)</i> commentary on <i>B'reishit Rabbah 33:3</i></p> <p>חנוך זונדל בן יוסף, עץ יוסף על ב"ר לג:</p> <p>טוב ה' לפל, ורחמיו על כל מעשיו (תה' קמה:ט) — רבי יהושע דסקנ'ן בשם רבי לוי אמר: טוב ה' לפל ומרחמיו הוא נותן לבריותיו (ב"ר לג:) — כל' שמשפיע ממדת רחמיו על בריותיו שגם הם ירחמו זה על זה מפני תיקון העולם</p> <p>“God is good to all and [God's] mercies are upon all [God's] works' (Ps 145:9) — R' Y'hoshua of Sakhnin said in the name of R' Levi; God is good to all and gives from [God's] mercies to [God's] creatures” (<i>B'reishit Rabbah 33:3</i>) — meaning that God causes to flow from [God's] mercies upon all of [God's] creatures,²¹ so that they too will be merciful with each other, for the sake of <i>tikkun ha'olam</i>.</p>
<p>Phil/Kab Order-Soc Soc-Justic Love</p>	<p>33. Natan Friedland (1808–1883, Breslau)²², <i>Kos Y'shu'ot (Cup of Salvation)</i>, <i>D'rush Hadin</i> §14 (Amsterdam 1859, 13)</p> <p>ר' נתן בן יוסף פרידלאנד, כוס ישועות, דרוש הדין י"ד, עמ' יג</p>

²¹ The context in *B'reishit Rabbah* suggests all creatures, though “creatures” in this teaching may only be referring to human beings.

²² Friedland was a co-founder of *Chibat Tziyon*, one of the earliest religious Zionist organizations.

Eschat
Justice
Human
Agricult
Peace
Unity

כה אמר ה' צבאות צום... יהי לבית יהודה לששון ולשמחה... והאמת והשלום אהבו (זכ' ח:ט), כי הימים האלה היתה התחלה להצרות והגלות. ויתוקן הכל ויהפך הימים לששון ושמחה אך אם אשר תעשו זאת "והאמת והשלום אהבו"... כל זה תגרום האמת והשלום אשר בישראל כי מן החיוב שיתנהגו באמת ושלום עם כל אדם בעולם מאיזה עם ומאיזה לשון שיהיה בעבור שהוא כדמותו, ועוסק בישובה של עולם, בונה, חורש, זורע או סוחר או איזה בעל מלאכה או חושב בחכמות ותחבולות שיקנה ברפואות או לשאר צרכי העולם, ואזן וחקר ותקן כלים ומלאכות נפלאות ברעיון לבו שהוא עמל, כי האדם מדיני בטבע וכל אחד נעזר מחבירו ולקיבוץ אחד נחשב, כל אחד ידרוש שלום רעהו.

“Thus said *YHVH* of hosts, the [fast days] will become for the house of Judah joy and gladness... and you, love Truth and Peace” (Zech. 8:19)—for these days were the beginning for the troubles and the exile. And all will be fixed / *y'tukan* and the days will be turned into joy and gladness, only if you will do this, “love truth and peace”. . . . All this will Truth and Peace bring about in Israel, because of [Israel fulfilling] the obligation that they conduct themselves in truth and peace with every person in the world, from whatever people and from whatever language each one may be, since each is [a person] in one’s likeness, and engaged in settling the world: building or plowing or sowing or distributing or whatever kind of craftsperson... for the rest of the needs of the world. . . .²³

וכן נמצא מפורש בתנא דבי אליהו (פ' ט"ו) שאמר אליהו הנביא לאיש יהודי אחד, שמכר לגוי ארבעה כור תמרים ומדד לו בבית אפל רק המחצה ונתן לו, ואמר לו אליהו: בני, כתיב (ויקרא יט:ג) לא תעשוק את רעך רעך הרי הוא כאחך ואחך הרי הוא כריעך

And so one finds explained in *Tanna DeVei Eliyahu* (ch. 15 – text 6), that Eliyahu the prophet said [this] to one Jewish man, who sold four *kor* of dates (= 6 bushels) to a non-Jew and measured out for him in a dark place only half and gave it to him, and Eliyahu said to him: My son, it’s written (Lev. 19:13): “Don’t oppress your neighbor”. Behold your neighbor (non-Jew) is like your brother (Jew), and your brother is like your neighbor.

