BETWEEN PHILOSOPHY AND MYSTICISM:

A STUDY OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL-QABBALISTIC WRITINGS OF

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ABSTRACT

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Joseph Giqatila is known to students of Jewish mysticism primarily as the author of several important theosophical qabbalistic works, most of which he composed in the 1280s and 1290s. But during the seventies of the thirteenth century he wrote several theological treatises in which the fundamental theosophical qabbalistic doctrine of the sefirotic pleroma is entirely absent. Instead, the theology of these early writings is rooted in a system which combines certain ontological principles of creation derived from Sefer Yezirah with metaphysical elements drawn from Maimonides as well as various Jewish Neoplatonic thinkers. Giqatila, nonetheless, refers to his early, non-sefirotic works as "qabbalah," and also mentions the existence of a group of like-minded Jewish mystics ("ba^{c}ale ha-qabbalah"). An examination of the early, non-theosophical writings of Abraham Abulafia, Moshe de Leon, and Sefer Maftehot Ha-Qabbalah of Barukh Togarmi indicates that these four mystics constituted a distinct school or circle of Spanish qabbalah.

Giqatila's magnum opus of his early mystical period

is <u>Ginnat 'Egoz</u> (1273-74). In this treatise, Giqatila advances an original thesis which explains the origins of the universe through a principle of cosmological emanation called <u>hamshakhah</u>. Giqatila used this principle to show how the entire universe, in its formative, ontological stage, emanated from the letters of the Divine Name (<u>YHWH</u>). This theory is based on <u>Sefer Yezirah</u> which states that the physical universe is ontologically constituted from letters and numbers. In large measure, Giqatila wrote <u>Ginnat 'Egoz</u> as a commentary on <u>Sefer Yezirah</u> and tried to integrate many of his rational ideas and his notion of <u>hamshakhah</u> into the creation theory of <u>Sefer Yezirah</u>.

Giqatila borrowed the term <u>hamshakhah</u> from the Gerona (theosophical) qabbalistic school and, most likely, from Jacob ben Sheshet. But in contrast to these theosophical qabbalists, Giqatila maintained that the letters of the Divine Name from which the universe emanated were created in time. It is in this sense that Giqatila "de-theosophized" the term <u>hamshakhah</u>. He was thereby able to combine a largely Maimonidean metaphysics regarding the transcendental nature of God with a Neoplatonic qabbalistic metaphysics regarding the origins of the phenomenal world. Giqatila may have "de-theosophized" other qabbalistic terms but there is no evidence that he wrote <u>Ginnat 'Egoz</u> with the intent of polemicizing against theosophical Jewish mysticism.

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TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

The following Table of Transliteration has been used consistently in this dissertation, except in cases of certain common transliterations and when citing authors or journals using other systems of transliterations.

A. <u>Consonants</u>   B. <u>Vowels</u>

א	ʾ
ב	b
ב	v
גּ ג	g
הּ ד	d
ה	h
ו	w
ז	z
ח	ḥ
ט	ṭ
י	y
כ	k
כ	kh
ל	l

A. <u>Consonants</u> ctd.   B. <u>Vowels</u> ctd.

   מ m

   נ n

   ס s

   ע

   פ p

   פ f

   צ ẓ

   ק q

   ש sh

   ש s

   ת ת t

C. <u>Special Situations</u>

dagesh forte	doubled except for digraphs and after prefixes
prefix	hyphenated: <u>ha-sefer</u>
capitalization	first word of title and proper names

ABBREVIATIONS

b.   ben or bar (son)

B.   Babylonian (Talmud)

GE   Ginnat 'Egoz

GM   Isaac ibn Latif, Ginze Melekh

KS   Kiryath Sepher, Quarterly Bibliographical Review

M.   Mishnah

MDN   Jacob b. Sheshet, Meshiv Devarim Nekhohim

MGWJ   Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des
            Judenthums

MQ   Barukh Togarmi, Maftehot Ha-Qabbalah

OZ   Moshe de Leon, 'Or Zaru^{c}ah

PH   Perush ^{c}al Ha-Haggadah

PN   Perush Ha-Niqqud

R.   Rabbi

REJ   Revue des études juives

SHS   Eleazar of Worms, Sefer Ha-Shem

SN   Sefer Ha-Niqqud

SO   Sha^{c}are 'Orah

SSham   Isaac ibn Latif, Sha^{c}ar Ha-Shamayim

SY   Sefer Yezirah

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Joseph Giqatila (1248-c. 1322)[1] is known to students
of Jewish mysticism primarily as the author of several theo-
sophical qabbalistic treatises and compendia, most of which

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[1]Almost nothing is known about Giqatila's life or his
family background and history. Not an uncommon Spanish sur-
name, "Giqatila" (Spanish: Chicatella) means "the small one"
(see below) and could have been adopted by numerous unrelated
families and individuals. Since Giqatila was not of the
priestly class, we can confidently assume that he was not
related to the well-known linguist of the eleventh century,
Moses Ha-Kohen Giqatila. More important, we may discount any
family connection with the thirteenth-century Castilian
Qabbalist Jacob Ha-Kohen (see below, p.12) whom Gershom
Scholem identified with an otherwise unknown Jacob Giqatila
mentioned by the chroniclers Abraham Zacuto and Joseph ibn
Zaddiq. See Scholem, Mada^Ce Ha-Yahadut (Jerusalem, 1927), II,
6. Although Scholem does not reveal his source for this
identification, he most likely based himself on M. Stein-
schneider who had cited a manuscript (MS British Museum 754,
f. 156r) in which Jacob Ha-Kohen is referred to as "ha-qatan"
(= "Giqatila"). See M. Steinschneider, Catalogus Librorum
Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1852-60),
II, col. 1461.
     Immanual Aboab seems to have been the first to note
the Spanish meaning of "giqatila" as the "small one" (Latin:
parvus; Heb.: ha-qatan) in his Nomologia o discursos legales
(Amsterdam, 1629), p. 301. Most nineteenth- and twentieth-
century scholars have followed Aboab. Although Giqatila's
name has appeared in numerous variant spellings, it is cor-
rectly written as גקטילה (English: "Giqatila") as is evident
from an acrostic of one of his poems, Baqqashah. See I.
Gruenwald, "Two Cabbalistic Poems of Joseph Chicatella" [Heb.],
Tarbiz, XXXVI (1966), 79-82. In addition to the acrostic,

he composed in the 1280s and 1290s. These works firmly
established his reputation as a qabbalist of major importance.
The central theme of these writings revolves around the
Neoplatonic emanationist theology that characterizes most
qabbalistic literature: the Deity is conceived of theosophi-
cally as an unfolding of ten divine potencies or emanations
which Jewish mystics have called koḥot, middot, and most
commonly, Sefirot.[2] In his theosophical qabbalistic writings,
Giqatila sets out to demonstrate how the Torah and its pre-
cepts are ultimately, on a mystical level, translucent symbols
of the supernal world of the Sefirot, the sefirotic pleroma.[3]
But Giqatila was not always a theosophical qabbalist. During

Gruenwald noted that S. Abramson had pointed out that poets
with the name "Giqatila" spelled their name גקטילה.   D.
Tamar's rejoiner on this is unconvincing. See his "Bio-
bibliographical Notes On a Few Rabbis, Sabbatians, and Kab-
balists" [Heb.], KS, IIIL (1972), 323.

     On the dates, see Excursus I: "When Did Giqatila
Flourish? The History of the Controversy," below, pp. 140-50.

[2]On the qabbalistic notion of emanation and the doc-
trine of the Sefirot, see Gershom Scholem, Kabbalah (Jerusalem,
1974), pp. 96-116; E. Gottlieb, Studies in the Kabbalistic
Literature [Heb.], ed. J. Hacker (Tel Aviv, 1976); pp. 11-17;
and below, p. 17, nn. 46 and 47.

     In the present study, the term Sefirot is capitalized
only when it refers to the divine, supernal world of the
Godhead. Hence, "Sefirot" (p. 2), but "sefirot"(p. 83).

[3]The sefirotic "pleroma" refers to the realm of divine
"fullness" and designates the supernal world of the ten
Sefirot in qabbalistic literature. G. Scholem adopted this
term from (non-Jewish) Gnostic literature and applied it to
the concept of the Godhead as understood in qabbalah. See G.
Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, 2d ed. (New York,
1964), pp. 44, 73, 202, and 230.

the seventies of the thirteenth century, he wrote several
theological treatises in which the central qabbalistic doc-
trine of the sefirotic _pleroma_ is entirely absent. Instead,
the theology of these early works is rooted in a system which
combines certain ontological principles of creation derived
from _Sefer Yezirah_[4] with metaphysical and theological elements
drawn from Maimonides as well as various Jewish Neoplatonic
thinkers. In light of this combination, we shall refer to
Giqatila's early theological works as the philosophical-
qabbalistic writings.[5] Most important among these writings
is _Ginnat 'Egoz_ (hereafter: _GE_) which he wrote in 1273-74 in
Medinaceli, a small Castilian town of twenty-thirty Jewish
families.[6] In this carefully written treatise, Giqatila

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[4]On _Sefer Yezirah_, see Scholem, _Kabbalah_, pp. 23-30,
as well as the editions cited below, p. 69, n. 19.

[5]See below, pp. 21-29.

[6]_GE_, Preface, 2c: **אמר יוסף הקטן בר׳ אברהם גיקטילה**
הדר בקצה קסטילה במדינת סאלה אשר בקצה הגבול. "בקצה הגבול"
refers to the border between Castile and Aragon. Zunz was
the first to identify **מדינת סאלה** with the town of
Medinaceli. See L. Zunz, "Ueber die in den hebraeisch-
juedischen Schriften vorkommenden hispanischen Ortsnamen,"
Zeitschrift fuer die Wissenschaft des Judenthums (Berlin,
1822), p. 152, _s.v._ **מדינת סאלה.** Zunz explains that most
bibliographers were misled by the Hebrew "_medinat_" which they
understood as "city of" and accordingly sought some Spanish
equivalent of "_salah_," such as Salamanque.
On the size of Medinaceli and its Jewish population,
see F. Baer, _Die Juden im christlichen Spanien_, _erster Teil_:
Urkunden und Regesten, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1929-36), II, 584,
_s.v._, Medinaceli. On the date of _GE_, see below, Excursus I,
p. 149 and Excursus II, p. 152, n. 1.
All citations from _GE_ in this study are taken from

developed and explained the major themes of his theology
which he buttressed through hundreds of Scriptural verses.
To analyze properly the specific problems which these
philosophical-qabbalistic texts pose to the student of Jewish
mysticism, it is first necessary to consider the book(s)
within the context of thirteenth-century Spanish Jewish
mysticism.

Jewish Mysticism in Thirteenth-Century Spain Prior to the Zohar (1280s)

Medieval qabbalah had its literary debut in twelfth-
century France with the appearance of Sefer Ha-Bahir, a
mythically oriented Gnostic work which was the first Jewish
text to conceive of the Deity in terms of Sefirot, which the
author of Sefer Ha-Bahir understood as emanated divine powers
or forces.[7] At the close of the twelfth century and the
beginning of the thirteenth, we find an entire school of
qabbalah headed by Isaac the Blind. Isaac's commentary on

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the first edition (Hanau, 1615) unless otherwise noted and
are cited by folio and column. Since the columns are quite
long, I have indicated in brackets when the citation ap-
pears towards the top [T] or bottom [B] of the column.
E.g., 1c[T] = page 1, column c, top part of the column.

[7]Sefer Ha-Bahir, ed. R. Margulies (Jerusalem, 1950).
See also the German translation by G. Scholem, Das Buch
Bahir (Berlin, 1933). On this work, see G. Scholem,
Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbalah (Berlin, 1962), pp. 29-
174.

Sefer Yezirah was the first to explain this work according to a systematic theory of the Sefirot as emanated divine powers.[8] By the second quarter of the thirteenth century, this intellectual gravity had shifted southward. It is now Catalonia, Aragon and Castile-Leon which make up the geographic setting of an intense mystical literary activity. Some of the most renown Jewish personalities of this period, many the former students of Isaac the Blind, were actively engaged in the study and writing of mysticism. Among them were powerful speculative minds with a penchant for philosophy such as Azriel of Gerona, towering talmudic scholars and communal leaders like Moses Nachmanides, and rabbinic moralists and social reformers such as Jonah Gerondi.[9] These thinkers made

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[8]On Isaac the Blind and his circle, see G. Scholem, Reshit ha-qabbalah (Jerusalem, 1948), pp. 99-126 and idem, Ursprung, pp. 175-323. Scholem edited Isaac's commentary to Sefer Yezirah in the Appendix to his published Hebrew University lectures. See Ha-qabbalah be-Provans, ed. R. Schatz (Jerusalem, 1966), pp. 1-18 (at the end).
   It is important to observe that there were other sources available to the early qabbalists which are no longer extant. It is also important to note that Isaac the Blind makes no mention of Sefer ha-Bahir and it is not certain that this work influenced him.

[9]On Nachmanides, see Y. Baer, History of the Jews in Christian Spain, trans. L. Schoffman (Philadelphia, 1961), I, passim; on Ibn Adret, see I. Epstein, The Responsa of R. Solomon Ben Adreth of Barcelona (1235-1310) (London, 1925). On Jonah Gerondi, see Baer, ibid., chap. vi. Nachmanides, too, was an important social reformer. See ibid. and B. Septimus, "Communal Struggle in Barcelona During the Maimonidean Controversy" [Heb.], Tarbiz, XLII (1973), 389-400. Baer's theory, however, of a causal nexus, or even a correlation, between mysticism and social reform is

use of almost every Jewish literary form to express mystical

ideas. Mystical works appear as full-length commentaries to

the Torah;[10] as commentaries on the talmudic aggadah[11] and

daily liturgy;[12] as midrash;[13] responsa;[14] and as rationale

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unwarranted: There were social reformers who were not mystics
and mystics who were not social reformers. Other attempts of
Bear to relate Jewish mysticism to religious currents in the
thirteenth century have been dismissed by I. Tishby, Mishnat
Ha-Zohar (Jerusalem, 1961), Vol. II, Part III, Sec. 3, passim.

[10]E.g., Baḥya ibn Asher, Be'ur ᶜal Ha-Torah, ed. C.
Chavel, 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1966-68). On this commentary,
see B. Bernstein, Die Schrifterklärung des Bachja B. Asher
. . . (Berlin, 1891) and the exhaustive source analysis of E.
Gottlieb, The Qabbalah in the Writings of R. Baḥya ben Asher
[Heb.] (Jerusalem, 1970). See also the commentary of Ezra
ben Solomon to Canticles in Kitve Ramban, ed. C. Chavel,
2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1962-63), II, 476-518 and the French
translation by G. Vajda, Le Commentaire d'Ezra de Gerona sur
le Cantique des Cantiques (Paris, 1969).

[11]Ezra ben Solomon's commentary to the aggadah is
still in MS (MS Vatican 441). For Azriel's commentary, see
I. Tishby, ed., Persush Ha-Aggadot (Jerusalem, 1945). Also
see the commentary of Todros Abulafia, 'Oẓar Ha-Kavod (Satmir,
1921).

[12]E.g., Azriel's commentary on the daily prayers, on
which see I. Tishby, "The Writings of the Cabalists Rabbi
Ezra and Rabbi Ezriel of Gerona" [Heb.], Sinai, XVI [= N.S.
Vol. VIII] (1945), 159-78, and G. Sed-Rajna, "De quelques
commentaires kabbalistiques sur le rituel dans les manuscrits
de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris," REJ, CXXIV (1965),
307-51.

[13]E.g., the Zohar, ed. R. Margulies, 3 vols.
(Jerusalem, 1956).

[14]E.g., "She'elot u-teshuvot le-R. Moshe de Leon be-
ᶜinyane qabbalah," ed. I. Tishby, Kovez ᶜal yad, N.S., V
(1950), 11-58.

for the Biblical precepts ($\underline{\text{ta}^{\text{c}}\text{ame ha-mizwot}}$).[15] They appear in rambling, pseudepigraphic works[16] as well as in the systematic, expository prose form which characterizes Giqatila's writings. Mysticism also took the form of poetry[17] as well as polemics.[18]

Largely as a result of Gershom Scholem's studies,[19] we now know that this mystical activity was carried on in thirteenth-century Spain by different esoteric circles. Each of these circles is noted for its peculiar literary forms that can be distinguished by vocabulary, central themes and sources. Nonetheless, mutual borrowing and intellectual exchange occurred regularly among these groups. The following

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[15]E.g., Moshe de Leon, Ha-Nefesh Ha-Ḥakhamah (Basle, 1628).

[16]E.g., the writings of the ᶜIyyun circle, on which see below,

[17]According to Scholem, Nachmanides was the first to use poetry as a literary medium for qabbalistic ideas. See Scholem, Reshit ha-qabbalah, pp. 148-49. On Nachmanides' qabbalistic poems, see J. Reifmann in Ha-Carmel, II (1874), 375-84.

[18]E.g., Jacob bar Sheshet's Meshiv Devarim Nikhoḥim, ed. G. Vajda (Jerusalem, 1968, which is a polemic against Samuel ibn Tibbon's views on creation.

[19]See F. Scholem (with B. Yaron), "Bibliography of the Published Writings of Gershom G. Scholem," in E. E. Urbach et al., eds., Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom Scholem (Jerusalem, 1967) [Heb. Sec.], pp. 199-235, and the updated essay of M. Catane, "Bibliography of the Writings of Gershom G. Scholem" [Heb.] (Tel-Aviv, 1977).

overview of these mystical circles provides us with a working

model by which we may also view Giqatila's philosophical-

qabbalistic writings within the context of a larger circle

of mystics.

The most important circle of Jewish mystics flourished

in Gerona (Catalonia) in north-eastern Spain and consisted

largely of former students of Isaac the Blind of Narbonne.

The Gerona circle appears to have been the intellectual nerve-

center of mystical study in Spain and maintained vital lines

of communication with other qabbalistic centers in Aragon,

Castile-Leon as well as Provence.[20] The Gerona circle is the

first in which we find complete mystical works written by

known personalities such as Ezra b. Solomon's and (his younger

contemporary) Azriel's commentaries on the talmudic aggadah.[21]

Other members include Asher b. David, a nephew of Isaac the

Blind, Abraham Hazzan, Jonah Gerondi, Jacob b. Sheshet and

Moses Nachmanides.[22] Nachmanides (c. 1194-1270) is partic-

ularly important in the history of Gerona mysticism because

he founded a school for qabbalistic study. He also transmitted

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[20]On the Gerona school, see Scholem, Reshit ha-
qabbalah, pp. 127-61 and Ursprung, pp. 324-420. On the con-
tact between Gerona mysticism and other qabbalistic centers,
see below, p. 19.

[21]See above, p. 6, n. 11.

[22]On these mystics, see the two references cited
above, n. 20, and Gottlieb, Studies, pp. 565-70.

orally many of his mystical theories to students, some of whom later put these ideas into writing.[23] In addition, Nachmanides' undisputed recognition as a talmudic authority gave his qabbalistic school, and no doubt mystic study in general, a certain legitimacy within the ranks of rabbinic Judaism.[24]

The writings of the Gerona school are characterized by Neoplatonic motifs and vocabulary that are used to explain, among other things, the ten sefirotic emanations. Azriel, who incorporated Neoplatonic motifs into his commentary on the talmudic aggadah, was especially instrumental in introducing abstract, Neoplatonic philosophical vocabulary into Jewish mysticism.[25] Although these mystics were acquainted with a number of Hebrew Neoplatonic sources, such as the writings of Abraham bar Ḥiyya, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Moses ibn Ezra, and Isaac Israeli,[26] Scholem has suggested that the

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[23]On Nachmanides' pupils and their writings as well as the continuation of Gerona qabbalah into the fourteenth century, see Scholem, Kabbalah, pp. 61-62.

[24]Scholem, Kabbalah, p. 50 and Ursprung, pp. 344-47.

[25]Scholem, Ursprung, p. 332.

[26]On Ibn Gabirol, see Scholem, "ᶜIqvotaw shel Gabirol be-qabbalah," Me'asef Sofere 'Erez Yisra'el, ed. A. Kobac (Tel-Aviv, 1940), pp. 160-78; on Moses ibn Ezra, see Scholem, Ursprung, p. 395; on Isaac Israeli, see A. Altmann, "Isaac Israeli's 'Chapter On the Elements,'" Journal of Jewish Studies, VII (1956), 31-57.

Gerona qabbalists--and Azriel in particular--were also sig-
nificantly influenced by Latin Neoplatonic sources which were
in turn influenced by John Scotus Erigena (ninth century).
For example, Azriel's term yater min ha-kol ("that which is
beyond all being"), which indicates the 'En Sof,[27] may be a
Hebrew version of Scotus' term hyperesse. Similarly, the
concept of hashva'ah, the state of indifferentiation in 'En
Sof, may be a translation of Scotus' indistinctus or
indistinctio.[28] Whatever the exact sources, Scholem has
rightly observed that Azriel "platonized the Gnostic elements
of Sefer Ha-Bahir" which had become one of the primary author-
itative texts of thirteenth-century mystics.[29]

In addition to this major school of Gerona mystics,

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[27]'En Sof designates the "Infinite God" and refers to
the hidden realm of the Deity from which the Sefirot emanate.
See Scholem, Kabbalah, pp. 88-105.

[28]Scholem, Ursprung, p. 374, n. 123 and p. 388.
Scholem also suggests (ibid., p. 388, n. 154) that Azriel's
reference to 'En Sof as "'en huz mimmennu" is a translation
of Scotus' "praeter eum nihil est."

[29]Ursprung, p. 332. Another theme of Gerona mysticism
is the theory of cosmic aeons or cycles which is found in
Sefer Ha-Temunah. On this book, see Scholem, Ha-qabbalah
shel Sefer Ha-Temunah ve-shel Abraham Abulafia, ed. J. Ben-
Shlomo (Jerusalem, 1965) and N. Sed, "Le Sefer ha-Temunah et
la doctrine des cycles cosmiques," REJ, CXXVI (1967), 399-
415. Scholem states that this anonymous book was part of
the Gerona circle, and he dates it before 1250. See Ursprung,
p. 408. E. Gottlieb, however, dates the book circa 1270,
though without explaining why or referring to Scholem. He
also claims that the book represents a separate trend of
qabbalah. See his Studies, pp. 570-71.

two other qabbalistic societies flourished in the thirteenth century. These are the so-called [c]Iyyun circle and the "Gnostic" school. Gershom Scholem designated the first group as the "[c]Iyyun circle" on the basis of the principal text of these mystics, Sefer Ha-[c]Iyyun. The thirty-two miniscule texts which comprise this school's literary corpus are all pseudepigraphic and thus make locating and dating them dif- ficult. Nonetheless, Scholem dated these texts in the first half of the thirteenth century and suggested Provence and Castile as their place of origin. He was able to place these writings into a unified group by identifying several features they have in common: most of the works are characterized by Neoplatonic light symbolism; the concept of a primordial ether ('awir qadmon); contain short excursuses into the divine names as well as the thirty-two paths of wisdom of Sefer Yezirah; have an abstract literary style and are pseud- epigraphic.[30] Perhaps most significant, these texts posit the existence of thirteen and not ten sefirotic emanations.[31] These stylistic and thematic features are almost totally absent from the writings of the contemporary Gerona school,

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[30]On the [c]Iyyun circle, see Scholem, Reshit ha-qabbalah, pp. 162-75, and Appendix III (ibid., pp. 255-62) where he enumerates the texts. Also see Y. Dan, Huge ha-mequbbalim ha-rishonim, ed. Y. Aggassi (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 21-58.

[31]See ibid., pp. 2-20, and below, n. 47.

which suggests that close ties did not exist between the two

groups.[32]

Castile was the setting of still another group of

mystics which flourished in the third quarter of the thir-

teenth century. This circle, which Scholem has described as

the "Gnostic reaction," was rooted in the mythico-mystical

tradition of Sefer Ha-Bahir and "reacted" to the neoplatoniza-

tion of Sefer Ha-Bahir by both the Gerona and CIyyun circles.[33]

Associates of this school include the brothers Jacob and Isaac

Ha-Kohen of Soria, the Rabbi of Burgos Moses ben Shimon, his

pupil Isaac ibn Sahula, and Todros ben Joseph Abulafia of

Toledo. The Gnostic elements are most prominent in the writ-

ings of Isaac Ha-Kohen who was the first to develop the idea

of a ten-rung emanation of demonic-angelic evil co-extensive

with the ten Sefirot. Isaac thus elevated evil into a meta-

physical principle.[34] The brothers Kohen also wrote important

commentaries on the Hebrew letters, vowel points, and cantil-

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[32]Azriel of Gerona is the one exception to this. See
below, n. 51.

[33]Scholem, Kabbalah, p. 55. On this circle, see
Scholem, "Qabbalat R. YaCaqov ve-R. Yizhaq," in MadaCe Ha-
Yahadut, II, and his series of monographs entitled "Le-heqer
qabbalat R. Yizhaq ben YaCaqov Ha-Kohen," Tarbiz, II (1930-
31), 188-217; 415-42; III (1931-32), 33-66; 258-86; IV (1932-
33), 207-25; V (1933-34), 50-60; 180-98; 305-23.

[34]See below, n. 48. Also see Y. Dan, "Samael,
Lilith and the Concept of Evil in Early Qabbalah," Association
for Jewish Studies Review, V (1980), 17-40.

lation marks.[35]

Another mystical circle and one of the most prolific, was the school of prophetic qabbalah whose central, dominating figure was Abraham Abulafia. Between 1279 and 1291, Abulafia composed over forty-five treatises and handbooks, most of which deal with a form of ecstatic mysticism which he called _qabbalah nevu'it_ (prophetic qabbalah). Abulafia's mystical system is non-theosophical and makes no mention of the doctrine of the _Sefirot_. Rather, the goal of prophetic qabbalah was to extricate the soul from the so-called "knots" which bind it to the material world, and thereby allow the soul to conjoin with certain cosmic, spiritual forces which Abulafia associated with the Active Intellect.[36] Ostensibly, this would enable the individual soul to experience a state of prophecy.[37] With a quasi-missionary zeal, Abulafia wrote several manuals for beginners which introduce the proper techniques by which one might achieve prophetic inspiration. These manuals instruct the student how to induce a mystic state of ecstatic rapture by means of intensive concentrations

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[35]See below, p. 106, n. 47.

[36]On Abraham Abulafia, see Scholem, _Major Trends_, chap. iv and idem, . . . _Abraham Abulafia_, as well as the exhaustive study of M. Idel, _Abraham Abulafia's Works and Doctrine_ [Heb.], 2 vols. (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1976).

[37]See below, n. 50.

and mediations on letter permutations.[38]

Another form of non-sefirotic mysticism is that of German-Jewish esoteric theology. Although there is no evidence of a circle of German mystics in thirteenth-century Spain, the impact of this circle was considerable.[39] This is primarily because of the writings of Eleazar of Worms which were readily available to Spanish qabbalists.[40]

Finally, as we shall see, the philosophical-qabbalistic writings of Giqatila constitute a distinct type of thirteenth-century mysticism and are properly viewed with other, similar writings which together form a separate circle of Spanish mystics.[41]

It is important to observe that although these writings were the literary efforts of individual mystics attached to particular circles, each had distinct religious and theological perspectives and often arrived at widely differing conclusions

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[38]Some of these manuals have been edited by Scholem, Abraham Abulafia, Appendix.

[39]See Y. Dan, The Esoteric Theology of Haside Ashkenaz [Heb.] (Jerusalem, 1968), pp. 259-65. Also see Scholem, Ursprung, p. 287, n. 236.

[40]Scholem, Kabbalah, pp. 51 and 103. In addition, itinerant German mystics such as Abraham Axelrod, who travelled about Spain between 1260 and 1275, helped disseminate German mystical ideas among the Spanish qabbalistic circles. See his Keter Shem Tov, ed. A. Jellinek, Auswahl kabbalistischer Mystik, I (Leipzig, 1853), 29-48.

[41]See below, Chapter V.

on an entire range of qabbalistically related issues. Thus,
even mystics from within the same circle may have responded
with quite different replies to an imaginary questionnaire
consisting of the following controversial inquiries:[42]

1) What is the place of philosophy or Jewish
    rationalism from the perspective of qabbalah?[43]

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[42]In some cases, the "responses" to this imaginary
questionnaire are not actual citations, but are likely replies
based on the particular mystic's writings.

[43]   "On the Place of Philosophy"
Provence Circle: "We are most interested in philos-
ophy and have recently placed an order for translated Arabic
philosophical texts" (see Scholem, Ursprung, pp. 195-200).
    Anonymous Student of Abraham Ha-Nazir: "Philosophical
reasoning must be applied to qabbalah. For example, both my
teacher Abraham Ha-Nazir and myself agree with Maimonides
that the angles and Intelligences are pure form. Those who
disagree do so only because they have acquired qabbalah
through oral tradition only, and not through philosophical
reasoning" (see Scholem, "CIqvotaw shel Gabirol," pp. 175-
76, and Ursprung, pp. 199-200).
    Moses Nachmanides: "Jewish rationalism is more im-
portant in the Orient where it is necessary to combat the
negative effects of philosophy. Maimonides' Guide is not as
important here in Spain. I myself have read the Guide in the
Al Harizi translation and I have taken issue with Maimonides
on numerous theological subjects" (see S. Krauss, "Ha-yihus
ha-madaCi ben ha-Ramban veha-Rambam," Ha-Goren, V [1905],
78-117, and the more recent study of C. Henoch, Nachmanides:
Philosopher and Mystic [Heb.] [Jerusalem, 1978]).
    Jacob b. Sheshet: "Philosophy is generally destructive
to faith. Still, Maimonides himself was a very great man.
The Guide is an important work and must be taken seriously"
(see Jacob bar Sheshet's statements in his ShaCar Ha-Shamayim,
ed. A. Blumenthal, 'Ozar Nehmad [Vienna, 1860], III, 163-65.
Also see the numerous favorable references to the Guide in
his Meshiv Devarim Nikhohim, esp. pp. 14-15. Scholem's view
that the real target of Jacob bar Sheshet's polemic is
Maimonides, is highly doubtful. In fact, the book focuses
its polemic against Samuel ibn Tibbon's view regarding the
eternity of the world, a view which Maimonides openly rejects

2)   What do you think of the controversy surrounding

the alleged heresy of Samuel ibn Tibbon?[44]

3)   Should qabbalah be taught to the general public?

4)   If not, must it be restricted to your elite

circles?[45]

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in the Guide. See Scholem, Ursprung, p. 335.
        Isaac ibn Latif: "Despite my extensive use of philos-
ophy--both Jewish and Arabic--in my writings, I think that
philosophy is ultimately destructive and it attempts to prove
more than it is equipped to do" (see S. O. Heller Wilensky,
"Isaac ibn Latif, Philosopher or Kabbalist?," in Jewish
Medieval and Renaissance Studies, ed. A. Altmann [Cambridge,
Mass., 1967], pp. 188-223 and cf. Ibn Latif's comments on
philosophy in his Zurat Ha-ᶜOlam, ed. Z. Stern [Vienna, 1860],
passim).
        Isaac b. Samuel (of Acre): "Philosophy can say what
God is not; qabbalah can say what He is" (see Scholem, Ha-
qabbalah be-Geronah, ed. J. Ben-Shlomo [Jerusalem, 1964],
pp. 112-14).

[44]   "On Samuel ibn Tibbon"
        Jacob b. Sheshet: "Samuel ibn Tibbon is one of the
most notorious heretics of our generation in that, among
other things, he holds the view of the eternity of the uni-
verse. In order to refute him, I wrote my book Meshiv Devarim
Nikhoḥim."
        Ezra b. Solomon: "Samuel ibn Tibbon ranks as one of
the Sages of our generation" (see Ezra's commentary to
Canticles in Kitve Ha-Ramban, II, 480. On the identification
of Ezra's reference as Samuel ibn Tibbon, see Vajda, Le
Commentaire d'Ezra de Gerona, p. 145, n. 126).
        (See also Scholem, Reshit ha-qabbalah, p. 153, note,
for other references to Samuel ibn Tibbon by mystics.)

[45]   "On Publicizing Qabbalah"
        Isaac the Blind: "There is no doubt that qabbalah is
potentially dangerous when taught to certain people outside
our circle. It disturbs me greatly that certain individuals--
who shall remain nameless--have begun to correspond with the
community of Burgos in qabbalistic subjects. I have written
to the leaders of Gerona, R. Jonah and R. Moses Nachmanides,
to request that this dangerous step be halted" (see Scholem,
"Teᶜudah ḥadashah le-toledot reshit ha-qabbalah," Sefer

5) How many _Sefirot_ are there, ten or thirteen?[46]

6) Are these _Sefirot_ intermediaries between the

'En Sof and the lower worlds?[47]

Bialik, ed. J. Fichman [Tel-Aviv, 1934], pp. 143-44).
      Azriel of Gerona: "Qabbalah should be made available
to those outside our circle. I myself have corresponded
with the qabbalists of Burgos. In addition, I have written
a small work which clearly explains the principles of qab-
balah to the wider public" (see Scholem, _Reshit ha-qabbalah_,
pp. 139-42, and _Ursprung_, p. 347, n. 63, as well as the
texts he published in _Mada^ce Ha-Yahadut_, II, 233-40, but
which he incorrectly ascribed to Jacob Ha-Kohen of Soria.
Azriel's popular work on qabbalah is entitled _Sha^car Ha-
Sho'el_ and also appears as _Perush ^cEser Sefirot_ [Berlin,
1850] and can also be found in Meir ibn Gabbai, _Derekh
'Emunah_ [Warsaw, 1890]. See also Scholem, _Reshit ha-qabbalah_,
p. 130).
      Jonah Gerondi: "One must take the utmost caution not
to publicize qabbalistic ideas. That is why I have generally
refrained from writing on qabbalah" (there are no known qab-
balistic works by Jonah Gerondi).

      [46]   "Ten or Thirteen _Sefirot_?"
Moses Nachmanides: "There are ten _Sefirot_.
Member of the ^cIyyun Circle: "There are thirteen
Sefirot."
      Asher b. David: "I have written elsewhere on this
subject and have reconciled the two traditions so that we may
speak of ten _Sefirot_."
      Todros Abulafia: "You have asked a most difficult
question since two authoritative traditions: _Sefer Yezirah_
[_SY_: I:1: ten _Sefirot_] and the Talmud [B. _Rosh Ha-Shanah_,
17a: thirteen _middot_], appear to be in conflict on this
issue." (On the entire issue, see Y. Dan, _Huge ha-mequbbalim_,
pp. 2-20, and Scholem _Ursprung_, pp. 307-14.)

      [47]   "On the Nature of the _Sefirot_"
      Azriel of Gerona: "The Gerona school is divided on
this issue. I myself and others like David ben Asher con-
ceive of the _Sefirot_ as intermediaries between the _'En Sof_
and the lower worlds. However, others in our circle, such
as Nachmanides, understand the _Sefirot_ as emanating from
within the _'En Sof_" (see Scholem, _Ursprung_, pp. 391 and 394-
97).

7) How do you account for the existence of evil?[48]

8) What is the ultimate goal of mysticism?[49]

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[48] "On the Nature of Evil"
Ezra b. Solomon: "Ultimately, evil is the result of
human sin; there is no evil independent of human action,
though the source of evil is the Sefirah of 'stern judgment'"
(see Scholem, "Gut und Böse in der Kabbalah," Eranos Jahrbuch,
XXX [1961], 29-67, and Ursprung, pp. 255-64).
Isaac Ha-Kohen: "The origin of evil is a great and
mysterious secret. You should know, however, that there is
a realm of evil power known as the 'Left Emanation' which is
the principle and source of evil" (see Scholem, ibid., and
in Mada^ce Ha-Yahadut, II, 82-102; I. Tishby, Mishnat Ha-Zohar,
3d ed. [Jerusalem, 1971], I, 285-307; and Y. Dan, above,
p. 12, n. 34).

[49] "The Goal of Mysticism"
Azriel of Gerona: "In mystical prayer, one may attain
the state of indifferentiation (hashva'ah) when the soul
returns, for a fleeting moment, to its source in Nothingness"
(see Azriel's Sha^car ha-Kawwanah le-mequbbalim veha-rishonim,
ed. G. Scholem, Reshit Ha-Qabbalah, pp. 143-46, and idem,
"Der Begriff der Kawwana in der alten Kabbala," MGWJ, LXXVIII
[1934], 492-518).
Abraham Abulafia: "The goal of mysticism is to induce
a state of ecstatic rapture which frees or loosens the soul
and allows it to unite with the Active Intellect and achieve
a state of prophecy" (see references cited above, n. 36).
Isaac b. Samuel (of Acre): "The goal of mysticism is
to achieve unio mystica with the 'En Sof" (see E. Gottlieb,
"He'arot devequt ve-nevu'ah be-Sefer 'Ozar Ha-Hayyim le-R.
Yizhaq de-me-Akko," Proceedings of the Fourth World Congress
of Jewish Studies [Jerusalem, 1969], II, 327-34 and reprinted
in Studies, pp. 231-47).
Scholem's well-known position that Jewish mystics did
not aspire to achieve a state of unio mystica (Major Trends,
chap. i) must be modified. To begin with, there is a serious
inconsistency in Scholem's methodology. On the one hand,
Scholem maintains that ecstatic mystical experiences were a
regular feature of Jewish mysticism, but these experiences
were not recorded because of a self-imposed, "voluntary
censorship" (Major Trends, p. 16). On the other hand, Scholem
argues that Jewish mystics--in contrast to Christian and
Islamic mystics--did not aspire to unio mystica, since Jewish
sources are silent on this point. But surely one could argue

Another observation must be noted. Although the study of mysticism was usually confined to distinct circles, lines of communication were nonetheless open between individual members of the different schools. For example, an inquiry on qabbalah which a member of the ^{C}Iyyun circle sent to Nachmanides,[50] and several stylistic affinities between the writings of Azriel of Gerona and the ^{C}Iyyun circle, suggest that some correspondence existed between the two groups.[51] Azriel also sent a letter to the mystic community of Burgos (the "Gnostic circle").[52] In addition, it is known that Jacob Ha-Kohen of Soria (the "Gnostic circle") maintained direct, personal contact with the ^{C}Iyyun circle.[53]

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that in the case of unio mystica, there was a similar self-imposed censorship so not to offend traditional Jewish sensitivities. Furthermore, though rejected by Scholem (Ursprung, p. 267, n. 184), I. Tishby has cogently argued that the term devequt in the writings of Ezra ben Solomon and Nachmanides means a loss of identity in the Godhead at the moment of mystical ecstacy. See I. Tishby, "Yir'ah ve-'ahavah u-devequt be-mishnat ha-Zohar," Molad, XIX (1961), 48-53. Finally, the above cited essay by E. Gottlieb conclusively proves that Isaac of Acre entertained the notion of unio mystica.

[50]Scholem edited this letter in "Peraqim me-toledot sifrut ha-qabbalah," KS, VI (1930), 418-19, and he discussed the letter in Ursprung, p. 347.

[51]Ibid., pp. 288-89.

[52]Scholem published the letter in Mada^{C}e Ha-Yahadut, II, 233-40 and discussed it in Reshit ha-qabbalah, pp. 139-42, and Ursprung, pp. 330-31.

[53]Ibid., p. 284.

Intellectual exchange is perhaps even more pronounced in the case of philosophically oriented mystics. For example, the theosophical parts of Isaac ibn Latif's works closely follow that of the Gerona school while the dedication of his book _Zeror Hamor_ to Todros Abulafia[54] of Toledo as well as various parallels with the works of Isaac Ha-Kohen tend to link him to the Castilian Gnostic school.[55] The writings of Abraham Abulafia, too, reveal their author's acquaintance with qabbalah as taught in other circles. Abulafia's list of twelve commentaries on _Sefer Yezirah_ that he read, moreover, indicates that books and ideas were readily accessible in this period.[56] Finally, an examination of the writings of Joseph Giqatila reveals, as we shall see, that he freely borrowed numerous terms and mystical ideas from several distinct qabbalistic schools.[57]

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[54]See Heller Wilensky, "Isaac ibn Latif," p. 210, n. 182.

[55]Scholem, _Kabbalah_, pp. 52-53 and 55; Heller Wilensky, pp. 213-15, 217-18.

[56]See below, p. 110, n. 6.

[57]See below, pp. 93-105.

The Central Problems of Giqatila's Philosophical-Qabbalistic
Writings

     Although modern scholarship has made a seminal con-
tribution to the understanding of thirteenth-century Jewish
mystical literature by systematically explicating its diverse
literary forms, sources and traditions, Giqatila's _Ginnat
'Eqoz_ as well as his other philosophical-qabbalistic writings
have yet to be properly investigated in this regard. Scholars
have neither determined precisely the central theme and pur-
pose of _GE_ nor have they identified correctly its proper
mystical-literary context. They either found no school or
circle or the wrong circle to which Giqatila's early writings
belong. Equally as significant, by defining the terms
"Jewish mysticism" and "qabbalah" as they have, modern
scholars have excluded many theological treatises, including
_GE_, from an otherwise useful and meaningful classification.
As a result, students of Jewish mysticism have been unable to
appreciate _GE_ as a work of original and creative synthesis as
well as to recognize it as representing an authentic and
distinct form of thirteenth-century Jewish mysticism.