וריע נקרא המתחבר אתך בקריבות הדעת ובמדות האנושיות, יהיה מי שיהיה—רק שיהיה בכלל אוהבי־אדם וישרי־לב עושים משפט לעשוקים ועוסקים בישובה של עולם לזה אתה מזהה מן התורה על אהבתו והוא רעך כמותך, שגם אתה נוהג במדות המעולות הללו

And neighbor is what the [person] is called who joins themselves with you in nearness of spirit/consciousness and in humanistic values, who will be whomever they will be (i.e. from whatever race or tribe or country or religion)—[the] only [qualification is] that they should be in the category of lovers of humanity and the upright of heart, doing justice for the oppressed and engaging in the settling of the world / *yishuvah shel olam*. For this [reason], you were warned by the Torah concerning loving them, and they are your neighbor like yourself, and you also [must] conduct [yourself] with these exalted qualities.

ועיניי ישיגו כל העולם את האמת, כי השלום יביא את האמת, ויעמדו על האמת לבסוף, ויתוקן העולם בכללה לעבדו שכמ אהד (צפ' ג:ט) את ד' א"לֵהי האמת ואז יקוים מה שאמר המשורר (תהלים קמ"ח) הללו את ה' מן הארץ וכו' מלכי ארץ וכל לאומים שרים וכל שופטי ארץ וכו' יהללו את שם ה' כי נשגב שמו לבדו ולא שם אחרים.

And by means of this all the world will reach the truth, for peace brings truth, and they will stand

²³ This passage from *Sefer Hab'rit* (text 29), establishing a clear line of influence from Hurwitz to Friedland, and a direct line of evolution from the much older motif that loving one’s neighbor is an expression of *tikkun olam*, to the broader idea that *tikkun olam* means social justice in its modern sense.