     To be sure, scholars have correctly recognized that
_GE_ is not a theosophical qabbalistic treatise. Indeed, that
_GE_ differs from Giqatila's later writings by being non-
theosophical, was already noted by Senior Sachs in

1851,[58] has been briefly discussed by Scholem,[59] and forms

the basis upon which the late Efraim Gottlieb ordered and

classified much of Giqatila's literary corpus.[60] But

scholars have yet to state correctly and precisely what _GE_

is. Thus the book has been variously described as a "work

dealing with divine names,"[61] as "an introduction to the

mystic symbolism of the alphabet . . . and Divine Names,"[62]

as an attempt to reconcile philosophy with mysticism,[63] and

as a "work of prophetic qabbalah."[64]

These descriptions are, at best, inadequate and

superficial and, at worst, patently incorrect. Thus, while

_GE_ deals extensively with divine names, most Jewish mystical

texts do also. Similarly, while _GE_ discusses at length the

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[58]_Ha-Yonah_, ed. S. Sachs (Berlin, 1851), II, 80,
note.

[59]_Major Trends_, pp. 194-95; _Abraham Abulafia_,
pp. 109-10.

[60]E. Gottlieb, "The Writings of Joseph Giqatila"
[Heb.], _Tarbiz_, XXXIX (1969), 62-89, and reprinted with
minor revisions in his _Studies_, pp. 96-131.

[61]Gottlieb, _Studies_, p. 262.

[62]Scholem, _Kabbalah_, p. 409.

[63]M. Seligsohn, "Joseph Gikatilla," _Jewish Encyclo-
pedia_ (New York, 1903), V, 665.

[64]Scholem, _Abraham Abulafia_, p. 108. Joseph Ben-
Shlomo follows Scholem in the introduction to his edition of
Giqatila's _Sha^care 'Orah_ (Jerusalem, 1970), I, 27. See also
S. A. Horodetsky, "Josef Gikatila," _Encyclopedia Judaica_,
10 vols. (Berlin, 1928-34), VI, 409.

mystical symbolism of the Hebrew alphabet and divine names, so do numerous other mystical writings from both the German and Spanish traditions.[65]   One can hardly describe a work meaningfully by pointing to literary or thematic character- istics that it shares with numerous other works.

Nor can GE be described as a work that attempts to reconcile philosophy or Jewish rationalism with mysticism. GE makes no attempt to reconcile Averroism with mysticism; on the contrary, it denounces (Averroistic) philosophy in the strongest terms.[66]   GE also does not reconcile Maimonidean religious rationalism with mysticism since, as will be shown, Giqatila never perceived the two to be in conflict.

Perhaps the most serious error is the view that "early" Giqatila was merely a student of Abraham Abulafia and that GE is a work, to cite Scholem, "with the purpose of explicating the method of prophetic mysticism."[67]   Whatever GE may be, it is decidedly not a work of prophetic qabbalah of which there is no trace in any of Giqatila's philosophical- qabbalistic writings.   Scholem and others who have described GE as a work of prophetic qabbalah have fundamentally mis-

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[65]On the German mystical tradition, see below, pp. 93-96.

[66]GE, Preface, 2c, d, and passim, but esp. 37d [B] and 55b, c, d.

[67]See above, n. 64.

interpreted GE and have placed it within the wrong mystical-literary setting.[68]

Finally, we must consider whether GE can be regarded as a work of Jewish mysticism or qabbalah? The answer to this naturally depends on how these two terms are understood. If we accept, together with most modern scholars, Scholem's use of these terms, then it seems that GE cannot be classified as a work of Jewish mysticism or qabbalah.

Scholem defines Jewish mysticism as that literature which describes or imparts intuitive or experiential knowledge of the Deity or His celestial abode.[69] He uses "Jewish mysticism" as a generic term which encompasses a variegated literature commencing with second-century merkabah texts which depict the celestial chariot and palaces of the Deity, but not the Deity Himself. In his writings, Scholem consistently refers to the merkabah texts as merkabah mysticism, never as merkabah qabbalah.[70] Scholem uses "qabbalah" in a more restrictive sense to label mystical literature that describes the Deity theosophically in terms of divine emanations

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[68]See also below, pp. 111-15.

[69]Major Trends, chap. ii, passim.

[70]For example, see Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and the Talmudic Tradition (New York, 1965); Major Trends, pp. 40-79; and Kabbalah, pp. 10-14.

or _Sefirot_.[71] While this distinction is arbitrary, it con-
veniently allows one to classify an enormous body of
literature around a central motif. In accordance with
Scholem's widely accepted usage, Giqatila's non-theosophical
writings can neither be considered mystical nor qabbalistic
since they do not convey information about the Deity Himself
(i.e., in terms of the sefirotic _pleroma_) or His Abode.
Indeed, in keeping with the Jewish rational tradition,
Giqatila emphatically insisted that such knowledge was beyond
the purview of human cognition. Moreover, Giqatila's non-
theosophical writings do not exhibit other important features
which are often found in Jewish mystical literature: they do
not maintain that knowledge of ultimate reality can only be
intuited by a select few through a contemplative experience
(_hitbonenut_);[72] they do not discuss or admit the possibility
of illumination (_he'arah_); and they do not openly discuss the
ultimate felicity of man in terms of a conjunction (_devequt_)[73]

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[71]_Major Trends_, pp. 10-12 and pp. 206-207. Accordingly,
for Scholem, the origins of qabbalah are identical with the
origins of the doctrine of _Sefirot_. See Scholem's opening
remarks in _Reshit ha-qabbalah_ and _Ursprung_.

[72]Qabbalists often refer to the process of knowing
through a contemplative experience (_hitbonenut_) as "_yeniqah_."
See, for example, Isaac the Blind's commentary on _Sefer
Yezirah_, p. 1, 11. 15-16.

[73]In _GE_, Giqatila repeatedly uses the term "apprehen-
sion" (_hasagah_) and not "conjunction" (_devequt_). See his
comments in _GE_, 66a [T] and see below, p. 63.

of the rational soul with the Active Intellect, a feature
which some scholars have recently labeled philosophic or
"intellectualist" mysticism.[74]

Neither can Giqatila's non-theosophical writings,
despite their rational orientation, be legitimately grouped
within the Jewish rational tradition. Regardless of how
Jewish religious philosophy is defined, it properly designates
the theological or religious writings of Jewish thinkers who
ventured to reshape much of Judaism in a rational mold.[75]
This rational mold was itself usually shaped by the dominant
philosophic trend of the period, such as Kalam or Averroism.
Giqatila's non-theosophical writings, however, do not attempt

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[74]See G. Vajda, Introduction à la pensée juive du
Moyen Age (Paris, 1947), pp. 143-44 and 198-99, and idem,
"Jewish Mysticism," Encyclopedia Britannica (15th ed.)
(Chicago, 1975), X, 183. More recently, see D. Blumenthal,
"Maimonides' Intellectualist Mysticism and the Superiority
of the Prophecy of Moses," Studies in Medieval Culture, X
(1979), 51-67, and 63, n. 1.
        Giqatila does deal with the doctrine of devequt in
his Hassagot in connection with his notion of "Perfect Man,"
but it is not clear what he really means. See below,
pp. 57-61. In any case, it should be noted here that Vajda's
and (his student) Blumenthal's description of Maimonides as
a mystic is highly questionable and misses the point. One
must bear in mind that most philosophers in the medieval
period, including Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes, main-
tained a doctrine of the conjunction of the intellectual soul
with the Active Intellect. Thus, as "mystical" as it may
sound to moderns, the doctrine of conjunction is in good
medieval philosophical tradition.

[75]See J. Guttmann, Philosophies of Judaism, trans.
D. W. Silverman (New York, 1964), Introduction.

to recast or reinterpret Judaism according to the dictates
of rationalism. Rather, the philosophic content in his writ-
ings is presupposed, and all of it was common knowledge in
Jewish intellectual circles in thirteenth-century Spain.
Furthermore--and in marked contrast to Jewish rationalists--
Giqatila rarely proves a rational concept by means of
philosophic arguments. In short, both the method and purpose
of his non-theosophical writings are decidedly non-rational,
even if they contain much rational material.

It appears, then, that GE should not be considered a
philosophical or mystical work, and certainly not a qabbalistic
one--at least not according to the conventional scholarly
usage of these terms.

However, the above considerations notwithstanding,
there is very good reason to refer to Giqatila's early theo-
logical writings as qabbalistic. This is because there are
numerous thirteenth-century theological texts which are not
theosophical and still use the term qabbalah.[76] Ginnat 'Egoz
is among these texts. In GE, Giqatila uses qabbalah as a
technical term to denote an esoteric tradition regarding the
Divine Name. In most instances, this esoteric tradition

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[76]The most notable example is the mysticism of German-
Jewish esoteric theology. It is likely that Y. Dan avoided
the use of the term qabbalah in his book on German mysticism
(The Esoteric Theology of Haside Ashkenaz) in deference to
Scholem's use of this term.

involves letter and number symbolism of the Divine Name.[77]
In fact, Giqatila speaks not only of "qabbalah," but also of
"ba^{c}ale ha-qabbalah," or "masters of qabbalah."[78] He was
undoubtedly referring to a group of mystics whom he viewed
as "qabbalists" even though they did not teach the doctrine
of sefirotic emanations. In the thirteenth century, then,
the term qabbalah is by no means synonymous with theosophical
(i.e., sefirotic) mysticism. Moreover, Scholem himself refers
to Abraham Abulafia's mystical system as "prophetic qabbalah"
even though Abulafia strongly opposed the doctrine of sefirotic
emanations.

In this study, then, we have referred to Giqatila's
early theological writings as "qabbalistic" because Giqatila
himself viewed his writings as such and because numerous other
thirteenth-century thinkers would have viewed his early writ-
ings as such. We have further modified our description of
these writings as "philosophical-qabbalistic" both to give
expression to their rational theological orientation as well
as to distinguish them from theosophical qabbalah.

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[77]Cf. also the text of Hai Gaon in 'Ozar Ha-Geonim,
ed. B. Lewin, 12 vols. (Haifa, 1928), VI, 18-19.

[78]Giqatila uses the term qabbalah or ba^{c}ale ha-
qabbalah twenty-one times in GE, seven times in Sod Ha-Niqqud,
three times in MS JTSA 851, once in MS JTSA 2156, and six
times in the Hassagot (on these works, see below, pp. 34-43.
In every instance the term refers to letter and number
symbolism, usually regarding the Divine Name.

By calling Giqatila's early writings qabbalistic we
have, of course, widened the application of the term qabbalah
to include a type of medieval theological literature which,
although non-theosophical, contains several features which
can appropriately be considered "mystical." However, we
shall not yet define precisely the terms mystical or qab-
balistic as applied to Giqatila's early works. Rather, we
shall allow the definitions of these terms to emerge phenome-
nologically as we first view and examine those features which
justify our viewing these writings as a distinct but legitimate
typology of Jewish mysticism.[79]

This study of Joseph Giqatila will, of necessity, be
a textual and thematic analysis of the early writings of a
major thirteenth-century Jewish mystic.[80] First, we shall
survey the works which make up Giqatila's philosophical-
qabbalistic corpus and reexamine several problems of a textual
and bibliographical nature. Then we shall discuss some of the
basic features of these writings and their methodology
(Chapter II). After presenting an overview of Giqatila's
early writings and some of their themes, we shall focus on

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[79]See below, pp. 124-26.

[80]There is not a single reference or allusion to an
historical or personal event in Giqatila's entire corpus of
writings.

his magnum opus, _Ginnat 'Egoz_ (Chapter III). First, the
central theme of the book and its major sources will be
identified (Part A). Through a structural analysis of the
entire book, we shall show that Giqatila used "hamshakhah"
(cosmological emanation) as his key technical term and that
this term both discloses some of his major sources and
serves as the leitmotif of each of the three parts of the
treatise. Then we shall analyse the literary structure of
GE as a commentary on _Sefer Yezirah_ (Part B). Thus viewed,
GE emerges as a major work of thirteenth-century Spanish
mysticism and establishes its author as an original and
creative thinker. We shall then consider the relationship
of Giqatila's early writings to the works belonging to three
older thirteenth-century qabbalistic traditions--including
theosophical mysticism--though only tentative conclusions can
be drawn in this regard (Chapter IV). More definitive state-
ments, however, can be made with regard to Giqatila's intel-
lectual ties with other mystics of his day (Chapter V). A
detailed examination of the appropriate texts gives evidence
that a school or circle existed--hitherto unnoticed by his-
torians--to which Giqatila belonged. In addition, Giqatila's
decisive influence on the early writings of Moshe de Leon
will be discussed. Finally, in the concluding chapter
(Chapter VI), we shall explore the important but hitherto
untreated problem of Giqatila's intellectual transition from
philosophical qabbalah to theosophical qabbalah. We shall

then show the relationship between his early and late writings and suggest some of the common and more enduring themes which run through both literary periods. As a result, the intellectual and religious development of Joseph Giqatila receives sharper perspective. The present study will conclude with a brief consideration of the subsequent history and influence of some of Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic ideas and works in post thirteenth-century theosophical qabbalah.

CHAPTER II

GIQATILA'S PHILOSOPHICAL-QABBALISTIC WORKS

A. The Writings

At present, the most significant scholarly contribu-
tions towards understanding Giqatila's qabbalistic writings
have had a distinct bibliographical-textual orientation. The
most impressive survey of Giqatila's writings was compiled
over 125 years ago by Moritz Steinschneider in his catalogue
of Hebrew manuscripts in Oxford University.[1] Continuing in
the Steinschneider scholarly tradition, Gershom Scholem made
important textual and bibliographical notations on several of
Giqatila's qabbalistic works.[2] To date, the most trenchant

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[1]Catalogus . . . Bodleiana, II, cols. 1461-70. Stein-
schneider tersely but exhaustively notes all previous cata-
logue references to, and copious bibliographical details on,
some eighteen works of Giqatila.

[2]Kitve yad ba-qabbalah (Jerusalem, 1930), pp. 18-56,
passim. Also, in his Einige kabbalistische Handschriften im
Britischen Museum (Jerusalem, 1932), Scholem made much-needed
corrections to, and notations on, G. Margoliouth's Catalogue
of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum,
3 vols. (London, 1899-1935), II, some of which concern the
writings of Giqatila. In two other bibliographical studies,
Scholem investigated the question of Giqatila's authorship of

study of Giqatila is a lengthy bibliographical essay by the
late Efraim Gottlieb.[3] In this study, Gottlieb managed to
unravel many knotty bibliographical and textual problems,
with special regard for the early writings of Giqatila. Here,
we shall build upon the researches of Steinschneider, Scholem,
Gottlieb and others in order to provide a comprehensive
bibliographical survey of Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic
writings. Unfortunately, many of Giqatila's works have sur-
vived only in fragmented form in manuscripts. This makes it
difficult to date these texts as well as to discover the
reason why Giqatila wrote them. The following works are
arranged according to what appears to be their most reasonable
order of composition:

Perush [c]al Shir Ha-Shirim[4]

        Perush [c]al Shir Ha-Shirim (Commentary On Canticles)
is mentioned twice in GE in a context which reveals that this

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a work of qabbalistic responsa and 'Iqqeret Ha-Qodesh. See
his "Teshuvot ha-meyuḥasot le-R. Yosef Giqatila," in Fest-
schrift für Yakov Freimann (Berlin, 1937), pp. 163-70, and
"Ha-'im ḥibber ha-Ramban et Sefer 'Iqqeret Ha-Qodesh?," KS,
XXI (1944-45), 179-86.

        [3]See above, p. 22, n. 60.

        [4]This commentary to Shir Ha-Shirim should not be con-
fused with the theosophical qabbalistic one (MS Paris 790)
attributed to Giqatila, but which E. Gottlieb (Studies,
pp. 117-21) has shown is spurious. Because of a typographical
error in his book Kabbalah, p. 409 (the second parenthesis

work belongs to Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic corpus.[5]
Although this commentary is no longer extant, our knowledge of
its existence is important because it establishes Giqatila as
a "philosophical-qabbalist" well before 1973-74, allowing for
sufficient time to have written both this commentary and GE.

Ginnat 'Egoz and the Baqqashah

Giqatila's magnum opus of his early period is unques-
tionably Ginnat 'Egoz which he wrote in 1273-74. His other
works, all of which have survived in fragmented form, repro-
duce, expand or abridge material found in GE.[6] On the basis
of Giqatila's apparent intentions, then, as well as on the
basis of what subsequent generations choose to preserve and
cite, GE may be regarded as the principal work of Giqatila's
philosophical-qabbalistic period.

GE is extant in at least thirty-one complete or frag-
mented manuscripts and has been printed three times.[7]

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should follow "ha-Temunah" and not "Segovia," as it appears),
Scholem's remarks there misleadingly imply that Giqatila did
write this theosophical commentary.

[5]GE, 15c and A58c (because of an error in the pagina-
tion of the first edition of GE, there are two page 58s. I
have referred to the "second one" as A58).

[6]See below, pp. 36-43.

[7]On the MS tradition of GE, see Excursus II, below,
pp. 152-57.

Baqqashah is a poem of sixty-nine verses, saturated
with philosophical-qabbalistic ideas culled from GE.
Giqatila, it seems, composed the Baqqashah as an introductory
poem to GE and, as such, it should not be regarded as a
separate work. In fact, in two of its three extant manu-
scripts, the Baqqashah actually precedes GE.[8] The art of
expressing qabbalistic ideas in the form of poetry was not
uncommon in thirteenth-century Spain and can be found in
several poems of Nachmanides.[9] Giqatila adopted this stylis-
tic technique in GE where he introduced each of its major
books and chapters with a brief poem capsulizing the main
points to be discussed.[10] In language, style and theology,
then, the Baqqashah conforms perfectly with GE.

Baqqashah was published on the basis of one manuscript
only by an editor who misunderstood the poem's intent and who
incorrectly interpreted many of its phrases and terms in a
theosophical qabbalistic fashion.[11] Accordingly, we have
prepared a new edition of the poem together with a critical
aparatus.[12]

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[8]MS Bar Ilan 281 and MS Jerusalem 8°3489.

[9]See above, p. 7, n. 17.

[10]See I. Davidson, Thesaurus of Medieval Poetry,
4 vols. (New York, 1928-32), IV, 400.

[11]I. Gruenwald, "Two Cabbalistic Poems," pp. 75-84.

[12]This edition will be published separately.

^cIqqare Ha-'Emunah

Much of what we have said regarding <u>Baqqashah</u> applies
as well to Giqatila's poem, ^c<u>Iqqare Ha-'Emunah</u>. This poem,
too, is saturated with ideas and themes culled from <u>GE</u>, but
it has a topical arrangement according to various theological
themes such as divine unity, retribution, and redemption. In
the case of ^c<u>Iqqare Ha-'Emunah</u>, though, we cannot know whether
it was originally part of <u>GE</u>, another philosophical-qabbalis-
tic work, or composed as a separate piece.

^c<u>Iqqare Ha-'Emunah</u> was published by the editor of
Giqatila's <u>Baqqashah</u>, who assumed that he was the first to
publish this poem, from a unique MS. In fact, the poem ap-
pears in two extant MSS and was printed in Meir Aldabi's
<u>Shevile Emunah</u>.[13]

Sefer Ha-Niqqud[14]

It requires painstaking analysis to determine that

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[13]See Gruenwald, pp. 84-89, and D. Loewinger's rejoiner
in "Concerning the Authorship of the Poem ' בראשית כל יסוד '"
[Heb.], <u>Tarbiz</u>, XXXVI (1966), 205-206. Giqatila's authorship
of this poem is beyond doubt. Loewinger, who leaves open the
question of Giqatila's authorship, was perhaps unaware of the
fact that Meir Aldabi borrowed liberally from Giqatila's
philosophical-qabbalistic writings. See below, p. 137. In
addition, as Loewinger himself notes, all three MSS (one is not
extant) of ^c<u>Iqqare Ha-'Emunah</u> attribute the poem to Giqatila.

[14]Giqatila wrote two different works with the word
"niqqud" in the title: one is philosophical-qabbalistic, the
other theosophical-qabbalistic. In the MSS, these works
appear indiscriminately under various titles such as <u>Sefer</u>

Sefer Ha-Niqqud (hereafter: SN), an esoteric treatise on the symbolic meaning of the Hebrew vowel points, was written after GE. At first impression, the work seems to be a manuscript version of Book III (Sha^{c}ar Ha-Niqqud) of GE, since many sections of SN have an almost identical wording as GE and because SN largely follows the same topical sequence that GE has. Efraim Gottlieb, however, has shown that this cannot be the case. In addition to certain sub-stantive differences between the two works, Giqatila cited both Sha^{c}ar Ha-Niqqud and SN in subsequent writings by their respective titles. In each instance, Giqatila referred to material found exclusively in one of the two works. In short, whatever the treatise is, it is not a manuscript ver-sion.[15]

By comparing parallel passages and sections of the two works, Gottlieb showed the presence of new material in GE as well as its more elaborate style. On this basis, Gott-lieb reasoned that SN was a "first edition" which Giqatila later reworked into Book III of GE. Gottlieb supported his

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Ha-Niqqud, Sha^{c}ar Ha-Niqqud, Sod Ha-Niqqud, Perush Ha-Niqqud, and Ha-Niqqud. In the present study, we shall refer to the philosophical-qabbalistic work as Sefer Ha Niqqud (SN) and the theosophical one as Perush Ha-Niqqud (see below, p. 133). Book III of GE is entitled "Sha^{c}ar Ha-Niqqud."

SN itself appears in a short and a long MS version. See Excursus II, p. 157, n. 12.

[15]Gottlieb, Studies, pp. 101-103.

argument by comparing a particular passage found in both works which contains an identical question. Whereas <u>SN</u> records the question in the name of a certain Rabbi Abraham, <u>GE</u> anticipates the question and states it impersonally, "do not ask . . . ."[16] Thus, Gottlieb concludes, <u>SN</u> is a work in its formative literary stage which still preserves a "real-life" question-and-answer dialogue, while <u>GE</u> reflects a later, impersonal editorial stage.

As attractive as Gottlieb's reconstruction appears, it is conjectural and is not supported by a detailed scrutiny of the texts. To begin with, while there is material in Book III of <u>GE</u> which is not found in <u>SN</u>, the reverse is also true.[17] And though there are many parallel passages which

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[16]<u>SN</u>, MS Vat. 603, f. 176r:

והנה הקשה עליגו הוותיק עין האורה
השכלית ר׳ אברהם בר״ו.... השם עמך
גבור החיל כי דבריך בכוחים למבין
וקושייתך כפטיש יפוצץ סלעים ....
אמנם תדע..כי הקושיא שלך יש לה
שני דרכים.

<u>GE</u>, 67b:

ואל תקשה עלי במה שהת—
עוררתי בעגין חלם ...
ותאמר היאך אתה מדמה
השגת הנקודה להשגתו
ית׳ .... וזו היא תשוב—
תו תדע לך כי לקושייתך
יש פירוק גדול ....

Actually, an examination of these two texts does not at all substantiate Gottlieb's claim. The account in <u>SN</u>, unlike that in <u>GE</u>, is written in rhymed prose and thus seems to reflect a later stylistic revision.

[17]For example, cf. the permutation of חלם in both works: whereas <u>GE</u>, 66b [B] and 68b has only מלה, <u>SN</u>, MS Vat. 603, ff. 192v-193v lists all six: לםח, לחם, חמל, חלם, מלח, מחל.

appear more concisely worded in SN, the opposite is also

true.[18] Indeed, most of these parallel passages or sections

appear in GE more elaborately worded, yet without any addi-

tional ideas. Surely it could be argued as convincingly on

the basis of parallels alone, that SN is an editorial abridge-

ment of GE rather than that GE is an enlargement of SN. In

fact, SN would not constitute the single example of such an

effort on the part of Giqatila. Two other philosophical-

qabbalistic works, written after GE, condense material in

GE.[19] And one of these works discusses an important topic

found in SN but not in GE.[20] In short, both the abridgement

of material found in GE and the treatment of new themes in

SN conform to a stylistic pattern exhibited by Giqatila's

other post GE works. Gottlieb's argument that SN predates

GE is inconclusive and weak.

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[18]For example, cf. the section in GE, 68a [B]-68b [T],
incipit: **ולפי אלו הדרכים**, to the much expanded parallel
section in SN, f. 179r, incipit: **ולפי אלו הדברים.**
    Also see GE, 66a [B] where Giqatila shows how 5 (**ה**)
equals 15 (**הי**) according to the number principle, hesh-
bon haqidmi. But he does not explain what heshbon haqidmi is.
However, in the parallel passage in SN (f. 174r), Giqatila
explains that heshbon haqidmi is the sum total of the digit
in question plus all previous digits (i.e., 5 = 5 + 4 + 3 +
2 + 1 = 15).

[19]See below, pp. 40-41.

[20]The theme of "four who entered Pardes (B. Haqiqah,
14b) is discussed in both SN, f. 188v and in MS JTSA 851,
f. 62v.

There is, however, textual evidence which Gottlieb overlooked, which conclusively proves that SN was written after GE. First, in GE itself, Giqatila explicitly states that he is writing GE as his first (philosophical-qabbalistic) treatise.[21] Second, SN refers the reader to subject matter found exclusively in GE; in Book II as well as in parallel sections (to SN) in Book III.[22] SN, then, must be counted among Giqatila's post GE works.

MS JTSA Mic. No. 2156, ff. 38v-45r.[23]

The scribe who copied MS JTSA No. 2156, ff. 38v-45r misleadingly entitled or described this work as a commentary "on creation" because he very likely saw only the fragmentary manuscript which is now extant. To be sure, the sole text we possess is a running commentary on the first two chapters of Genesis. But two references in this manuscript indicate that the complete text extended to other books of, and probably to the entire, Pentateuch.[24] The commentary, which closely

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[21] GE, 65d [B].

[22] See Appendix I (to Chapter II), below, p. 177.

[23] Scholem cited this MS in Major Trends as MS JTSA 0753, but this MS can now only be obtained through its microfilm number (2156) and is listed that way here.

[24] F. 40v and f. 43v. That this commentary was written after GE is evident on f. 41r where Giqatila cites GE by name.

follows the symbolic exegesis found in GE, adds very little

new material to GE, and we can only speculate why Giqatila

wrote it. Perhaps its value lies more in its style than in

its content. The commentary format of the text provides a

conveniently arranged summary of philosophical-qabbalistic

ideas and letter and number symbols culled from GE. Giqatila

may have hoped thereby to reach a wider audience. Unfortu-

nately, the manuscript also lacks any introduction, so neither

Giqatila's specific motives for writing the commentary nor

its actual scope can be determined.

MS JTSA 851, ff. 62r-97v

MS JTSA 851, ff. 62r-97v is a philosophical-qabbalis-

tic treatise which, like SN and MS JTSA No. 2156, condenses

and abridges ideas and symbolism from GE, but adds very

little new material. Efraim Gottlieb has identified several

folios of MS Oxford 1598 as belonging to the beginning part

of MS JTSA 851.[25] This manuscript, too, is fragmented both

at its beginning and end, so that there is no way to determine

why Giqatila composed this treatise.

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[25]Studies, pp. 99-105. There are several other
MSS which contain the additional text found in MS Oxf. 1598,
some of which Gottlieb listed. For a complete list, see
Excursus II, p. 159. Among these MSS, it seems that the
most accurate text is that of MS Paris 793, ff. 246r-53r.

Hassagot [c]al Ha-Moreh[26]

In 1574, the editors of a volume of Jewish philo-
sophical questions put to Don Isaac Abravanel included a
fragmentary text which they suspected might be the Hassagot
[c]al Ha-Moreh (Critique of Maimonides' Guide For the Perplexed)
that, according to a tradition, Giqatila had composed. A
close reading of this text indicates that Giqatila is its
author. G. Vajda's arguments to the contrary have been sum-
marily dismissed by Efraim Gottlieb on the grounds that Vajda
mistook this text as a theosophical qabbalistic work.[27] In
fact, the Hassagot is devoid of any theosophical content and
is a philosophical-qabbalistic work written according to the
principles and ideas of GE. To strengthen his case for
Giqatila's authorship, Gottlieb pointed to several striking
parallels between the Hassagot and GE. A close examination
of the Hassagot reveals several additional passages, not
mentioned by Gottlieb, which cannot be fully understood without

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[26]Giqatila's Hassagot appears in R. Isaac Abravanel,
Ketavim [c]al mahshevet Yisra'el, 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1967), III,
19a-31d (at end of the volume). G. Vajda translated portions
of the Hassagot into French. See below, n. 27.
    This work is not to be confused with the commentary
to the Guide in MS Oxf. 1911 which was incorrectly ascribed
to Giqatila. See Gottlieb, Studies, pp. 106-10.

[27]See G. Vajda, "Deux Chapitres du 'Guide des Egarés'
repensés par un kabbaliste," in Mélanges offerts à Etienne
Gilson (Paris, 1959), pp. 651-59. See Gottlieb, Studies,
p. 106, n. 22 and pp. 110-13.

recourse to GE or to MS JTSA 851.[28]

The objective of the Hassagot is to expose what
Giqatila thought were faulty or inadequate solutions to cer-
tain problems which Maimonides had raised in his Guide.
Giqatila then advanced his own solution based on his philo-
sophical-qabbalistic mode of exegesis.

As an example, let us consider the opening chapters
of the Guide wherein Maimonides is concerned with various
Biblical words which imply that God is corporeal.[29] Maimon-
ides explains that many Biblical words are "equivocal" or
"derivative" terms; that is, terms whose meanings change
according to their context or the subject they describe.
Accordingly, when Scripture uses the terms "image" (zelem)
and "likeness" (demut) in reference to God, it does not
thereby imply His corporeality. The Biblical passage "Let us
make man in Our Image after Our likeness" (Gen. 1:26) should
not, therefore, be construed to mean that God has a corporeal
shape, since "zelem" here does not mean "image" but "form."
While "image" refers to the physical contours of a thing and
does imply corporeality, "form" refers to the essential

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[28]See Appendix II (to Chapter II), below, pp. 178-83.

[29]Guide I:1. All citations from Maimonides' Guide
in the present study are from The Guide of the Perplexed,
trans. S. Pines (Chicago, 1963), unless otherwise noted.

properties or characteristics of a thing. Hence, Maimonides
argues, the Scriptural use of "image" here means the intel-
lectual apprehension of man--man's essential property--or,
as Maimonides put it, the "divine intellect conjoined with
man."

Giqatila argues that Maimonides' answer creates more
problems than it solves.[30] By stating that man is like God
with regard to his intellectual faculties which derive from
or are activated by the Separate Intelligences,[31] Maimonides
implies that these Intelligences themselves are essentially
similar to God. In GE, Giqatila strongly rejected the
slightest intimation of any metaphysical similarity between
YHWH and the Intelligences, and he repeats these views here.[32]

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[30] Hassagot, 23b-24d.

[31] In medieval thought, the Intelligences were gener-
ally thought of as indivisible forces by means of which the
celestial spheres are moved. They are referred to as
"separate" (Heb.: sekhalim nivdallim) in the sense that they
are conceived of as separate from any material substance,
i.e., they are pure form. On the Separate Intelligences in
Maimonides' thought, see H. Blumberg, "The Separate Intel-
ligences in Maimonides' Philosophy" [Heb.], Tarbiz, XL (1971),
216-25. Other aspects concerning the relation of God to the
Intelligences are discussed by H. A. Wolfson, "Notes On Proofs
of the Existence of God in Jewish Philosophy," Hebrew Union
College Annual, I (1924), 575-96, esp. 588-96. Also see
Wolfson, "The Problem of the Souls of the Spheres From the
Byzantine Commentaries On Aristotle Through the Arabs and
St. Thomas to Kempler," The Dumbarton Oaks Center For
Byzantine Studies (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1961), pp. 67-93.

[32] See below, pp. 82-83.

Although the Intelligences are pure form, they are also
created. As such, the Intelligences are inferior to YHWH
and also subject to human apprehension. YHWH, in sharp con-
trast, is eternal being and absolutely inscrutable. In short,
though Maimonides' answer correctly dispels the notion of the
corporeality of God, it does so at the expense of maintaining
the essential distinction between the Intelligences and God.

Giqatila summarily solves the problem in Genesis
I:26 by observing that God's real name, YHWH, is nowhere men-
tioned in that verse. Instead, the appellative 'Elohim is
used, which designates the Kavod or Intelligences.[33] Genesis
I:26 may therefore be understood literally: man (i.e., the
human soul) is indeed created according to the likeness of
'Elohim (but not YHWH) since both share a special relation-
ship to YHWH. 'Elohim did not fashion the human soul, YHWH
did.

Giqatila supports his thesis of a spiritual common-
ality between man and 'Elohim by means of number symbolism.
For example, he points out that 'adam (man) equals forty-five
which, when spelled in words (i.e., mem heh), equals eighty-

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[33]There is some textual support for the view that, in
the Hassagot, 'Elohim and Kavod do not designate the Intel-
ligences but rather the ground of the Intelligences or the
"first emanated principle." As such 'Elohim in the Hassagot
corresponds to such terms as megor or hefez in GE. See
below, p. 104, and Gottlieb, Studies, p. 116.

six, the numerical value of _'Elohim_.[34]

The notion that _YHWH_ is directly responsible for man's creation led Giqatila to the philosophical-qabbalistic notion of "Perfect Man" (_'adam 'amiti_). This term designates the ideal, perfect man or, more accurately, the ideal, perfect soul who is potentially able to attain a level of spirituality equal to or greater than that of the Intelligences. Giqatila's concept of "Perfect Man," as we shall soon see, is one of the major areas in which he took issue with Maimonides.[35]

B. _Themes_

Giqatila's _Hassagot_, as we have seen, is characterized by a curious blend of religious rationalism and letter and number symbolism. Indeed, the single most striking feature of all Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic writings is the presence of Maimonidean religious rationalism together with letter and number symbolism.

To begin with, Giqatila's conception of God largely adheres to the rationalistic notions of Maimonides. Throughout his philosophical-qabbalistic writings, he strongly

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[34]_Hassagot_, 24c, and below, Appendix II, p. 178.

[35]See below, pp. 57-61.

reaffirms the absolute unity of God (_yiḥud ha-'amiti_).[36]
Giqatila conceives of God as eternal,[37] transcendent,[38] the
First Cause,[39] and the ontological ground of all existence.[40]
God's essence is forever unknowable and--in contrast to many
forms of theosophical Jewish mysticism--is not subject to
human apprehension through normal cognitive processes or

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[36]Giqatila uses the term _yiḥud ha-'amiti_ (absolute
unity) in the sense that God's oneness is unique. See e.g.,
_GE_, 72d-73d. The term appears throughout _GE_ and is best
rendered "absolute unity" (instead of "true unity"). The
term _'amitat ha-yiḥud_, which also appears frequently in _GE_,
might be translated as "the verification of the divine unity."
For this translation, see H. A. Wolfson, _Crescas' Critique
of Aristotle_ (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 324, n. 11. On the
application of the term _'amiti_ to God, see the explanation of
Hillel of Verona in _Ḥemdah Genuzah_ (Koenigsberg, 1856),
p. 32a. See also the term _ha-'amiti_ in Maimonides' _Mishneh
Torah_, ed. J. Cohen (Jerusalem, 1964), I and _Guide_, I:1.
In addition to Maimonides, another likely source of Giqatila's
conceptions of the divine unity is Baḥya ibn Pakudah. _Ḥovot
Ha-Levavot_ (Warsaw, 1875), "Sha^car ha-Yiḥud," sections 7 and
8. For the Arabic sources of the term _yiḥud_, see I. Heine-
mann, "Maimuni und die arabischen Einheitslehrer," _MGWJ_,
LXXIX (1935), 102-47. By the thirteenth century, the term
yiḥud ha-'amiti had become an established term. See L. Zunz,
Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie (Berlin, 1865),
pp. 629-30. Regarding this term, Zunz says that "namentlich
seit dem 13. Jahrhundert, ein stehender Terminus auch als
Titel für Schriften die von der Einheit handeln . . . ."

[37]_GE_, 5b [B]. The reference given here and in
nn. 38-42, below, constitute single examples which can be
found throughout _GE_.

[38]_GE_, 4a.

[39]_GE_, 6b.

[40]_GE_, 5b [B].

through mystical experiences.[41]   Likewise, Giqatila maintained

that no positive attributes may be predicated of Him.[42]   In

addition, other major theological issues in GE, such as free

will, the nature of evil, divine providence, the nature of

prophecy and the possibility of miracles, bear the distinct

mark of Maimonidean rationalism.[43]

The significance of this rationalistic content alone

should not, however, be overstated.[44] Although it is true that

Giqatila was profoundly influenced by Maimonides, so were many

other thirteenth-century Spanish thinkers, including both

rationalists and mystics.   Scholem correctly reminds us that

it was the qabbalists themselves who were among the first to

request Hebrew translations of Maimonides' theological works.[45]

By the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century, the raging

debate over the orthodoxy of these works had largely subsided

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[41]GE, 6d [T], and especially 66a [T].

[42]GE, 16a [B].

[43]See Gottlieb, Studies, pp. 263-79, and references
cited in n. 44, below.

[44]This is one of many shortcomings in two uncritical
essays of M. C. Weiler: "'Iyyunim be-terminologia ha-qabbalit
shel R. Yosef Giqatila ve-yaḥuso le-Rambam," Hebrew Union
College Annual, XXXVII (1966) [Hebrew Section], 13-44, and
"Torat ha-qabbalah shel R. Yosef Giqatila be-sefaraw Ginnat
'Egoz ve-Shaᶜare 'Orah," in Temirin, ed. I. Weinstock
(Jerusalem, 1972), I, 157-86.

[45]Ursprung, pp. 195-200.

and Maimonides' _Guide_ and _Book of Knowledge_ (Book I of
Mishneh Torah) were freely studied. Late thirteenth and
early fourteenth-century strictures against the study of
philosophy refer not to the Maimonidean corpus but to the
metaphysical writings of Aristotle and his Arabic commenta-
tors.[46]

Thus, there is nothing unique about Maimonides'
decisive impact on Giqatila. Rather, it is Maimonidean
religious rationalism side by side with letter and number
symbolism that give his philosophical-qabbalistic writings
their distinctive quality. Letter and number symbolism func-
tions in two different but related ways in these writings.
It serves as an exegetical technique by which Giqatila
grounds both rationalistic and philosophical-qabbalistic no-
tions in the Torah. ". . . all these (theological) enquiries
[_haqirot_] may be understood through the esoteric exegesis
[_sod_] of the Torah."[47] In addition, Giqatila uses letter and

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[46]See, for example, Solomon ibn Adret, _Responsa_, I,
Nos. 415 and 416. In the thirteenth century, the term
"filosofim" refers not to so-called "rationalists" but to
those who rejected the doctrine of creation _ex nihilo_. See
J. Sermonetta, review of _Between Reason and Faith: Anti-
Rationalism in Italian Jewish Thought 1250-1650_, by I. E.
Barzilay, in _KS_, VL (1969-70), 543, n. 9. Also see A. S.
Halkin, "The Ban On the Study of Philosophy" [Heb.], in
Peraqim, ed. E. S. Rosenthal (Jerusalem, 1967-68), pp. 35-
55, and the comments of M. Saperstein, _Decoding the Rabbis_
(Cambridge, Mass., 1980), p. 273, n. 15.

[47]_GE_, 3a.

number symbolism to explain the cosmological origins of the universe from the Divine Name, YHWH. His explanation, which is based on certain cosmological theories found in Sefer Yezirah, conceives of the physical universe as ontologically constituted from letters and numbers.[48]

Letter and Number Symbolism As Esoteric Exegesis

Throughout his philosophical-qabbalistic writings, Giqatila makes extensive use of an esoteric exegetical technique which is based on letter and number symbolism. This symbolism is comprised of the exegetical principles of gemaṭria (the numerical value of Scriptural words and passages); noṭariqon (acronyms); and temurah (letter substitutions in order to form new words).[49] These three modes of symbolic exegesis (darkhe ha-qabbalah) are alluded to in an acronym in the first word of the title "Ginnat" 'Eqoz (The Garden of the Nut Trees). The second word, 'eqoz (nut tree or nut), which had a long history of midrashic and qabbalistic interpretation,[50] refers to the innermost recesses (sod) of

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[48]See below, pp. 68-70.

[49]On these techniques, the principle of which was already known in Biblical and/or talmudic times, see Scholem, Kabbalah, pp. 337-43.

[50]In most midrashim, as well as in medieval Jewish literature, the inner kernel of the nut usually symbolized the object that was treasured--such as Israel--while the shell symbolized its protective covering. See the midrashic

Scripture which are likened to a nut. Just as a nut is

covered with outward layers or shells, so the esoteric level

of Scripture is concealed by outward or exoteric modes of

interpretation, such as the literal understanding (peshat)

of the text: "(Just as) one finds in the nut both the hidden

and the revealed . . . (so, too) in the Garden of Nut Trees

you will discover hidden things . . . ."[51]

It seems evident from the above quoted text, as well

as several other passages in GE, that Giqatila saw the Torah

as one great repository of esoteric ideas, written in cryptic

fashion or code form. Letter and number symbolism is simply

references listed in A. Hyman, Torah ha-ketuvah ve-ha-mesurah
(Tel-Aviv, 1926), III, 195. See also Judah Halevi, Kuzari
(Leipzig, 1887), I:103 (p. 55).
    The nut was a popular symbol in mystical literature.
See A. Altmann, "Eleazer of Worms' Hokhmat ha-'Egoz," Journal
of Jewish Thought, X (1959), 103, and J. Dan, "The Origin
of Hokhmat ha-'Egoz," Journal of Jewish Studies, XVII (1966),
78. For the nut as a sexual symbol, see idem, "To the
Development of the Hokhmat ha-'Egoz Texts" [Heb.], Alei Sefer,
V (1978), 49-53. For a survey of thirteenth-century mystical
interpretations of the nut symbol, see Y. Liebes, Sections
of the Zohar Lexicon [Heb.]. (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation,
Hebrew University, 1976), I, 20-27.
    Giqatila combined the motif of the nut with that of
the multiple layers of Scriptural interpretation. Although
the Christian exegete Joachim of Fiore seems to have been
the first to combine these two motifs (see Scholem, On the
Kabbalah and Its Symbolism, trans. R. Mannheim [New York,
1965], p. 54, n. 2), Giqatila seems to be the first Jewish
exegete to associate the nut symbol with the esoteric and
exoteric levels of Scripture.