	<p>upon truth in the end, and the world will be prepared in its entirety / <i>y'tukan ha'olam bikh'lalah</i> “to serve [as with] a single shoulder” (Zeph. 3:9) <i>YHVH</i> the God of truth, and thus will be established what the singer said (Ps. 148:7-13): “Praise <i>YHVH</i> from the earth . . . kings of the earth and all the nations, nobles and all earth’s judges . . . Praise the name of <i>YHVH</i>, for the name alone is exalted”, and not the name of others.</p> <p>ועל אותו העת אמר דוד ועתה מלכים השכילו הוטרפו שופטי ארץ (תה' ב:י) - הכוונה השופטים יקבלו מוסר מן העולם וישכילו איך לעשות צדק בעמם ומשפט בגוים וזהו הסדר הנאות אל תיקון העולם היינו בתחלה אהבת ריעות ושלוה ומזה יבוא אל האמת ומזה יבוא אל משפט צדק כי השופטים ימצאו עולם מתוקן ולפי העולם ככה יהיו המשפטים.</p> <p>And concerning that same time David said, “And now kings will become enlightened, and judges of the earth be instructed” (Ps. 2:10)—the intent is that the judges will receive moral instruction / <i>musar</i> from the world and they will become enlightened [as to] how to do righteousness for their people and justice for the nations. And this is the proper/pleasing order for [reaching] the redemption of the world / <i>tikkun ha'olam</i>, which is this: in the beginning, love of neighbor and peace, and from this one will come unto the truth, and from this one will come unto righteous justice, for the judges will find a world mended / <i>olam m'tukan</i>, and according to [the nature of] the world, so will be the laws.</p>
<p>Has Equity Soc-Justic</p>	<p>34. Chaim Yudah Leib Litvin (1840–1903, Ukraine, Lubavitcher), <i>Sha'arei Dei'ah (The Gates of Knowledge)</i>, §57 (Lemberg 1878, 27a)</p> <p>חיים יודה לייב ליטוויץ, שערי דעה ס' נז, טז.</p> <p>וכדאשכחן לענין צדקה סלע זו לצדקה על מנת שיחיה בני הרי זה צדיק גמור... אף על גב דבעלמא בכהאי גוונא עובר על לא תעשה דלא תנסין את ד'... דמשום תקנות עניים לא הקפידה התורה על הכונה בזה... והכי נמי בכל מצות שבין אדם לחבירו שעיקרן מפני תקנות העולם ורצה יתברך להטיב בזה לבריותיו לא אכפת לן בהכונה כלל</p> <p>We find in the matter of charity/<i>tzedakah</i> [that if one says,] “This <i>sela</i> coin is for <i>tzedakah</i> on the condition that my child will live,” behold this [person can still be considered] a completely righteous person / <i>tzadik gamor</i>— . . . even though in general, [acting] in this manner would transgress a prohibition, that you shouldn't test <i>YHVH</i>... because [in order to strengthen] enactments/<i>takanot</i> [on behalf] of the poor, the Torah is not meticulous about the intention with [respect to <i>tzedakah</i>], and this is also [true] for all the commandments between a person and their fellow human being, for their essence is because of setting aright the world / <i>mipnei takanot ha'olam</i>. And [since] the Blessed One wants through this to benefit [God's] creatures, we are not concerned with intention at all.</p>
<p>Mod-Trad Human Weapon Nation Peace</p>	<p>35. Aharon Shmuel Tamares (1869–1931, Poland), <i>K'neset Yisra'el Umilchamot Hagoyim (The Community of Israel and the Wars of the Nations)</i>, ch. 5, §4; ch. 6, §§7, 11, 14 (Warsaw 1920, 61, 69, 75)</p> <p>אהרן שמואל תמרת, כנסת ישראל ומלחמות הגוים, פ' ה:ד, פ' ו:ז, יא, יד</p> <p>האדונים "משוללי הגלות" הרואים "חרות" ו"הכרה-עצמית" אך אצל הגוים – מחליפים איפא גאווה ויהירות בחרות... חרות – אל נחלת האומה הגלותית-תורתית הנה. והחרות הן היא... אחד מהגורמים העיקריים לבטול נפנופי החרב... ונפנוף החרב במלחמות ה"ממלכיות". . . כי אומתינו, האומה הגלותית-תורתית, נושאת בחובה זרעוני אידיאלי הנביאים של לא ישא גוי אל גוי חרב (יש' ב:ד)... הלאומיות גופא... שנשענה על הממלכה והטיריטוריה, לאומיות בלי תורה, לאומיות לשם לאומיות — אינה כדאה כלל... תכריז לפניהם... הכירה את מצב התגוררותה בארצות נכריות בלי מדינה וממלכה למצב טבעי קבוע וקים בעד השתלמות צורתה והתפתחות תעודתה... למטרת גידול אומת ישראלית גלותית, גידול פירוש חי לתורה, הדבר להפך: יש נחיצות בגלות עצמה בהתבדלות וההתרחקות מאת הגוים. למען תעודתו הכלל-עולמית (כלומר למען תקון העולם) צריך איפא ישראל להבדל מן העולם</p>