[51]GE, 3b [T].

that technique which enables the qabbalistically informed
reader to decode the Torah and "crack" the text, which then
yields its full esoteric meaning. The Torah, then, is
ultimately a secret book, and letter and number symbolism
is the key to its secrets.

It is necessary here to distinguish between two dif-
ferent uses of "esoteric" or sod in GE. For the most part,
sod signifies the innermost recesses of Scripture which may
be penetrated by means of symbolic exegesis. The innermost
recesses of Scripture, as we shall see, are often ration-
alistic theological ideas. By openly discussing them, though,
Giqatila has made most of these "esoteric" ideas exoteric.
But Giqatila also deals with sod (pl., sodot) in the sense of
highly sensitive theological subjects which he insisted must
remain hidden from the general public. He does, though, dis-
cuss the general nature of these sodot explicitly.[52]

As an example of the first type of sod we might con-
sider Giqatila's exegetical interpretation of the divine name
'Ehyeh in Exodus 3:13-14. Following Maimonides, Giqatila
insisted that only the Tetragram (YHWH) designates the Deity
and should be the only name identified with the primary, in-
effable name of the Deity (shem ha-meforash) according to

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[52]See below, pp. 57-61 and 75-79.

rabbinic sources.[53] All other divine names, including 'Ehyeh,

are either derivatives of YHWH or are appellatives which con-

note divine action but not God Himself.[54] Both Maimonides

and Giqatila, then, must somehow explain two Scriptural verses,

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[53]See GE, 4a [T] and cf. with Maimonides, Guide,
I:61. For the rabbinic sources regarding the Tetragram and
shem ha-meforash, see J. Lauterbach, "Substitutes For the
Tetragrammaton," Proceedings of the American Academy for
Jewish Research, II (1931), 39-67.
     Other Jewish thinkers who maintained the primacy of
the name YHWH include Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam), Perush ᶜal
Ha-Torah, ed. D. Rosin (Jerusalem, 1969), p. 81; Abraham ibn
Daud, Sefer He-'Emunah Ha-Ramah, ed. S. Weil (Frankfurt a/M,
1852); and Judah Halevi, Kuzari, IV:2. According to Halevi,
YHWH is the foremost name though Yah is similar to it in
form and meaning and 'Ehyeh is derived from it. Halevi's
view is thus very close to that of Maimonides, as correctly
observed by D. Kaufmann, Geschichte der Attributenlehre
(Gotha, 1877), pp. 171-72, note. There is no basis for W.
Bacher's claim that Halevi equates 'Ehyeh with YHWH as both
are commonly derived from the Hebrew: היה. See Bacher,
Die Bibelexegese der Jüdischen Religionsphilosophen (Budapest,
1892), p. 123. However, this is in fact the view of Abraham
ibn Ezra, with whom Giqatila takes issue. See GE, 8d and cf.
to Abraham ibn Ezra's remarks in his Sefer Ha-Shem, ed. G.
Lippmann (Fuerth, 1834), p. 4a, and Ibn Ezra's Commentary to
Exodus, ed. A. Weiser (Jerusalem, 1976) on Exodus 3:15
(beginning) and Exodus 15:2.

[54]GE, 7a. Giqatila enumerates the following divine
names in GE, 5a: יהוה שדי, יה, יהוה אלהים, אדני, אהיה, יהוה,
יהוה אלוה, אל, יהוה צבאות. It is not clear how Giqatila
(and others, such as Maimonides) reconciled his list of divine
names with those mentioned in the tannaitic source in B.
Shavuot 35a. On this source, see the literature cited in
Maimonides' Sefer Ha-Madaᶜ, ed. J. Cohen (Jerusalem, 1964),
p. 120, note. It is also not clear why Giqatila arranged the
names as he did (though there are variations in different MSS
of GE) or why certain names are included with other names.
It is possible that Giqatila's list of divine names alludes
to the following gematria: The numerical value of the names
he listed totals 1203 which equals 231 + 1 (i.e., the word
itself) = 232, which corresponds to the number of alphabetic
combinations mentioned in Sefer Yeẓirah.

Exodus 3:13-14, which suggest that 'Ehyeh and not YHWH is the foremost divine name:[55]

> Moses said to God, "When I come to the Israelites and say to them 'the God of your fathers has sent me to you,' and they ask me, 'What is His name?' what shall I say to them?" And God said to Moses, 'Ehyeh-Asher-'Ehyeh (I-Am-That-I-Am) . . . . 'Ehyeh (I Am) sent me to you."

In order to solve the problem, Maimonides explains these verses so that the question "What is His name?" refers not to the name itself but to the nature or meaning of His name, which is YHWH. In effect, the verse asks "what is the nature of God?" God (YHWH) thereupon answers that His nature is eternal being ('Ehyeh).[56]

But Maimonides' explanation is forced since YHWH, the primary Divine Name, is nowhere mentioned in the text. Giqatila solves this difficulty. By using the technique of symbolic exegesis, he demonstrates that the Divine Name, YHWH, is indeed mentioned in Exodus 3:13, albeit cryptically. Giqatila observes that the initial Hebrew letters of four mid-sentence words in Exodus 3:13, ". . . and they ask me, 'What is His name?' what shall I say to them? . . . ." (Heb.: li mah shemo mah), have the numerical value of 410 which equals (in gematria) the phrase "sod shem," the "secret of the Divine

Name." Thus the Divine Name is esoterically contained in the four words "li mah shemo mah." That YHWH is in fact the Divine Name is hinted to in the final letters (notariqon) of these four words which spell "YHWH."[57]

On the basis of this symbolic exegesis of the first and last letters of four words in Exodus 3:13, Giqatila renders the passage not as a question but as a statement: ". . . and they shall say His name is 'What' (ve-'ameru li "mah" shemo)." As Giqatila explains in GE and elsewhere, mah ("What") esoterically symbolizes the Divine Name YHWH since both words can be shown to have the same numerical value.[58] Though not stated explicitly, Giqatila also seems to say that God's name is "What" in the sense that we can ask what He is, but can receive no answer.[59]

Giqatila also demonstrates the primacy of the Divine Name YHWH by means of the esoteric exegetical technique of

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[57] GE, 9a. This notariqon on Exodus 3:13 is not original to Giqatila; it is found in Eleazar of Worms' Sefer Ha-Shem, MS British Museum 737, f. 174r. Eleazar deals with the same problem of reconciling the divine name 'Ehyeh with YHWH, and he, too, explains YHWH as the primary name. On the relationship between Giqatila and Eleazar's Sefer Ha-Shem, see below, pp. 93-96.

[58] GE, 9a. On YHWH = 45, see Appendix II, below, pp. 178-79.

[59] Cf. the philosophical-qabbalistic notion of mah with the theosophical concept in Giqatila's Shaᶜare 'Orah.

letter permutation (zeruf).[60] He observes that when the

four letters of YHWH are permuted, all twelve combinations

denote "being" and nothing else. This fact makes the Divine

Name YHWH unique because, unlike other divine names, its

component elements (i.e., letters) cannot combine to create

a different meaning.[61]

Briefly, then, whereas for Maimonides Scripture does

not contradict the position that YHWH is the primary divine

name, for Giqatila, Scripture actually "states" it.

Giqatila often refers to these esoteric modes of

exegesis as a "demonstration" (mofet). By this he means

supportive evidence for an idea, the veracity of which is

known independently of the esoteric "proof" at hand. As such,

Giqatila departs from the more common medieval rational use

of "demonstration" which denotes logical proofs.[62] This

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[60]Giqatila's use of letter permutation differs from
that of Abraham Abulafia. See below, p. 114, n. 17.

[61]This permutation of the Divine Name is also found
in Eleazar of Worms, Sefer Ha-Shem, MS British Museum 737,
f. 225v.

[62]See Samuel ibn Tibbon, Perush ha-millot ha-zarot
(included at the end of most Hebrew editions of Maimonides'
Guide), s.v., מופת , and J. Klatzkin, 'Ozar ha-munaḥim ha-
filosofiyim [= Thesaurus Philosophicus], 2 vols. (Berlin,
1928-33), II, 164, s.v. מופת . The following is typical of
Giqatila's use of this term in GE (p. 69a): וכל אלו הדברים
הן דרכי הקבלה האמתית ושבי עדים להן המופת והשכל ....
A similar use of "mofet" is found in Baḥya ibn Asher's
Perush ᶜal Ha-Torah, III, 408, whose comment וקבלנו מופת לזה
in fact refers to a gematria on the word אחד.

different use of the term demonstration points to one of the

major differences between Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic

writings and Jewish rationalistic works: For the one, reli-

gious truths are largely "qabbalah" in the sense of "received

religious tradition"; for the other, they are religious doc-

trines which accord with, or are derived from, the rules of

logic. Accordingly, we should not view letter and number

symbolism in Giqatila's writings as a technique which he used

to produce new philosophical-qabbalistic ideas. Rather, as

he tells us in his introduction to GE, it is a technique by

means of which "(the principles of) our faith may be grounded

in [benuyot] the foundations of our Torah."[63]

The Soul and Perfect Man

Giqatila also uses "sod" to denote certain theologi-

cally sensitive topics which he thought should not be made

public. As an example of this, we might consider Giqatila's

concept of the soul (nefesh) and Perfect Man ('adam 'amiti),

two important and related subjects in which he openly dis-

agreed with Maimonides:[64]

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[63]GE, 3a.

[64]GE, 42b [B]-42c.

> We have seen the great and illustrious Maimonides
> reaffirm (his position) that (the place of) man
> is not greater than (that of) the (celestial)
> spheres and certainly (not greater than that of)
> the Angels [i.e., the Intelligences]. All this
> is true from the perspective of natural science.
> However, the Torah . . . (which may) invalidate
> the (conclusions of) natural science . . . measures
> spiritual height according to the degree of
> (one's) apprehension of things divine . . . .
>
> In the Guide, Maimonides repeats (his thesis)
> that man, upon reflecting on his material com-
> position, perceives his lowly state in comparison
> to the spheres . . . and much more so in com-
> parison to the Angels . . . .
>
> (Now) I am amazed (that Maimonides) could
> argue so. Granted (what he says is correct) with
> regard to the material composition of man. How-
> ever, the fact is (that man also has) a pure, in-
> telligent and lofty soul [nefesh ha-^{c}elyona ha-sikh-
> lit ha-zakkah] which is derived [ha-nigzeret] from
> the supernal source [ha-maqor ha-^{c}elyon] and which
> is dispatched [ha-nishlakhat] by God (to the human
> body) to control the material nature (of man) . . . .

Giqatila concedes that the material nature of the

celestial spheres, which is not subject to corruption, is

superior to that of man.[65] He also admits that the material

constitution of man may impede or altogether block the soul's

apprehension of Intelligibles. He reminds us, however, that

man's soul exists apart from the body, its origins are divine,

and it is charged with guiding and controlling the material

body.[66] If it succeeds in this task, the human soul may

attain a position of superiority to that of the celestial

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[65]Giqatila subscribed to the theory that the spheres
are constituted from a fifth element or quintessence. See,
e.g., GE, 70c.

[66]GE, 42d.

spheres and equal to, or greater than, that of the Intel-
ligences.[67]

By "superior" (<u>nikhbad mimmennu</u>) Giqatila means that
the human soul can intellectually apprehend things of a
greater spirituality, in accordance with the widely accepted
Neoplatonic theorem of "like knowing like."[68] The human soul
can apprehend non-material substances which the celestial
spheres, because of their material constitution, cannot.
Giqatila, however, does not explain why and in what sense the
human soul is potentially superior to the Intelligences, which
are also non-material. Whatever the exact nature of this
spiritual level, though, Moses, according to Giqatila, managed
to attain it.[69]

It should be noted in this context that throughout
his entire discussion of the soul in <u>GE</u>, Giqatila does not
use the term "conjunction" (<u>devequt</u>). Instead, he discusses

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[67]<u>GE</u>, 42d.

[68]See, for example, A. Altmann, <u>Studies in Religious
Philosophy and Mysticism</u> (London, 1969), p. 104.

[69]<u>GE</u>, 42d. Giqatila speaks of "sod Mosheh" by which
he may have meant that Moses was able to unite with the
Active Intellect or, more likely, that Moses was able to
apprehend the Intelligences [cf. שדי אל = 345 = משה in
<u>GE</u>, 17a [T] and esp. 17c [משה = החם]; 19d [B] on Moses
and miracles; and 33d [T] on Moses' intellectual apprehension.
Cf. also <u>GE</u>, 69d [B].

the soul in terms of its "apprehension" (<u>hassagah</u>)[70] which,
unlike the state of conjunction, implies a distance between
the subject and object of knowledge. However, in the
<u>Hassagot</u>, as we shall soon see, Giqatila does use the term
conjunction.

Perfect Man

In both <u>GE</u>[71] and the <u>Hassagot</u>, Giqatila briefly dis-
cusses the concept of Perfect Man (<u>'adam 'amiti</u>). In the
<u>Hassagot</u> he states:[72]

> Any person who is (considered) Perfect Man con-
> joins with the name of <u>YHWH</u>; there is no
> intermediary between them. And this is the
> esoteric meaning [<u>sod</u>] of "Let us make man in
> Our image . . ." [Gen. 1:26]. He is called
> <u>'adam 'amiti</u> because he is near the First Cause.

In the <u>Hassagot</u>, Giqatila uses number symbolism to
associate <u>'adam</u> to <u>'Elohim</u>, and in MS JTSA 851 he associates
<u>'adam</u> with <u>YHWH</u>.[73]

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[70]Maimonides' Arabic Term <u>idrāk</u> is translated as
"hassagah" by Samuel ibn Tibbon and as "apprehension" by
Solomon Pines. See also S. Pines, "The Limitations of Human
Knowledge According to Al-Farabi, Ibn Bajja, and Maimonides,"
in <u>Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature</u>, ed. I.
Twersky (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), pp. 82-109, and p. 90 (on
<u>idrāk</u>).

[71]<u>GE</u>, 33c [B]. See also <u>GE</u>, 70d, where Giqatila
refers to <u>'adam 'amiti</u> as <u>'adam ha-shalem</u>.

[72]<u>Hassagot</u>, 24b. For these texts, see below,
Appendix II, p. 178.

[73]See below, Appendix II, pp. 178-79.

Giqatila's discussion of the soul and Perfect Man,
however, leaves certain important questions unanswered.
Specifically, we are not told how one becomes "'adam 'amiti"
or Perfect Man. Is this spiritual rung acquired by means of
mystical exercises such as meditation or contemplation? Or
perhaps this state is attained "naturally" by means of self-
purification or self-abnegation? Another unanswered question,
mentioned above, is whether the individual soul merely ap-
prehends or also conjoins with higher spiritual forms.
Although Giqatila does not address himself to these questions
in GE, he does inform his readers that there is much more to
the subject than he is willing to discuss. Thus we encounter
statements such as "it is not proper to dwell on this topic,"
or "I cannot reveal anymore to you." Similarly, in his dis-
cussion of the spiritual heights attained by Moses, he states
that "this subject is exceedingly profound" and "the wise
must remain silent." Although Giqatila's concept of 'adam
'amiti resembles the concept of Perfect Man in thirteenth-
century Islamic (Sufi) mysticism,[74] there is ultimately no
way to ascertain that which Giqatila himself chooses not to
divulge.

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[74]See G. von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam (Chicago,
1953), p. 141.

CHAPTER III

THE CENTRAL THEME AND STRUCTURE OF

GINNAT 'EGOZ

A. The Theme

In addition to the presence of letter and number
symbolism which functions as an exegetical technique,
Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic writings are saturated
with letter and number symbolism which the author uses to
advance a unique cosmological theory concerning the divine
origins of the universe. A thorough reading of GE indicates
that this cosmological theory is the central and unifying
theme of the book's three parts, and constitutes one of
Giqatila's more original contributions to thirteenth-century
Jewish mysticism.

Hamshakhah: Cosmological Emanation

One of the fundamental tasks of medieval Jewish ra-
tionalism is to explain how a largely Aristotelian conception
of the Deity as entirely transcendent and unknowable can be
harmonized with the traditional, more immanent Jewish view

about the relationship of God to created existence. It was

necessary to reconcile such fundamental religious doctrines

as creation _ex nihilo_, divine providence, revelation, and

the possibility of miracles—all of which presuppose divine

immanence—with the notion of a wholly transcendent Being.

Maimonides solves this problem by conceiving of God's

relationship to the material world as an effluence (_shefa^c_)[1]

of divine bounty which overflows through the Separate Intel-

ligences to the lower orders of creation, the celestial

spheres and the sublunar world. Since he understands the

unceasing flow of divine bounty as necessary for the continued

existence of the Intelligences and lower orders of creation,

and since the overflow in no way affects God Himself,

Maimonides could speak of God as both transcendent and the

efficient cause of the universe. Maimonides also uses the

concept of divine effluence to explain other Jewish doctrines

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[1]_Shefa^c_ is the Hebrew translation of the Arabic
al-faid. See _Guide_, I:58, 69, 72, and especially II:12
(English ed., pp. 278-79) where the doctrine of _shefa^c_ is
clearly related to the notion of creation _ex nihilo_. Also
see Samuel ibn Tibbon, _Perush millot zarot_, s.v. שפע.
I. Efros, in his _Philosophical Terms in the Moreh Nevukim_
(New York, 1924), p. 118, s.v. שפע , renders "_shefa^c_" as
"emanation." In his English translation of the _Guide_, S.
Pines translates "_shefa^c_" as "overflow." S. Munk, in _Le
Guide des égarés_, 3 vols. (Paris, 1855-65), II, 101-104, and
102, n. 2 translates "_shefa^c_" as "_épanchement_" in the sense
of (divine) abundance. It is noteworthy that Judah al-Ḥarizi,
a less careful translator than Ibn Tibbon, renders _al-faid_
with the Hebrew root _'zl_ and not _shf^c_.

which presuppose God's immanence, such as prophecy, revelation, and providence.[2]

Qabbalists, too, grappled with the problem of the relationship of a transcendent Deity to the phenomenal world of man.[3] The conflict was resolved partly by means of the doctrine of _Sefirot_ which viewed the phenomenal world as translucent symbols of a higher spirituality, the supernal world of the Godhead, and partly by means of the doctrine of overflow of divine bounty.[4]

For Giqatila, the problem of the relationship of a transcendent Deity to the phenomenal world is paramount. Like Maimonides, Giqatila discusses this relationship in terms of an overflow or effluence of divine bounty (_shefa_[c]).[5] But in the vast majority of places in which he describes this

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[2]See, e.g., _Guide_, I:40, II:36, and III:51. On the relationship of several issues to the concept of _shefa_[c] in Maimonides' philosophy, see L. Strauss, "Maimunis Lehre von der Prophetie und ihre Quellen," _Le Monde oriental_, XXVIII (1934), 99-139, esp. 99-122.

[3]See Scholem, _Ursprung_, pp. 373-81, and idem, "Schöpfung aus Nichts," _Eranos Jahrbuch_, XXV (1957), 107-115. Also see E. Gottlieb, "The Significance of the Story of Creation in the Interpretations of Early Cabbalists" [Heb.], _Tarbiz_, XXXVII (1967-68), 294-317. Gottlieb correctly observes that mystical literature rarely spells out clearly exactly how the material universe emanates out of the nonmaterial supernal world(s).

[4]See below, pp. 134-36.

[5]E.g., _GE_, 3a [T].

relationship, Giqatila uses the term <u>hamshakhah</u>. In fact,

<u>hamshakhah</u> (or variations of the Hebrew root <u>mshkh</u>) occur

over two hundred times throughout <u>GE</u>. The repeated use of

this term in <u>GE</u>, then, strongly suggests that it is the

principal technical term of the treatise. We must there-

fore identify the source of this term and understand its

use in <u>GE</u> in order to identify the central theme of the

treatise.

In the sense of "overflow" or "emanation," <u>hamshakhah</u>

does not appear in pre-Tibbonide or Tibbonide Hebrew philo-

sophical works or translations and appears rarely, if at all,

in Hebrew rationalist works prior to the fourteenth century.[6]

The Jewish rationalist tradition is, therefore, not the

source of this term. In addition, the term is not found in

many mystical and qabbalistic traditions either. It does not

occur in the writings of German esoteric theology,[7] the

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[6]This general statement is based on extensive reading
of the literature, both primary and secondary, as well as
discussions with Professors S. Pines (Hebrew University), A.
Altmann (Brandeis University), and A. Hyman (Columbia Univer-
sity). The term <u>meshekh</u>, however, does appear in Solomon ibn
Gabirol's poem <u>Keter Malkhut</u>, in the context of creation <u>ex
nihilo</u>, and also appears in Judah ibn Tibbon's translation of
Saadia's <u>Emunot ve-Deot</u>, where it denotes (the) "source" (of
knowledge). On these and other uses of <u>mshkh</u> see J. Klatzkin,
<u>Ozar ha-munahim</u>, II, 293, s.v. משך.