	<p>The [Zionist] lords of “negating the Exile” see “freedom” and “self-awareness/self-possession” only in the non-Jewish nations—they confuse pride and arrogance with freedom²⁴...Freedom is the inheritance of the people who [is living in] Torah-led exile . . . and this freedom . . . is one of the essential [factors] that will cause the eradication of sword-brandishing . . . and [especially] brandishing the sword in nationalistic wars...For our people, the people of Torah-led exile, must carry the seeds of the ideals of the prophets, that “Nation will not raise sword against nation” (Isa. 2:4). . . . Nationalism itself, dependent on a government and territory, nationalism without Torah, nationalism for the sake of nationalism, is not worthy. . . . [Let Israel] proclaim before [the nations] . . . [that] she recognizes the condition of her wandering in foreign nations without nation-state or government to be a set, established, natural condition for the fulfillment of her purpose and the development of her witness/mission/<i>t’udah</i>. . . . To [serve] the goal of growth of the exiled Israelite nation, the growth of its being a living commentary on the Torah, the matter is the opposite [from the goals of nationalism]: the imperative of the exile itself is to be separate and keep distant from the non-Jewish nations (i.e., from nationalism). For the sake of its universal mission — meaning for the sake of <i>tikkun ha’olam</i> — [the people] Israel needs to [stay] separated from the world!</p>
Mod-Trad Nation Inventn	<p>36. Ben Zion Eisenstadt (1873–1951, Belarus, United States), <i>Or Lifnei Hadorshin (Light before the Seekers)</i> (New York 1916, 10)</p> <p>בְּרִצְיוֹן אֵיזֶנְשְׁטַאדְט, אור לפני הדורשין, עמ' י' וישב יצחק ויחפר את־בארות המים אשר חפרו בימי אברהם אביו ויסתמום פלשתים (ברי' כו:יח) – יצחק חופר וממציא, מתקן עולם, משתדל בקיומו, והפלשתים סותמים את הבארות, משתדלים בהרבנו של העולם ובהפסדו. “Isaac returned and dug the wells of water...and the Philistines had stopped them up” (Gen. 26:18) — Isaac digs and brings forth (invents/develops), improves the world / <i>m'takein olam</i>, strives for its continuance, and the Philistines stop up the wells, strive for the destruction of the world and its depletion.</p>
Has/Kab Order-Soc Nation	<p>37. Avraham Yitzhak Hakohen Kook (1865–1935, Jerusalem)²⁵, <i>Orot Hakodesh (Lights of Holiness)</i>, v.3, 180 (also <i>Sh'moneh K'vatzim</i> 1:668)</p> <p>אברהם יצחק הכהן קוק, אורות הקודש, חלק ג, עמ' קפ (וגם שמונה קבצים א' תרסח) כל מחשבה שהיא מפקרת את תיקון העולם וסדרי המדינות ופורחת באוויר רוחני לבדה, ומתפארת בתיקון נשמות והצלחתן, הרי היא מיוסדת בשקר שאין לו רגלים Any idea that abandons restoration of the world and the ordering of States / <i>tikkun ha'olam v'sidrei ham'dinot</i>, and floats in the spiritual air alone, and takes glory in [the power of] fixing souls and their success [only], is founded upon a lie that has no legs [to stand on].</p>
Has/Kab Order-Nat Eco Eschat Nation Human	<p>38. Avraham Yitzhak Hakohen Kook, <i>Orot Hatechiyah (The Lights of Resurrection)</i>, ch. 28 (also <i>Sh'moneh K'vatzim</i> 2:326-7)</p> <p>קוק, אורות התחיה פ' כח, (וגם שמונה קבצים ב' שכו-שכז) הקדושה שבטבע היא קדושת ארץ ישראל, והשכינה שירדה בגלות עם ישראל הוא הכשרון להעמיד קדושה בנגוד לטבע.</p>

²⁴ Tamares was earlier a religious Zionist, but he became disillusioned with the movement. He was particularly incensed by the idea that the European countries would “atone” for their treatment of the Jews by giving them land belonging to other peoples, which they had no right to relinquish. See Tamares’s autobiography, published along with a full translation of the above-quoted work (2020, 22–28). This translation was invaluable in my preparation of this source.

²⁵ Rav Kook was the Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Palestine from 1921-1935. He may be the most prolific expositor of *tikkun olam* in Jewish thought; I found some sixty significant passages on the subject in his writings.