[7]The term <u>meshekh</u> does appear in the writings of German
Theology, but only in the sense of a "prolonged" recitation of
liturgical texts. See, e.g., Judah b. Samuel the Pious, <u>Sefer
Hasidim</u>, ed. J. Wistinetzki (Frankfurt a/M, 1924), p. 7. I
owe this reference to Dr. Ivan G. Marcus.

^{C}Iyyun circle or in the Gnostic mystical school as repre-
sented by the writings of Jacob and Isaac Kohen of Castile.
The term also does not appear in the writings of Giqatila's
associate, Abraham Abulafia, and Barukh Togarmi.[8]

On the other hand, the term does appear with rela-
tive frequency in the writings of the Gerona Circle, with
which Giqatila was familiar,[9] and in the works of others
influenced by that school. Specifically, the root mshkh is
found in the writings of Azriel and Ezra of Gerona, Nach-
manides, Jacob b. Sheshet, Isaac ibn Latif, as well as Moses
of Burgos and Todros Abulafia.[10] The latter two, though
students of the Brothers Kohen of Castile, were significantly
influenced by the Gerona School.

Hamshakhah is one of two terms that the Gerona mystics
used to express emanation; the other is variations of the

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[8]This general statement, too, is based on extensive
reading of the literature of these groups as well as on dis-
cussions with Professors Y. Dan and M. Idel (Hebrew University).
Regarding Barukh Togarmi, see the interesting parallel cited
below, p. 123, n. 46.

[9]See below, p. 67, n. 14 and pp. 102-105.

[10]See, e.g., Ezra b. Solomon, Perush ^{C}al Shir Ha-
Shirim, p. 509 and Vajda, Le Commentaire d'Ezra, p. 464, s.v.
hamshaka; Azriel, Perush ^{C}al Ha-Aggadot, pp. 23, 25, 26, 29,
40, and 80; Asher b. David, Perush Shem Ha-Meforash, in Ha-
Segulah (Jerusalem, 1935), I and II, passim; Nachmanides,
Perush ^{C}al Ha-Torah, II, comments to Num. 11:17; Jacob b.
Sheshet, Meshiv Devarim Nikhohim (hereafter: MDN), ed. G.
Vajda (Jerusalem, 1968), p. 214, s.v. משך ; on Moses of
Burgos, see Scholem, Tarbiz, V (1934), 181; and Todros
Abulafia, Sha^{C}ar Ha-Razim, MS Munich 209.

root *'zl*. An examination of the contexts in which these two terms appear, indicates that they were used in different ways. The term *'zl*, it seems, denotes the emanation of the <u>Sefirot</u> from within the Godhead while <u>mshkh</u> indicates the effluence or "drawing downwards" of divine bounty through the <u>Sefirot</u>. Thus, <u>mshkh</u> frequently appears in the context of a qabbalistic commentary on the Hebrew liturgy which explains how prayers, if directed to the appropriate <u>Sefirah</u>, can cause divine bounty (<u>berakhah</u>) to flow downwards through the supernal channels (<u>zinnorot</u>) to the material world.[11]

While Jacob b. Sheshet uses <u>mshkh</u> to express the pulling down of divine bounty,[12] he also uses the term to convey the emanation of divine power or forces from a primordial point (<u>nequdah</u>) or essence (<u>havayah</u>), much as a line extends from a point.[13] In <u>Meshiv Devarim Nekhohim</u>, a theosophical qabbalistic book with which Giqatila was familiar,[14] Jacob b. Sheshet uses <u>mshkh</u> most often in the section on cosmology where he employs mathematical symbolism

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[11]This use of "<u>hamshakhah</u>" is also quite prominent in Giqatila's theosophical-qabbalistic writings. See below, pp. 134-36.

[12]E.g., <u>MDN</u>, p. 158.

[13]<u>MDN</u>, pp. 113 and 117. See also below, p. 103, n. 40. Also cf. Klatzkin, <u>'Ozar ha-munahim</u>, II, 65, s.v. משך.

[14]Giqatila cites <u>MDN</u> in his philosophical-qabbalistic work, MS JTSA 851, f. 89r.

to portray the creative process. Elsewhere in the book, he uses mshkh to express the emanation of the primordial letters from the Sefirah of Hokhmah.[15] It appears, then, that Jacob b. Sheshet understood hamshakhah as the emanation or extension of something from its ontological root or principle.

Giqatila also uses hamshakhah as Jacob b. Sheshet does, but without the latter's theosophical (i.e., sefirotic) associations. Instead, Giqatila's major objective in GE is to show how the entire universe as well as the divine names and the Torah, ontologically emanated from the four letters (YHWH) of the Divine Name which is the principle of their existence (yisod mezi'utam).[16] Giqatila also refers to this ontological principle of reality as the primordial point (nequdah) and the primordial essence (havayah qadmonit):[17]

> The lower world [ha-^colam ha-shafel] emanates [nimshakh] from the true (principle of) the celestial spheres which (in turn) emanates from the true (principle of) the primordial essence. All reality, therefore is reducible to that essence which is the esoteric principle [sod] of His Name [i.e., YHWH].

Giqatila's theory of hamshakhah as cosmological emanation derives in part from Sefer Yezirah which states

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[15]MDN, p. 15.

[16]GE, Preface, 3a.

[17]GE, 19a. Cf. also GE, 30c [B] where Giqatila sums up that "everything exists by way of emanation" [be-derekh ha-hamshakhah].

that the universe in its very essence, is constituted from letters and numbers[18] and, furthermore, that these primordial letters and numbers are intimately associated with the Divine Name.[19] Since each Hebrew letter has a numerical value, Giqatila demonstrates his theory of hamshakhah by showing how all that is not YHWH--from divine names to the material, composite earth--emanated from YHWH by means of its numerical relationship to the Divine Name:[20]

> You should know that the existence of all things is (dependent) upon (their) numerical relationship [heshbon] and (the principle of) numerical relationship (is dependent) on Him [i.e., YHWH]

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[18]At the basis of this theory lies a neo-Pythagorean concept that numbers are the essential unit of the universe. For a brief but lucid account of this theory, see T. Greenwood and E. A. Maziar, Greek Mathematical Philosophy (New York, 1968), pp. 10-48. Also, for a discussion of the Neoplatonic number theory in SY which also applies, mutatis mutandis, to GE, see P. Merlan, "Zur Zahlenlehre im Platonismus (Neuplatonismus) und im Sefer Yezira," Journal of the History of Philosophy, III (1965), 167-87.

[19]See Sefer Yezirah (hereafter, SY), I:13 (Goldschmidt edition, p. 53); SY, par. #15 (Gruenwald edition, p. 146). See also the statement: וכל היצור וכל הדבור יוצא שמם אחד. (= Goldschmidt ed., II:5, p. 55; Gruenwald ed., par. #19, p. 148). G. Scholem (Kabbalah and Its Symbolism, p. 168) says that שם אחד in SY designates the Divine Name. Giqatila, in GE, 65d, says that שם אחד refers to YHWH.

SY appears in numerous editions. In this study it will be cited according to the edition of I. Gruenwald, "A Preliminary Critical Edition of Sefer Yezirah," Israel Oriental Studies (Jerusalem, 1971), I, 132-77, and/or L. Goldschmidt, ed., Das Buch der Schöpfung (Frankfurt a/M, 1894).

[20]GE, 46a. Giqatila alludes to the gematria of החשבון = 371 = שם ההריה.

. . . We may observe that letters function according
to number relationships and (their) numerical value
[mispar] which is their (ontological) basis . . . .
He created (the universe) only through . . . number
relationships and He manages it solely through
number relationships . . . . . The Divine Name YHWH
is the esoteric principle [sod] of number relation-
ships.

Together with many other qabbalists, Giqatila upheld

the notion that the Divine Name is the metaphysical origin

of all language, the Torah, and the physical universe.[21]   The

Divine Name, which harbors the concentrated power of the

Deity, is the source of all being.[22]   In contrast to theo-

sophical qabbalists, however, Giqatila strongly maintained

that the letters of the Divine Name were created and did not

emanate from the divine essence.[23]   It is in this sense that

Giqatila "de-theosophized" the term hamshakhah.[24]   He thus

combined a largely Maimonidean metaphysics regarding the

transcendent nature of God with a Neoplatonic qabbalistic

metaphysics regarding the origins of the phenomenal world.

We have seen that Giqatila's use of hamshakhah as

cosmological emanation from a primordial point or from the

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[21]See G. Scholem, "The Name of God and the Linguistic
Theory of the Kabbalah," Diogenes, XXIX (1972), 59-80; 164-94.

[22]GE, 11c [B]:   ‏כי מכח יהוה שמו הגדול בתהורה הכל‎.

[23]GE, 4b, 5c [T].

[24]On other qabbalistic terms that Giqatila may have
"de-theosophized," see below, pp. 102-106.

Divine Name is highly reminiscent of Jacob b. Sheshet's use of this term. We have also noted that Giqatila was familiar with Jacob bar Sheshet's book, Meshiv Devarim Nekhohim, in which the term hamshakhah appears frequently.[25] It seems highly likely, therefore, that Jacob b. Sheshet was Giqatila's immediate source. It is, of course, possible that Giqatila borrowed the term hamshakhah from another source which is no longer extant.

Hamshakhah As the Unifying Theme of GE

The thesis that the entire universe emanates from the letters of the Divine Name by means of hamshakhah is both the central and unifying thesis of GE. All three books of GE thematically relate to, and depend on, this theme.

In Book I, Giqatila presents a conception of God which, as stated above,[26] largely adheres to the rationalistic notions of Maimonides. But while this rationalist view of the Deity is a major subject of Book I, it is not its primary theme. Giqatila hardly needed to reiterate that which Maimonides and others had already said. Rather, after advancing a largely Maimonidean conception of God, Giqatila set out to demonstrate how each divine name emanates from YHWH by means

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[25]See above, p. 67 and n. 14.

[26]See above, pp. 46-48.

of <u>hamshakhah</u>. The following table outlines the ontological

relationship of <u>YHWH</u>, by means of letter and number symbolism,

to the other divine names and appellatives according to Book

I of <u>GE</u>:

<u>Table 1</u>

<u>'Ehyeh</u> [**אהיה**] = 21 = <u>YHW</u>, which emanates from <u>YHWH</u>.[27]

<u>Yah</u> [**יה**] = <u>yod heh</u> [**הא יוד**] = 26 = <u>YHWH</u>.[28]

<u>'El</u> [**אל**] = 31 = <u>YHWH</u> + 4 letters of the Name + the
         Name itself (26 + 4 + 1 = 31).[29]

<u>'El Shadday</u> [**אל שדי**] = 345 = <u>ha-Shem</u> [**השם**], the Name[30]
         (i.e., <u>YHWH</u>).

<u>'Elohim</u> [**אלהים**] = 86 = <u>khaf waw</u> [**וו כף**] = **כ"ו** ,[31]
         first letters (<u>notariqon</u>) = 26 = <u>YHWH</u>.

<u>'Adonay</u> [**אדני**] = 65 = <u>YHWH</u> + <u>KWZW</u> (26 + 39 = 65).[32]

<u>YHWH Ẓeva'ot</u> [**יהוה צבאות**].[33]

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[27]<u>GE</u>, 9c [T]: **ושם יהו (=אהיה) מורה ראשית המסכה המשסכ החידוש**
and 9d [T]: **שם אהיה מורה אמתת ההמשכרת מכח הריתו יתב'**. On 9d,
Giqatila observes that **יהו**, which = **אהיה** in <u>gematria</u>, also =
יהוה אחד when it is spelled out (**יוד הא ואו** = 39).

[28]The notion that **יוד הא** = **יה** = 26 = <u>YHWH</u> is found
in Eleazar of Worms, <u>Sefer Ha-Shem</u>, MS British Museum 737, f.
170v, and is alluded to by Abraham ibn Ezra, <u>Perush ᶜal Shemot</u>,
ad loc., Ex. 15:2.

[29]<u>GE</u>, 5b: **בהירת שם אל נמשך מכח שם יהוה במנין כ"ו ו־**
אותיותיו ארבע ומלה אחת כולל א"ל הרי לך סוד השם .... עולה
ל"ב. Also, cf. <u>GE</u>, 10a [B], 10d [T] and MS JTSA 851, ff.
70v-71v. <u>'El</u> is associated with a more advanced stage in the
creation process, as indicated in <u>GE</u>, 13a [B].

[30]<u>GE</u>, 17c. On the "Name" as referring to the Tetragram,
see M. Yoma 3:8 and 6:2.

By demonstrating that all divine names and appella-
tives emanate from YHWH, Giqatila in effect shows that the
divine attributes and creative action which these names
represent also emanate from YHWH. For example, most medieval
Jewish rationalists understood 'Elohim to denote, among other
things, the divine power which governs the forces of nature.
With this understanding in mind, Giqatila shows that 'Elohim,
or the divine force that it represents, emanates from YHWH.
He first shows how the divine name, Yah, is symbolically
derived from YHWH, and then how 'Elohim is symbolically re-
lated to Yah. 'Elohim, he tells us, is really a compound of
'alom-Yah or, alternatively, 'elem-Yah. As 'alom-Yah, the
"binding power of Yah," 'Elohim "binds" the created order to

Notes for Table 1 continued:

    [31]GE, 5a, 12a, 56c [T], et al. 'Elohim is shown to
emanate from YHWH through hamshakhah in GE, 11c: הרי לך
‏שם אלהים מקבל כח והמסכה מסם יה שהוא תכלית סמוש ההויות‏ .
See also GE, 14a, where the divine names 'Elohim and
'Elo'ah are related to YHWH in the following manner: ‏אלהים‏ ‏אלוה‏ ‏אלהים‏

    [32]GE, 14c. On "KWZW," see M. Gaster, The Sword of
Moses (London, 1890), pp. 11-12.

    [33]GE, 18d [B]: ‏כי אלו ג‏׳ ‏צבאות נמשכים בתחלת כל ה‏—
‏המסכות מאמתת שם ההויה‏ .

the constant and unchanging laws of nature.[34] In the form

of 'elem-Yah, the "mute one of Yah," 'Elohim discloses it

impotence without the divine power of Yah.[35] In this fashion,

Giqatila accentuates the primacy of Yah, and ultimately that

of YHWH, in the creation process, though, according to the

account in Genesis, the divine name 'Elohim seems to pre-

dominate.

Books II and III of GE also depend upon the theme

of hamshakhah. Just as Book I shows the emanation of all

divine names from YHWH, Book II shows the emanation of the

physical universe, celestial spheres and motion from YHWH:

". . . all which we have said in that part (of GE which dis-

cusses) His names . . . applies . . . with regard to the

(Book dealing with the) twenty-two (letters)."[36] Similarly,

Book III, which deals with the philosophic-qabbalistic

symbolism of the Hebrew vowel points, stresses the idea that

holem, a raised dot, symbolizes the primordial point from

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[34]GE, 13d: זהו הסוד המורה בהיותו יתברך בקרא אלהים
במעשה הסב״ע על אגודת הסבעים והרכבתה מלשון מאלמים אלומים ש-
במעשה הסבע הוא הסוד על היותם באגדים זה בזה ....

[35]GE, 11c [T]: כי יה שהוא בכלל בשם אלהים הוא בותן
גו כח לפעול שאין צורה מגעת למי שהוא אלם מבלתי יכולת יה....

[36]GE, 21a [B].

which all existence emanates.[37] Hamshakhah, then, is the
unifying motif of all three books of GE.

Hamshakhah and the Esoteric Element in Ginnat 'Eqoz

In addition to its being the central, exoteric theme
of GE, hamshakhah also appears to be intimately associated
with one of the major esoteric themes of GE.[38]

As is the case with many medieval theological and
philosophical treatises, Ginnat 'Eqoz alludes to material
that its author thought were too sensitive to be discussed
explicitly. When treating subjects that border on the
esoteric, Giqatila usually brought the discussion to an
abrupt halt, adding that "the reader must be content with the
hints presented" or "I am unable to elaborate more." These
remarks presumably sufficed to direct the more advanced and
informed reader to other philosophical-qabbalistic sources
which could provide him with the necessary information.
Accordingly, one cannot fully understand the esoteric theme
of GE solely on the basis of GE itself. Nonetheless, an
examination of all references to esoteric material in GE,

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[37]GE, 66b (corrected on the basis of MS JTSA 1218):
כי בקודת חולם לעולם יסוד השכל והיא ראשית ההמשכה וחפץ העל־
יון ובה יוכל האדם להגיע למעלת השכל ....
[38]See above, pp. 57-61, for the other major esoteric
theme.

besides linking the book to Barukh Togarmi,[39] discloses that
the esoteric subject matter is largely connected to the
central theme of GE, hamshakhah. In addition to hamshakhah,
we must consider two other esoteric terms, hakhrahah and
sod ha-Shem, which appear in the same esoteric sections or
passages.

We have already seen that Giqatila espoused an
ontological theory, based on letter and number symbolism,
which posits that all created existence emanated from YHWH
by means of hamshakhah. As such, reality is ontologically
constituted from the Divine Name.[40]

This ontology prompts the question of whether, for
Giqatila, there is a principle governing hamshakhah which
determines what is emanated and how. While he does not openly
raise this issue, it is evident from several passages in GE
that Giqatila did not think of hamshakhah as a random pro-
cess. Rather, he thought that each created thing has its own
"hamshakhah," or pattern of emanation and its own esoteric
relationship (sod) to YHWH. Every created thing has its
unique numerical and alphabetic constitution, a kind of
mystical "genetic code," which is the ground of its being.

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[39]See the text in Appendix III, below, p. 186.

[40]GE, 54c: כי כל הנמצאים כולם בית׳ הם מתקיימים ה־
Cf. GE, 46b [B]. מסכה אחר המסכה עד שיגיעו אל התכלית ....

Given an ancient and well-established tradition regarding the
powers of the Divine Name,[41] Giqatila conceeded that one who
was privy to the esoteric principle of hamshakhah could
generate a hamshakhah process of his own and thus create or
alter natural phenomenon. He calls this act of controlling
or "forcing" an emanation process hakhraḥah. Hakhraḥah, he
tells us, could be performed by one who was privy to sod
ha-Shem, the esoteric vocalization of the Divine Name.
According to rabbinic tradition, the exact pronunciation of
the Divine Name, once common knowledge, became the preserve
of a select few associated with the Temple.[42] Given the
creative power of the Divine Name, Giqatila explains that
such knowledge was potentially harmful if misused by an un-
scrupulous person. According to Giqatila, there are many
secret ways of vocalizing the Tetragram and each vocaliza-
tion governs or "controls" a different hamshakhah process.
In Book I, he writes:

> (The Tetragram) has various modes of vocalization
> indicating the esoteric knowledge [sod] of the
> emanation [hamshakhat] of all being from God as
> well as the knowledge (of the process) of divine
> effluence [hashpaᶜat 'amitato] . . . . It is a
> great science . . . when one can grasp the secret

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[41]See above, p. 70, n. 21.

[42]See M. Yoma 6:2; Sotah 7:6; B. Qiddushin 71a;
and Maimonides, Guide, I:61-64.

of the creation of all existence from His truth
and eternity.[43]

In Book II, Giqatila speaks about that rare indi-
vidual,[44]

> . . . one in a generation, or perhaps many genera-
> tions . . . who knows certain (acts of) concentra-
> tion [kawwanot] by which the Divine Name draws
> [moshekh]all existence downwards. Each and every
> emanation has its special procedure (by which it
> operates) in accordance with the Supreme Concentra-
> tion and (does) not (occur) randomly . . . . This
> individual knows the (acts of) concentration
> (required for) the enunciation of the Divine Name
> and knows how each thing that he wishes to coerce
> [lehakhri'ah] is contingent upon the Divine Name
> that he enunciates.

Unfortunately, we do not know the extent to which

Giqatila was personally involved in this esoteric activity

which, in reality, is theurgic magic. There is, however, an

anonymous text ascribed to a student of Joseph Giqatila,

which lists numerous vocalizations of the Divine Name and

the corresponding aspects of nature which they control.[45] If

this text authentically represents Giqatila's views, we would

then have literary evidence that Giqatila was privately en-

gaged in the esoteric activity hinted at in GE but which he

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[43]GE, 15c [B].

[44]GE, 46c [B]. Also see GE, 72a [B].

[45]See MS British Museum 754, ff. 142r-45r. This
text is found in several MSS, some of which are mentioned by
Scholem in Einige kabbalistische Handschriften im Britischen
Museum, p. 37.

openly disavowed.[46]

B.

Sefer Yeẓirah is more than an important source of GE. It seems that Giqatila patterned large sections of GE according to the format of SY: Book I of GE, following the opening paragraph of SY, discusses the divine names; Book II, following the same topical sequence of SY, deals with the twenty-two Hebrew letters and their ontological relationship to astronomy and cosmology. In fact, the choice of several chapter and sub-chapter headings in Book II as well as their subject content, can be explained on the basis of regarding SY, in part, as a literary model of GE, and GE, in part, as a commentary (perush) on SY.

There is nothing surprising in this. Giqatila and others associated with his type of philosophical-qabbalah considered SY the primary text of mystical study. Giqatila, for one, considered SY an authoritative--though not a canonical or sacred--work on cosmology. In addition, two

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[46]Zacuto, in his chronicle, refers to Giqatila as a miracle worker ("baᶜal ha-nissim"). See Sefer Yuḥasin, ed. Z. H. Filopowski, p. 133. Giqatila's stern denunciation of the theurgic use of letters in the beginning of his Shaᶜare 'Orah is so strong that it may in fact have been a personal disavowal of theurgy. In any case, Giqatila continued to believe that certain individuals could effect changes in the physical world. See SO, IX, 95a.

other associates of Giqatila, Barukh Togarmi and Abraham Abulafia,[47] wrote commentaries on SY.

The Structure of GE: A Commentary On Sefer Yezirah

While GE is not a line by line, running commentary on SY it is still a commentary in the sense that much of it seeks to reinterpret SY in light of Giqatila's philosophical qabbalah. This is perhaps most noticeable in Book II, the longest and most obstruse book in GE.

Explaining that its "chapters are many," Giqatila neither listed the chapter headings of Book II in the Table of Contents--as he did for Books I and III--nor summarized its contents in the short "synopsis" at the end of the Table of Contents.[48] This is unfortunate. The diversity and range of the topics covered in Book II, such as cosmology, astronomy, divine retribution and mercy, providence, miracles, and prophecy, as well as seemingly endless letter and number symbolism, leave one with the initial impression that Book II is an unintegrated potpourri of philosophical-qabbalistic topics. But this is not the case. When Book II is viewed as

[47]See below, pp. 109-15. Giqatila could not have considered SY a canonical or sacred text since he openly takes issue with it. See GE, 43c [B] and 43d.

[48]GE, 3b [B]-3d [B].

a commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah, its thematic structure emerges in bold relief.

A constellation of factors necessitated a fresh interpretation of SY and these factors also account for much of the new material and diverse topics in Book II that do not appear in SY.

To begin with, SY was one of the principal texts of theosophical mystical speculation. Theosophical qabbalists interpreted this book to support their claims regarding the origins of the supernal and material worlds through a succession of emanations (Sefirot) from 'En Sof.[49] In keeping with Maimonidean metaphysics regarding the nature of the Deity, however, Giqatila was adamantly opposed to this interpretation. Had Giqatila been a "strict" Maimonidean rationalist, though, he could have simply ignored SY. But, as we have seen, Giqatila was a student of SY and subscribed to its ontological theories. He therefore was compelled to interpret SY in consonance with his rationalistic views.

This was not his only concern. SY predates the development of the Hebrew vowel points and therefore could hardly include them in its discussion of cosmology. Giqatila, on the other hand, not only discusses the Hebrew vowel points (tenuᶜot) at length in GE but accords them a higher symbolic

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[49]On 'En Sof, see above, p. 10, n. 27.

function than the consonants, since they "move" the letters
in space (through articulation) just as celestial motion
(tenu^c ah) moves the spheres.[50] In Books II and III of GE,
Giqatila describes the Hebrew vowel ḥolem, a raised dot, as
a symbol of the Prime Mover and as the supernal, primordial
point from which all existence emanates.[51] Giqatila, there-
fore, needed to explain SY so that it included the vowel
points as well as the letters in its theory of cosmology.

Another important factor to be considered was the
glaring silence of SY on the Separate Intelligences and
celestial motion. This, of course, is to be expected of a
Jewish text dating from Late Antiquity.[52] But a medieval
philosopher could have easily argued that this omission im-
plies that, in the view of SY, the Intelligences and celes-
tial motion are ontologically independent of the Deity. In
brief, they are eternal and not created. This is precisely
what thirteenth-century Jewish Averroists suggested when they
upheld the eternity of celestial motion.[53] According to the
dominant medieval philosophical view, the uninterrupted

[50]GE, 42b.

[51]See above, p. 75, n. 37.

[52]On the date of SY, see Scholem, Kabbalah, pp. 27-28.

[53]On the entire problem, see E. Behler, Die Ewigkeit
der Welt (Glückstadt, 1965).

rotation of the celestial spheres was responsible for the generation of all natural phenomenon in the sublunar world.[54] As such, the notion of eternal rotation would necessarily preclude conceiving of the Deity as the efficient cause of the physical universe. It would also preclude the possibility of divine interference in the natural order of the universe. Accordingly, such Jewish doctrines as creation, revelation, miracles, providence, freewill, and repentence would be meaningless.[55] Giqatila, therefore, was forced to demonstrate that SY took into account the Intelligences and celestial motion in its discussion of the creation process.

Finally, and of primary concern, SY makes no mention of hamshakhah, the central theme of GE. To legitimize fully his theory of cosmological emanation, Giqatila needed to integrate his conception of hamshakhah into the cosmological and ontological framework of SY.

These four compelling factors, then, prompted Giqatila to reinterpret SY.

To begin with, Giqatila interprets the ten sefirot (numbers) of SY in various ways, all of which are compatible

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[54]See Maimonides, Guide, I:72, and H. A. Wolfson, "Hallevi and Maimonides On Prophecy," Jewish Quarterly Review, N.S., XXXII (1942), 345-48. Also see the relevant material in H. Davidson, "The Active Intellect in the Cuzari and Hallevi's Theory of Causality," REJ, CXXXI (1972), 351-94.

[55]See Maimonides, Guide, II:12, 13, and 25.

with his rationalist thinking. Following SY, he states that
the ten sefirot correspond to the four elements and the six
spatial directions.[56] But elsewhere he states that they
designate the ten Intelligences and, in another place, the
ten primal digits.[57] Finally, in still another context, he
states that the ten sefirot actually designate the twenty-
two primal letters and the five long vowels.[58] These ten
sefirot, he adds, emanate from the Divine Name through the
principle of shimmush (i.e., YHWH, YHW, YH, Y).[59] To firmly
counter a theosophical understanding of the sefirot, Giqatila
repeatedly emphasizes that the sefirot are created (mehudashim
hem).[60]

In order to ground these rational views in SY,
Giqatila applies the exegetical techniques of letter and
number symbolism. For example, he explains the phrase "ten
sefirot 'belimah'" as the "ten Intelligences which do not

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[56]GE, 22c [T].

[57]GE, 53c and 46c, respectively.

[58]See below, pp. 86-87.

[59]I do not have an adequate translation of the term
shimmush in GE. The word usually connotes the theurgic use
of a divine name (see Scholem, Kabbalah, p. 170), but Giqatila
never uses it in this sense in GE. See, e.g., GE, 3c [B],
4d, 7a [B], 10b [T], 13d [B], 22c [B], 34b, 60b [T], 62c [B],
MS JTSA 851, f. 77r, and MS JTSA #2156, f. 40v. Cf. Klatzkin,
'Ozar ha-munahim, IV, 129.

[60]GE, 22c [T], 52d, et al. Also cf. GE, 31c.

contain the divine essence (<u>beli-mah</u>)." "Beli-mah" is a

compound word and means "without 'mah.'" The word "mah," he

points out, numerically equals forty-five and symbolically

designates the Tetragram which also equals forty-five.[61]

Thus, as Giqatila understands <u>SY</u>, the <u>sefirot</u> are not

emanated divine potencies.[62]

Giqatila advances other rational interpretations of

<u>SY</u>. He understands the "seal of <u>YHW</u>,"[63] which in its original

context in <u>SY</u> may have had magical connotations,[64] as the

Active Intellect. According to the medieval rational view,

the Active Intellect gives form to, and thus "seals," material

substance.[65] He explains "ru'aḥ," primordial ether and first

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[61]I.e., when <u>YHWH</u> is spelled as: **יוד הא ואו הא**. See the texts, below, pp. 178-79.

[62]<u>GE</u>, 23a. The following parallel with Togarmi's commentary on <u>SY</u> (ed. G. Scholem, p. 231; see below, p. 110, n. 8) is noteworthy (my emphasis):

<u>GE</u>, 23a: <u>Maftehot Ha-Qabbalah</u>, p. 231:

עשר ספירות בלימה כלומר עשר שכות בלי **עשר ספירות בלימה ב-**
מהות כי השם ית׳ עצמו לא ימנה עם הס- **לי מהותו ית׳ שהוא**
פירות...אלא למעלה מהם בכל. והוא ה- **לא במנה בכלל הספי-**
מוציאם ואי אפשר להוציאו מהם ולו אלן **רות אמנם חוצה לכל**
כי הוא ישנן עכ״פ והוא בכל והכל בו. **הוא.**

It appears that Giqatila had Togarmi's passage in mind when he wrote these lines in <u>GE</u>.

[63]<u>SY</u>, passim.

[64]See Scholem, <u>Kabbalah</u>, p. 27.

[65]The term <u>hatam</u> as referring to the Active Intellect which gives form to material substance is also found in Jewish

among the elements according to SY, not as ether but as primordial fire.[66] He thus harmonizes SY with the generally accepted medieval rational view that fire, and not air, is the first or most sublime element. Finally, Giqatila may have repeatedly asserted the primacy of YHWH in Book I of GE to counter the opening mishnah of SY which appears to give several divine names equal status.[67]

In addition, Giqatila explains SY so that the book includes the Hebrew vowel points, though in fact it never mentions them. He does this primarily by reinterpreting two separate passages regarding the ten sefirot. SY divides the ten sefirot into two groups of five (hamesh keneged hamesh)[68] and also states that "their end is joined with their beginning, and their beginning with their end" (na^{c}uz sofan be-tehilatan ve-tehilatan be-sofan).[69] Giqatila interprets the first group of five (sefirot) as representing the twenty-two Hebrew letters because, in SY, these letters are grouped into five categories

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Neoplatonic literature and in the works of Ezra and Azriel of Gerona. See Scholem, Tarbiz, II (1931), 421 for the use of hatam as "form." Cf. also Isaac ibn Latif, Ginze Melekh, V, in Kokhve Yizhaq, chap. xxviii, p. 14.

[66]GE, 30a [T]. Cf. this to GE, 22c [T].

[67]SY: בשלשים ושתים נתיבות...חקק יה יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל חיים ומלך עולם אל שדי רחום וחנון ... וקדוש שמו ....

[68]SY, I:3 (Goldschmidt, p. 49).

[69]SY, I:7 (Goldschmidt, p. 51).

according to the five sources of articulation (gutturals, palatals, dentals, labials, and linguals). The second group of five, he tells us, represents the five primary or long vowels. He then explains the phrase "their end is joined with their beginning . . ." to mean "the vowel points (second group of five) which appear at the 'end of' or below the letters are joined with their 'beginning' or to that which is 'above' them, i.e., the letters (first group of five)."[70] Through this and other symbolic modes of interpretation, Giqatila attempted to show that the Hebrew vowel points were part of the creation theory of SY after all.

Giqatila also shows that SY includes celestial motion and the Intelligences in its discussion of cosmology. For example, Sefer Yezirah divides the twenty-two Hebrew letters into three groups consisting of three, seven and twelve letters, and associates each group with corresponding aspects of the universe. Thus, the letters 'alef, mem, shin are associated with the three elements, air, fire, water, and with the concepts "world," "time" and "soul."[71] Regardless of the original meaning of these terms and their

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[70]GE, 24c, d; 65d [B].

[71]SY, III:10 (Goldschmidt, p. 58).

associations,[72] Giqatila explains these three letters as the ontological principle (<u>yesod</u>) and mystical symbol of numerous other categories which can be characterized by a three-fold division or pattern. Moreover, Giqatila independently added several other categories which do not appear in <u>SY</u>. Thus, in the lengthy section on the letters <u>'alef</u>, <u>mem</u>, <u>shin</u>, Giqatila discusses "form, matter, composite matter"; "angel, sphere, man"; "upper, middle, lower (worlds)"; "ḥolem, shuruq, ḥiriq"; "body, soul, Intelligence"; and several other categories not found in <u>SY</u>.[73]

The reason Giqatila introduces these new entries becomes clear when we view them as part of his objective to incorporate all three "worlds" of medieval cosmology--especially the Intelligences and celestial spheres--into the creation theories of <u>SY</u>.[74] So, for example, "form, matter, composite matter" represent the constitution of each of the three worlds: the Separate Intelligences consist of pure form, the celestial spheres of matter, and the sublunar world of composite matter. The vowel points <u>ḥolem</u> (ׇ), <u>shuruq</u>

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[72]See some of the interpretations of I. Gruenwald, "Some Critical Notes On the First Part of <u>Sefer Yezirah</u>," <u>REJ</u>, CXXXII (1973), 475-512.

[73]<u>GE</u>, 26c-36c.

[74]See, e.g., <u>GE</u>, 20d.

(֗) and <u>hiriq</u> (ִ) are included because these vowels graphi-
cally symbolize the position of the three "worlds."[75] The

categories "angel, sphere, man" and "upper, middle, lower"

obviously correspond to the three "worlds" of medieval

cosmology. But even less obvious entries may have been in-

cluded for the same purpose. Thus Giqatila most likely

mentions the "three elements" because this entry numerically

equals that of the "upper, middle, lower (worlds)."[76]

In sum, most of the new entries in <u>GE</u> can be ac-

counted for on the basis of Giqatila's attempt to incorporate

the Intelligences and celestial motion into the creation

theories of <u>SY</u> and thereby maintain that they are created

in time and ontologically dependent upon <u>YHWH.</u> Giqatila

demonstrates this dependency by showing that the categories

characterized by a three-fold and twelve-fold pattern, emanate

from the Divine Name by means of <u>hamshakhah</u>.[77] He also ex-

plains the ontological contingency of motion upon <u>YHWH</u> by

means of the mystical principle of "<u>WH</u>," the last two letters

of the Tetragram. The numerical value of "<u>WH</u>" is eleven

which corresponds to the ten celestial spheres plus One, that

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[75]<u>GE</u>, 32c, 33b.

[76]<u>GE</u>, 34c: אש מים רוח=615=1526=עליון תיכון תחתון

[77]See, inter al., <u>GE</u>, 46b [B]: כי כולן על שם יהוה הם
תלויין על דרך חשבון וסוד חשבון ומאתו נמשכו כולם.

is, the Deity who is the principle of motion and the mover of the spheres.[78] "For the origin of motion is (the principle of) eleven; that is, motion emanates [nimshekhet] from Him . . . onto the tenth Intellect (i.e., the Active Intellect) according to the esoteric principle of eleven."[79]

Giqatila introduces this esoteric principle of eleven or "WH" repeatedly in Book II of GE, especially when discussing certain theological topics[80] such as divine mercy,[81] the possibility of repentence,[82] freewill,[83] the Torah,[84] and the special providence which, Giqatila tells us, obtains between God and Israel.[85] As he explains, since "WH" is the principle or ground of celestial motion, "WH" may at will suspend the deterministic, natural laws set into force by the heavenly spheres.

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[78]GE, 22d [B], and GE, passim. The first two letters of the Divine Name YH designate the Active Intellect. See GE, 50c [T] and GE, passim.

[79]GE, 50c [T].

[80]See GE, 47b [B].

[81]GE, 50c [T].

[82]GE, 50d.

[83]GE, 51b.

[84]GE, 47b [T]. See below, p. 105.

[85]See GE, 38a [B], 40c [B] (where hamshakhah is mentioned), 42a [B], and 58a.

While it is easy to be diverted by the seemingly end-
less letter and number symbols and associations which Giqatila
adduces in support of these views, it is important not to
lose sight of the primary objectives which motivated him.
The principle of hamshakhah or cosmological emanation through
letters and numbers enabled Giqatila to maintain the unity
and transcendence of God and, at the same time, affirm the
truth of those religious doctrines which imply the presence
of God in the world of man.

CHAPTER IV

THREE MAJOR THIRTEENTH-CENTURY INFLUENCES

ON JOSEPH GIQATILA

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There are many esoteric ideas, technical terms, and
symbols in GE which are found in older thirteenth-century
qabbalistic sources outside of Giqatila's immediate circle
and its literary traditions. There is nothing unusual about
this. We have already observed that members of respective
qabbalistic circles readily borrowed from each other, and
Giqatila was no exception.[1]

In discussing the mystical sources of Giqatila's
early writings, it is important to bear in mind the tentative
nature of any conclusions drawn in this regard. The study of
thirteenth-century qabbalistic literature strongly suggests
that there were many more mystical sources, both written and
oral, of which we have no knowledge. Were these sources
available today, we could no doubt chart the literary tradi-

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[1]See above, pp. 19-20.

tions and influences of Jewish mysticism with much greater precision. Moreover, to complicate our task, there are many esoteric ideas, terms and symbols in GE which are found in the writings of more than one school. Since these schools borrowed from each other, and since it appears that Giqatila was generally familiar with the literature of most thirteenth-century qabbalistic circles, it is almost impossible to pinpoint the exact, immediate source of any term or symbol. This chapter, then, should be viewed only as a preliminary step towards identifying Giqatila's qabbalistic sources. Perhaps more important, in the process of noting numerous parallels between Giqatila's writings and those of other circles, some of the distinctive features of his philosophical-qabbalistic works will emerge in bolder relief.

Among the various qabbalistic circles that might have influenced Giqatila, three mystical traditions stand out for initial consideration: the German-Jewish esoteric tradition as represented by Eleazar of Worms; the philosophical-qabbalistic writings of Isaac ibn Latif; and the Gerona theosophical-qabbalistic tradition, as represented primarily by Moses Nachmanides and Jacob b. Sheshet.

Eleazar of Worms and Joseph Giqatila

The possible influence of German-Jewish mysticism on Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic writings merits consideration in light of three significant features which these

two esoteric traditions share: both are non-sefirotic mystical traditions; both make extensive use of letter and number symbolism and exegesis; and both define qabbalah as an esoteric tradition, based on letter and number symbolism, regarding the Divine Name (YHWH).[2] In addition, it is known that the writings of Eleazar were available and studied in thirteenth-century Spain.[3]

Among Eleazar's more important writings, it appears likely that Giqatila made use of his encyclopedic compendium, Sefer Ha-Shem (hereafter: SHS).[4] To begin with, numerous letter and number symbols regarding the Divine Name in GE are found in SHS.[5] The notion that holem is the foremost vowel

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[2]See Scholem, Ursprung, p. 287, n. 236, and Kabbalah, p. 6.

[3]See above, p. 14, nn. 39-40.

[4]SHS, MS British Museum 737, ff. 165v-387r.

[5]See, for example, f. 170v where the first five letters of the Hebrew alphabet correspond to the divine name, Yahu and cf. to GE, 25b and MS JTSA 851, f. 66v; f. 171v where the divine name Yah corresponds to YHWH and cf. to GE, 10d, et al.; f. 174r mentions a notariqon based on Ex. 3:13 and cf. to GE, 9a and above, pp. 54-55; f. 175v which stresses that the divine name Yah is contained in 'Ehyeh (and f. 267r), and cf. to GE, 8c [B]; f. 181v where YHWH = 45 = mah and cf. to GE, 53c [T] and above, p. 55, and Appendix II to Chapter II, pp. 178-79. Giqatila's use of the term hefukh 'otiyyot in the sense of letter permutation (zeruf) is similar to that of Eleazar. See SHS, ff. 190v, 204v and 331r and cf. to GE, 26a [T], 53a [B], 68b and 65b [T]. Also see Eleazar's chapter entitled "Sha^car Hefukh" in his Sefer Ha-She^carim, MS Oxford 1218, f. 125r.
        See also SHS, f. 203r on   כסא = 81 and cf. GE, 5c, 12d [B], 54c [T]; f. 225v on the twelve permutations of the

point which symbolizes the Deity, a major idea which Giqatila

repeatedly mentions in <u>GE</u>[6] and <u>SN</u>, also appears in SHS.[7] The

thesis that the universe is ontologically contingent on <u>YHWH</u>,

a central theme of <u>GE</u>, is found with the same phrasing in

<u>SHS</u>.[8] Both works contain lengthy discussions on the Zodiac

and its relationship to the Divine Name and both authors use

<u>Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer</u> as their principle source of astronomy.[9]

Giqatila may have also borrowed theurgic ideas from <u>SHS</u>.[10]

Divine Name and cf. <u>GE</u>, 8d and above, p. 56; f. 270v on
קל = 130 and cf. <u>GE</u>, 60c and below, p.182; and f. 271r for
an unexplained <u>gematria</u> on **אל גבת אגוז ירדתי**. The intended
<u>gematria</u>, which may have influenced Giqatila, may have been
אל גבת אגוז ירדתי = 1125 = 1 + 1 + 25 = 26 + 1 = **יהוה** +
1 (i.e., the word itself).
     Also cf. the following parallel:

<u>GE</u>, 26a [T]:   <u>SHS</u>, f. 172v:

אס בח גז דו יה... וזה   כי מן א׳ עד יוד הם בה אס
עבין הן ליהוה אלהיך   בח גז דן ה הרי מה [45] ו-
השמים ושמי השמים.   יסים יא עליהם הרי בה [55]
                            וסמן הן לה׳ אלהיך השמים
                            ושמי השמים.