Peace	<p>אבל הקדושה הלוחמת נגד הטבע אינה קדושה שלמה, צריכה היא להיות בלועה בתמציתה העליונה בקדושה העליונה, שהיא הקדושה שבטבע עצמה, שהוא יסוד תקון עולם כולו וביסומו הגמור, והקודש שבגולה יחובר אל קודש הארץ... אז המלחמה חודלת לגמרי, מדת הדין מתבסמת, והכל נוטה כלפי חסד.</p> <p>The holiness that is in Nature is the holiness of the Land of Israel, [while] the <i>Shekhinah</i> (divine presence) that descended into exile with [the people] Israel [has] the capability of preserving holiness [even] in opposition to what is natural. But holiness battling against Nature is not holiness [that is] whole — it needs to be absorbed into its highest essence, in supernal holiness, which is the very holiness of Nature herself, which is the foundation of repairing the world in its entirety / <i>tikkun olam kulo</i> and its complete rapture, and [then] the Holy in the exile will be joined to the Holy of the Land... Then war will stop completely, the attribute of judgment will be enraptured, and all will incline toward lovingkindness.²⁶</p>
Has/Kab Nation Human Peace	<p>39. Avraham Yitzhak Hakohen Kook, <i>Eyn Ayeh on B'rakhot 9, §290</i> (also <i>Olat Ra'ayah</i>, 1, 386) קוק, עין איה על ברכות ט, רצ (וגם עולת ראייה חלק א', עמ' שפו)</p> <p>התכלית הלאומית של ישראל... מצוינת בתקוה לעצמה לא בשביל עצמה, כי אם בשביל הטוב הכללי שהוא חן השכל הטוב, המוסר והיושר האמיתי, שאי-אפשר שיבנה כי אם על ידי תיקון עולם במלכות שדי... אמנם כל העמים, לכל אחד מהם יש מטרה ותעודה המצטרפת בתור מקצע מיוחד הנצרך לתיקון העולם... אמנם הדבר המיוחד בחכמת ישראל, חכמת התורה, הוא להשכיל איך כל עבודת העמים כולם בשדי החכמה מתכנסת למקום אחד לדעת ד', ולישר דרכים במעגלי צדק כלליים, שגורמים להביא שלום בעולם...</p> <p>The national purpose of Israel... is distinguished by its hope for itself not being for the sake of itself—rather, it's for the sake of the general enlightened good, which is the goodness of morality and true uprightness, which is impossible to build except through establishment of a world under the reign of the Almighty/All-nourishing / <i>tikkun olam b' malkhut Shaddai</i>. . . . However, all the nations, for each one of them there is a purpose and aim that joins itself [to this purpose] as a unique expertise that is needed for repair of the world / <i>l'tikkun ha'olam</i>. . . . However, the unique thing about the wisdom of Israel, the wisdom of the Torah, is that it brings enlightenment [about] how all the work of the peoples in the fields of wisdom converges to one place, to knowing God, and to making straight paths through the general tracks of righteousness, which will cause peace to come into the world...</p>
Kab Equity Soc-Justic	<p>40. Yehudah Ashlag (1885–1954, Jerusalem)²⁷, “Building the Future Society” יהודה אשלג, בנין החברה העתידית</p> <p>אין לתקן את העולם בעניני הדת מטרם שמבטיחים לעולם את התיקון הכלכלי.</p> <p>It is not possible to repair the world / <i>l'takein et ha'olam</i> in religious matters before securing for the world economic reparation / <i>hatikkun hakalkali</i>.</p>
Kab Human	<p>41. Yehudah Ashlag, <i>Shalom ba'olam</i> (“Peace in the World”) (I) יהודה אשלג, השלום בעולם</p> <p>כל דבר שישנו במציאות, הן טוב והן רע, ואפילו היותר רע ומזיק שבעולם, יש לו זכות קיום, ואסור להשחיתו ולבערו כליל מן העולם — אלא שמוטל עלינו רק לתקנו, ולהביאו למוטב...</p> <p>Everything there is in reality, whether good or bad, and even the most evil and harmful in the world, has a right/merit of existing, and it's forbidden to destroy and eradicate it from the world completely.</p>

²⁶ Glazer (2014, 440) was consulted in preparing this text.

²⁷ Rav Ashlag is known as *Ba'al Hasulam*, after the title of his complete translation and commentary on the *Zohar*.

	<p>Rather, what is laid upon us is only to mend it // <i>l'takno</i> and bring it to [the side of] goodness...</p> <p>ומכאן המפתח להבנת החולשה של מתקני עולם שקמו בדורותיהם. כי הם ראו את האדם בדמות מכונה שאינה פועלת כראוי, וצריכה תיקון. דהיינו, להסיר ממנה את החלקים המקולקלים, ולהחליפם באחרים מתוקנים. כי כן כל מגמתם של מתקני עולם הללו לבער כל רע וכל מזיק שבמין האדם — ואמת היא שלולא הבורא ית' עמד לנגדם, ודאי שהיו כבר מספיקים מזמן לנפות את האדם כבכברה, ולהותיר בו רק טוב ומועיל בלבד. אלא, מתוך שהבורא ית' שומר על כל הפרטים שבבריאה שלו בהקפדה יתרה... אינו מרשה למישהו להשחית שום דבר שברשותו - אלא רק להחזירו ולהפכו למוטב בלבד...</p> <p>And this is the key to an understanding of the incapacity of [so-called] world-reformers/ <i>m'taknei olam</i> that arose through the generations. For they saw a human being in the image of a machine that is not working properly and needs repair/<i>tikun</i>. This means, to remove the corrupted parts and replace them with others that are fixed/<i>m'tukanim</i>. And that is the whole tendency of these world-reformers — to eradicate anything bad and harmful in the human species — and the truth is were it not that the Creator was standing against them, they would certainly have already had enough time to sift humanity like a sieve, and to leave only [what is] good and useful. But because the Creator watches over all the elements in [the divine] Creation with such great care . . . no allowance is made for anyone to destroy a single thing in [God's] Domain—but only to turn it and transform it to be good.</p>
<p>Kab Order-Soc Equity</p>	<p>42. Yehudah Ashlag, <i>Shalom ba'olam</i> (“Peace in the World”) (II) יהודה אשלג, השלום בעולם</p> <p>הרי שמדות טובות ומדות רעות, מעשים טובים ומעשים רעים, נערכים רק כלפי טובת הציבור... והאמור עד כה אינו אלא להראות את נקודת התורפה, כלומר, המקום התובע את תיקונו, והוא שכל יחיד יבין שטובתו וטובת הציבור אחד הוא ובזה יבוא העולם על תיקונו המלא.</p> <p>Indeed, good attributes and bad attributes, good deeds and bad deeds, are valued only according to the good of the community. . . . And what has been spoken about up to here is only to show the point of weakness, that is, the place requiring correction/<i>tikuno</i>, and [the correction] is that each individual would understand that their own good and the good of the community are one, and through this the world will come to its full correction / <i>yavo ha'olam al tikuno hamalei</i>.</p>
<p>Mod-Lib Order-Soc Human Peace</p>	<p>43. Kaufman Kohler (1843–1926, Germany, United States), <i>Jewish Theology: Systematically and Historically Considered</i> (New York 1918, 365)</p> <p>Every achievement of the Jewish people, every attainment in power, knowledge, or skill, must lead toward <i>the completion of the divine kingdom of truth and justice</i>; that for which the Jew laid the foundation at the beginning of his [<i>sic</i>] history is still leading forward the entire social life of man to render it a divine household of love and peace.</p>
<p>Mod-Lib Order-Soc Equity Human Peace</p>	<p>44. Mordecai Kaplan, (1881-1993, Lithuania, United States) <i>The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion</i> (New York 1937, 124)</p> <p>We cannot consider ourselves servants of the Divine King unless we take upon ourselves the task “<i>to perfect the World under the Kingdom of the Almighty.</i>” We must strive to reconstruct the social order in ways that would give evidence of our allegiance to the creative spirit of human life, that spirit which makes for personal self-realization and social communion. . . . We should not give up hope of achieving an adequately representative government integrally related to a righteous economic order and to an internationalism without which there can never be universal peace.</p>

Appendix: Diverse meanings of *tikkun* and *tikkun olam*.

There are many meanings and possible translations for *tikkun olam* and for the term *tikkun* in its own. Here is a listing of many of those meanings and translations, some appearing in the texts above, as well as synonyms found in these texts.

- *Tikkun/l'takein* תיקון | לתקן can be translated as: to arrange, establish, fix, mend, repair, heal, reinforce, restore, prepare, perfect, set up, set right, order, ordain, invent, make, rectify, improve, reform, organize, accomplish, complete, make whole, straighten, dress, adorn, dress up, build; embodiment, structure, infrastructure, preparation, unification, establishment, remedy, reparation, correction, betterment, restitution, restoration, rectification (and this list is not exhaustive). While I usually translate concordantly (using the same root in English for the same root in Hebrew), I have taken the opportunity in these translations to demonstrate *tikkun*'s breadth of meaning by using an array of these terms.
- *Tikkun/l'takein* is associated with *t'shuvah* (repentance), *yichudim* (unifications), *tohav* and *hatavah* (goodness or benefit), *sh'leymut* (wholeness), *l'hashlim* (to make whole), *l'heitiv* (to do good for), *l'takein* תיקון with a *kaf* (to establish, to balance, to measure), and with activities such as plowing, pruning, circumcision, adornment, cooking, praying, mending, performing a *mitzvah* (commandment), making tools and vessels (*keilim*).
- *Tikkun/l'takein* can mean the opposite of: evil, disorder, chaos, crookedness, to ruin, distort, twist, sin.
- *Tikkun ha'olam*, *tikuno shel olam v'yishuvo*, *takanat ha'olam*, and *tikkun olam* are all interchangeable terminologies. Other terms that function as synonyms for *tikkun ha'olam* include: *yishuv ha'olam*, *kiyum ha'olam*, and *hashlamat ha'olam*.
- Terminology using the word *tikkun* that is closely related to or synonymous with the understanding *tikkun ha'olam* as final redemption or as the completion of the natural world/Creation includes: *tikkun k'lali* (in some cases), *tikkun haklal*, *g'mar hatikun*, *hatikkun hashalem*, *hashlamat hatikun*, *takhlit hatikun*, *tikkun hateva*, *tikkun hab'riyah*, *tikkun ma'aseh v'reishit*, *tikkun hakol*.
- Terminology using the word *tikkun* that is closely related to or associated with the understanding of *tikkun ha'olam* as the repair of society or the proper ordering of society includes: *tikkun m'dini*, *tikkun ham'dinah*, *tikkun hakibutz ham'dini*, *tikkun seder ham'dinah*, *tikkun hachevrah*, *tikkun chevratit*, *tikkun ha'adam*, *tikkun min* (מין) *ha'adam*.

Selected Bibliography of secondary sources.

This brief bibliography is drawn from dozens of articles and works about *tikkun olam* and its evolution and meaning — the vast majority of other articles are referenced in one or more of these resources. Whichever articles one refers to, there are texts included above that may contradict one or more of their conclusions.

Berkowitz, A. 2014. "Tikkun Olam as Text and Context". In *Tikkun Olam: Judaism, Humanism & Transcendence*, eds. D. Birnbaum and M. Cohen (New York: Mesorah Matrix, 2014), 453–474. This whole book is online at www.mesorahmatrix.com/tikkun-olam/.

Fine, L. 1989. "Tikkun: A Lurianic Motif in Contemporary Jewish Thought". In *From Ancient Israel to Modern Judaism IV*, eds. J. Neusner, E. S. Frerichs, and N. M. Sarna, 35–53. Fine's work was the first effort to identify some of the sources of *tikkun olam* in America, and the first to explore the question of Lurianic influence on the contemporary concept of *tikkun olam*.

First, M. 2011. "Aleinu: Obligation to Fix the World or the Text?" in *Hakirah* 11 (2011) 187–197, online at www.hakirah.org/vol%2011%20first.pdf. First marshals evidence that תיקון may have appeared in the *Aleinu* prayer only after the classical period of rabbinic literature.

- Glazer, A. 2014. "Tikkun Olam as Messianism: Macrocosmic Restoration through Microcosmic Piety in Rav Kook". In *Tikkun Olam: Judaism, Humanism & Transcendence*, eds. D. Birnbaum and M. Cohen (New York: Mesorah Matrix), 433–451, www.mesorahmatrix.com/tikkun-olam/.
- Jacobs, J. 2007. "A History of *Tikkun Olam*," in *Zeek* (June 2007), online at www.zeek.net/706tohu. Jacobs's work starts with the periodization of four completely different meanings of *tikkun olam* that is accepted by most scholars (i.e., *Mishnah*, *Aleinu*, Luria, liberal Judaism), and then suggests a way to integrate them.
- Krasner, J. 2014. "The Place of *Tikkun Olam* in American Jewish Life" (Jewish Center for Public Affairs, Nov. 1, 2014), online at jcpa.org/article/place-tikkun-olam-american-jewish-life/. Krasner is one of the few to identify Rav Kook and Zionist thought as an important source for *tikkun olam*. (See also Glazer.)
- Sacks, J. 2005. *To Heal a Fractured World: The Ethics of Responsibility* (New York: Random House). Sacks was the chief rabbi of Great Britain from 1991 to 2013.

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- Kaplan, M. 2002. *Communings of the Spirit, Volume I*. Ed. Mel Scult, Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Tamares, A. 2020. *A Passionate Pacifist: Essential Writings of Aaron Samuel Tamares*. Ed. & trans. Everett Gendler (Teaneck NJ: Ben Yehuda Press).

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