[6]<u>GE</u>, 66b, and see above, p. 89, n. 77.

[7]See ff. 168v and 172v.

[8]<u>GE</u>, 20d: .... **וכולן תלויין הם על יהוה** ... and cf.
to <u>SHS</u>, f. 173v: .... **נמצא העולם...כולן תלויין בשמו**

[9]See, e.g., f. 166v and esp. ff. 172v-73r and cf. to
<u>GE</u>, Book II, passim.

[10]See f. 189v where Eleazar says that Moses performed
miracles by means of his knowledge of the Divine Name. This
idea was, however, quite old, and is found in numerous
sources. Cf. also Nachmanides, <u>Perush [c]al Ha-Torah</u>, intro-
duction.

It is likely, then, that Giqatila made use of <u>SHS</u>. However, since this book was read by other Spanish mystics whose writings also contain many of the <u>gematriot</u> and ideas common to <u>GE</u> and <u>SHS</u>, Eleazar's work may have been only an indirect source of <u>GE</u>. For example, the notion of the symbolic pre-eminence of <u>holem</u> is also found, among others, in the writings of Isaac Ha-Kohen of Castile who describes <u>holem</u>, exactly as Giqatila does in <u>GE</u>, as a "primordial point . . . which symbolizes the one unity."[11] Moreover, Giqatila did not borrow some of the more significant German-Jewish esoteric themes. Such salient features of German-Jewish thought as daemology, angeology, eschatology, and the doctrine of the <u>Kavod</u> are significantly absent from Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic works.[12] In fact, despite Giqatila's extensive use of <u>gematria</u>, the German mode of "counting letters and words" is not at all characteristic of the <u>gematriot</u> in <u>GE</u>. We must conclude, then, that Giqatila was not substantively influenced by the more distinctive motifs of German-Jewish esoteric theology, even though he may well have tapped <u>SHS</u> as a ready source of esoteric ideas and symbols.

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[11]Isaac Ha-Kohen, as quoted by Todros Abulafia, <u>Sha^car Ha-Razim</u>, MS Munich 209, f. 56r and cited by Scholem, <u>Mada^ce Ha-Yahadut</u>, II, 24.

[12]These and other themes are discussed by Dan, <u>The Esoteric Theology of Haside Ashkenaz</u> [Heb.], passim.

Isaac ibn Latif and Joseph Giqatila

Giqatila may have been significantly influenced by the writings of Isaac ibn Latif.

Isaac ibn Latif, the thirteenth-century Spanish philosopher and qabbalist, is as difficult to evaluate today as he was for his contemporaries and subsequent generations of medieval thinkers.[13] Jewish rationalists questioned the philosophical integrity of his thought, on the one hand, and Jewish mystics viewed with suspicion the qabbalistic aspects of his thought, on the other hand. Ibn Latif has perhaps been summed up best by the fifteenth-century Spanish qabbalist Judah Ḥayyat who stated that "(Ibn Latif) stands with one foot outside (qabbalah, i.e., philosophy) and with one foot inside."[14]

The likelihood that Ibn Latif influenced Giqatila rests on several striking parallels between these two thinkers in both doctrine and terminology. Like Giqatila, Ibn Latif takes an intermediate stance between philosophy and qabbalah. Both thinkers are highly critical of Aristotelian philosophy[15]

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[13]See Heller Wilensky, "Isaac ibn Latif," pp. 185-86.

[14]Minḥat Yehudah (Mantua, 1558), p. 4b.

[15]Isaac ibn Latif, Sha^car Ha-Shamayim, MS Vat. 335 (hereafter: S.Sham.), I, chaps. iii, v-vi, xii-xiii, and GE, 2c and references listed above, p. 23, n. 66. See also Heller Wilensky, pp. 192-94.

and both rejected the so-called Aristotelian notion of the
"voluntary" motion of the celestial spheres.[16] This idea,
which claimed that the principle of motion lay within the
spheres themselves, was a necessary precondition to the
theory of continual or eternal motion.[17] More specifically,
Ibn Latif, like Giqatila, follows Maimonides on several
major theological points such as the question of divine
attributes,[18] the nature of providence, prophecy, and angels.[19]
But, again like Giqatila, Ibn Latif follows Jewish Neoplatonic
thinkers such as Solomon ibn Gabirol in other areas. Thus,
Ibn Latif posits the notion of divine Will (<u>hefez</u>) which
serves as a mediating link between God and the universe.[20]

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[16]<u>S.Sham</u>., I:12, f. 26r, et al.; <u>GE</u>, 23c, d. On this
complex issue of motion, see M. J. Buckley, <u>Motion and
Motion's God</u> (Princeton, 1971), pp. 15-86 and esp. pp. 50-72,
and H. A. Wolfson, <u>Crescas' Critique of Aristotle</u>, pp. 70-92.

[17]See Buckley, p. 56, n. 6 and above, pp. 87-91.

[18]See Heller Wilensky, p. 205 and cf. to Giqatila,
above, p. 83, n. 42.

[19]Heller Wilensky, p. 204, n. 126.

[20]See Ibn Latif's <u>Ginze Ha Melekh</u>, IX, in <u>Kokhve Yiz-
haq</u>, ed. A. Jellinek (Vienna, 1862-67), chap. xv, p. 85:
הבורא מחפץ מושפע הראשון הגברא (On **הגברא הראשון,** see below,
p. 100, n. 26).
On the influence of Ibn Gabirol on Ibn Latif, see
Heller Wilensky, pp. 201-205.
The central difference between Giqatila and Ibn Latif
in this doctrine of <u>hefez</u> is that for Ibn Latif the <u>hefez</u> is
not created. See <u>S.Sham</u>., f. 5b: **קדמון הוא 'ית הבורא שחפץ**
נצטמר ....

Giqatila, too, posits the existence of a divine, supernal
Will (hefeẓ ha-ᶜelyon) which mediates between God and the
world[21] and both thinkers refer to this Will as the Source
(meqor) of all reality.[22]   In addition, both Giqatila and
Ibn Latif treat the doctrine of the primordial point.[23]
Furthermore, both thinkers take issue with Maimonides'
critique of the theory of the "Light of the (divine) Garment"
('or levusho), which is found in Perqe de-Rabbi Eliezer,
and both harmonize this theory with the doctrine of creation

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[21]Giqatila uses the term hefeẓ throughout GE, e.g.,
reshit ha-hefeẓ in GE, 7b [T]. By reshit ha-hefeẓ, Giqa-
tila means a spiritual, ontological principle of all created
existence from which it emanated. Elsewhere in GE (30a
[T]), Giqatila associates this "first will" with intelligent
light ('or ha-sekhel) which in turn (GE, 16d [T]) he
identifies with the divine name 'Ehyeh and he describes as
the ontological principle of the Separate Intelligences
(GE, 12b). In MS JTSA 851, f. 88v, Giqatila identifies
reshit ha-hefeẓ with the celestial throne (ha-kisse' or כס)
which is the ontological ground (יסוד = 80) of all existence.
As such, hefeẓ in Giqatila's writings should not be confused
as a synonym for raẓon, on which cf. Klatzkin, 'Oẓar ha-
munaḥim, IV, 50, s.v. רצון. Scribes not attuned to the dif-
ference occasionally did confuse the two terms. See, for
example, SN, MS Vatican 603, f. 188v, l. 3 which reads
לפי רצון הצלליך which should be corrected to read לפי חפץ
הצלליך   as in MS Munich 11, f. 299r, ll. 13-14.

[22]See Ibn Latif, Ginze Ha-Melekh (hereafter: GM),
XIII, in Kokhve Yizḥaq (hereafter: KY), chap. xxxi, p. 5;
GE, 42c.

[23]See, e.g. GM, XLII in KY, chap. xxxiv, p. 17; Ibn
Latif, Rav Peᶜalim, ed. S. Scheinblum (Lemberg, 1885),
p. 8a. See esp. Heller Wilensky, p. 207. On Giqatila and
the primordial point, see GE, 37a, A58b, and esp. 66b, as
well as above, p. 68.

ex nihilo.[24]

Perhaps most important, both thinkers insist on the doctrine of creation ex nihilo[25] and, at the same time, posit a theory of emanation.[26] According to Ibn Latif, the lower, sublunar world emanates from the upper, material world, which both thinkers call the world of the sefirot.[27]

It is important to note here that Ibn Latif's exact understanding of sefirot is, perhaps intentionally, vague

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[24]See Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer (Warsaw, 1852), p. 7b: "Whence were the heavens created? From the light of the garment with which He was robed." Maimonides, in Guide, II:26, criticized this midrash because it seems to posit a Platonic view of creation from a pre-existent matter. Many thirteenth-century mystics took issue with Maimonides' criticism. See Heller Wilensky, pp. 216-17, nn. 231-32. On Giqatila's criticism, see GE, 26c [B]-27b. Giqatila says that the divine garment refers not to a material substance but to "intelligent light" ('or ha-sekhel). Ibn Latif, too, says that it refers to "intelligent light" ('or sikhli). See Ibn Latif, Zurat Ha-ᶜOlam, ed. Z. Stern (Vienna, 1860), p. 25. Cf. also Ibn Latif, S.Sham., in Kerem Ḥemed, IV (1839), 9 (attributed incorrectly to Abraham ibn Ezra).

[25]See Ibn Latif, ibid.: זולתי העצם הקדמון שברא ויתברך שמו שברא [צ"ל: שהבורא יתברך שמו שברא] יש לא מים [צ"ל: יש מלא יש] ולא מדבר שקדם. See GE, 11d for Giqatila's views on creation ex nihilo.

[26]The emanation proceeds from what Ibn Latif calls the "nivra' ha-rishon." See, e.g., Rav Peᶜalim, 7b and Zurat Ha-ᶜOlam, p. 27. This term is similar to Giqatila's concept of "ha-neᶜezel ba-rishonah" in Hassaqot, 24c. See Gottlieb, Studies, pp. 115-16, esp. n. 44.
It should be noted that Ibn Latif normally uses the term hishtalshel (and not hamshakhah) to convey the emanation process.

[27]See Heller Wilensky, p. 204 and pp. 212-18. On Giqatila, see above, p. 84.

and it is often not clear whether he understood <u>sefirot</u> non-theosophically (i.e., as primal digits or Intelligences) only, as did Giqatila, or also theosophically, as emanated divine potencies. This observation is important because even if, as has been argued by several scholars,[28] Ibn Latif was a theosophical qabbalist, Giqatila may not have understood him as such. Thus, Giqatila could have borrowed various Neo-platonic terms and concepts from Isaac ibn Latif without the need to de-theosophize them, as would have been necessary in the case of Gerona mystical literature.[29]

Finally, there are several stylistic features as well as other terms which are common to the writings of both Giqatila and Ibn Latif.[30]

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[28]See Heller Wilensky, pp. 210-11 and esp. p. 214; Scholem, <u>Kabbalah</u>, p. 53.

[29]See below, pp. 102-04. Giqatila may have borrowed ideas and terms from other Neoplatonic but non-sefirotic sources, most notably, the (non-extant) writings of Abraham ibn Ezra. See the sources cited in M. Olitzki, "Die Zahlen-symbolik des Abraham ibn Esra," in <u>Jubelschrift zum sieb-ziqsten Geburtstag des Dr. Israel Hildesheimer</u> (Berlin, 1890), pp. 99-120, and D. Rosin, "Die Religionsphilosophie Abraham Ibn Esra's," <u>MGWJ</u>, XXXXII (1898), 154-61.

[30]Both Ibn Latif and Giqatila begin their rhymed prose introductions to their major works--<u>S.Sham</u>. and <u>GE</u>, respectively--with the words: שמעו כי נגדים אדבר Other terms and expressions in Ibn Latif's writings which appear frequently in Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic writings include: זהו עקר ;אחר שעוררבוך ב... ;כבר העירותי אל... ;אור הבהיר ;זך בתכלית הזכות ;ואשוב לכוונת ה... ;גדול ב... אור השכל.

The Gerona Circle and Joseph Giqatila

We have already seen that Giqatila mentions two Gerona mystics by name,[31] and that he appropriated the key technical term of GE, hamshakhah, from the Gerona school and from Jacob b. Sheshet in particular.[32] There are other Neoplatonic technical terms common to the writings of the Gerona mystics and Giqatila, though these terms have lost their theosophical meaning in GE. Aside from the terms sefirot and ma^calot, which in GE designate either the celestial spheres or the primal digits,[33] we might also consider the term havayah.[34] The Gerona school used the term havaya, as opposed to the term mahut, to designate an uncreated essence (or existent) which inheres in 'Ayin[35] or the first Sefirah, Will (razon) and which initiates the process of sefirotic emanation.[36] In a similar, yet non-theosophical

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[31]Regarding Jacob b. Sheshet, see above, p. 67, n. 14. Giqatila cites Nachmanides several times in GE and the Hassagot. See GE, 30c, 39d, and 40a; Hassagot, 24b.

[32]See above, pp. 67-71.

[33]See GE, 21b [T] and above, p. 84.

[34]On the various meanings of the term havayah, see the major essay by M. Idel, "The Sefirot Upon the Sefirot" [Heb.], Tarbiz, LI (1982, 239-80.

[35]On 'Ayin, see above, p. 10, n. 27.

[36]See Scholem, Ha-qabbalah be-Gerona, pp. 148-50 and 243-46; Ursprung, p. 374. On Isaac Ha-Kohen's use of havayah to designate the primordial letters, see Scholem, Ursprung,

fashion, havayah in GE refers to the ontological principle of all created existence.[37] Moreover, just as the Gerona mystics understand havayah as a primal, formless essence or existent, so GE uses havayah to designate the formless ground of the Intelligences.[38] Giqatila identifies havayah with the divine name, 'Ehyeh, and refers to it as the "hidden, primordial essence" (havayah qadmonit nisteret).[39]

Furthermore, there are other terms which are used synonymously with havayah in both GE and in Gerona qabbalistic writings. The primordial point, though not identified explicitly with havayah in either GE[40] or Jacob b. Sheshet's Meshiv Devarim Nikhohim, designates the ground of all being in both these works.[41] The primordial point is also associated with the first Sefirah, Will (razon) in Gerona mysticism and

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p. 246. Also see Idel, "The Sefirot Upon the Sefirot," p. 261, n. 110. On havayah in German-Jewish esoteric theology, see ibid., p. 261, n. 110.

[37]See GE, 22a [T]: בהיות ההויה גורמת לכל הנמצאים...

[38]GE, 4c.

[39]GE, 9c: אהיה כולל הויה קדמונית הנסתרת.... YHWH is the ground of havayah. See GE, 7b: יהוה היא סוד הויה קדמו— בית.

[40]Giqatila's use of the term qav havayah seems to indicate that he thought of havayah as a point from which a "line" (qav) extends. For a similar view in Jacob b. Sheshet's MDN, see Scholem, Gerona, p. 247.

[41]See Scholem, Ursprung, p. 318 and n. 289. On GE, see, e.g., 54d and 65b.

is identified with Will (hefez) in GE.[42] In addition, Neo-
platonic light metaphors, such as 'or ha-bahir, are asso-
ciated with the incipient stages of emanation in the Gerona
mystical tradition and designate the ground of being in GE.[43]
Giqatila uses such terms as hefez, 'or ha-bahir, niquddah,
YHW, 'Ehyeh, and havayah almost synonymously in GE where they
designate the primordial essence from which all created
reality emanates.

In addition to these common terms, Giqatila posits
an esoteric conception of the Torah which resembles a similar
notion current among Gerona mystics. According to Giqatila,
the Torah is ultimately reducible to the Divine Name, an idea
that had been previously expressed by Nachmanides and the
author of Sefer Temunah.[44] Moreover, for Giqatila, the
created universe is ontologically contingent upon the Torah
as well as the Divine Name. Furthermore, the primordial
point is conceived of as the ground of the Torah as well as

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[42]See above, p. 99, n. 21.

[43]See Ursprung, p. 398, n. 185; p. 379, n. 134;
p. 369.

[44]See Ursprung, pp. 414-15 and 396-97, and Scholem,
On the Kabbalah, pp. 37-44. On the Torah as the name of God
in Abulafia's thought, see his 'Ozar ᶜEden Ganuz, MS Oxford
1580, f. 172r. On the reason why the Torah is not vocalized,
see GE, 15c and Hassagot, 20d and cf. to Jacob b. Sheshet's
MDN, pp. 107-108. See also below, Appendix IV (to Chapter VI)
pp. 191-92.

the ground of all created reality:[45]

> The entire Torah may be referred to as a single
> point [nequdah 'ahat]. And just as you find a
> point at the center of a sphere, so this point,
> that is, the Torah, is concealed from within
> [lifne ve-lifnim]. (Therefore), those who know
> the Torah, (are able to) apprehend the Divine
> Name intimately [panim 'el panim] since they are
> at the center of the point which is the secret
> of the inner palace.

This concept of the primordial Torah, which Giqatila

very likely adopted from Gerona mystical thought, seems to

foreshadow his later, well-known theosophical idea that the

Torah is "woven out of divine names and appellatives."[46]

B

Giqatila's use of theosophical qabbalistic sources

in his non-theosophical theological writings necessarily

poses certain basic questions which unfortunately cannot be

adequately answered. Why did Giqatila use theosophical qab-

balistic sources at all? Did he write GE primarily as a

polemic against theosophical mysticism and, in the process,

"detheosophize" and incorporate some of their key terms and

concepts into his rationalistically oriented theology?

Specifically, did he write Book III of GE and SN to counter

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[45]GE, 55a [B]. See also GE, 46b and 54c. On 46b,
he says that ציקוד השם = [= 515 + 1 (= 615)] = התורה =
(616-1).

[46]See below, p. 128, n. 10.

a theosophical interpretation of letters and vowels, such as that of Isaac Ha-Kohen of Castile?[47] Or perhaps his principal intended audience was the more rationally inclined, whom he tried to persuade that the source of ultimate religious truth cannot be based on independent, rational speculation but must be grounded in the Torah. Of course, Giqatila may have had both groups or neither group in mind when writing GE. Unfortunately, a close examination of all polemical statements or references--implicit as well as explicit--in GE, does not reveal any special group(s) or ideology against which Giqatila primarily wrote GE.

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[47]Isaac Ha-Kohen's compendium on the Hebrew alphabet and cantillation marks has been edited by Scholem, Mada^Ce Ha-Yahadut, II, 103-13.
    An example of a thirteenth-century attempt to reinterpret a theosophical-qabbalistic work in a non-theosophical fashion can be found in MS Vatican 431 (on Sefer Ha-Bahir).

CHAPTER V

THE PHILOSOPHICAL-QABBALISTIC CIRCLE

Many of the philosophical-qabbalistic themes that
we have discussed in Giqatila's writings can also be found
in the works of several of his contemporaries. Since, as
we have seen,[1] the study of qabbalah in thirteenth-century
Spain was largely confined to circles, we might consider
whether these writings, too, constitute a distinct circle
of qabbalah. The answer to this seems to be affirmative,
depending of course on what is meant by "circle."

Gershom Scholem, who has done more than anyone else
to identify these qabbalistic circles (ḥuqim), curiously
has nowhere delineated the conditions necessary for using
this term. He appropriately applies the term to the mystical
literature of Gerona where we can, for the most part,
identify the mystics, their writings, and the decades in
which they flourished. But Scholem also attaches the label
"circle" to the "ᶜIyyun" mystical literature even though

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[1]See above, pp. 7-20.

there is no way to identify the author(s) of these writings or determine precisely when and where these texts were written. Scholem presumably justifies the term circle on the grounds that the ^cIyyun texts share a commonality of ideas, motifs, stylistic features and sources.[2]

Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic writings, it appears, should be properly understood as belonging to a larger circle, in accordance with both of Scholem's applications of this term. Like the ^cIyyun texts, the mystical writings which are associated with this circle share a common core of literary and thematic features which set them apart from other schools. Like the qabbalistic literature of Gerona, we can state confidently that these philosophical-qabbalistic texts were composed during the same period of the thirteenth century, by mystics who most likely were personally acquainted. This circle included some of the most prolific and important Spanish mystics such as Abraham Abulafia and Moshe de Leon, as well as the lesser-known Barukh Togarmi. The philosophical-qabbalistic writings of these thinkers--with the exception of the older Togarmi-- were composed between 1271 and the end of the decade. All of these writings understand and use "qabbalah" as a technical term which designates an esoteric tradition regarding

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[2]Ursprung, pp. 273-323.

the Divine Name. This esoteric tradition is always associated
with letter and number symbolism and never with emanated
divine potencies or <u>Sefirot</u>. "Sod," too, is a technical term
in these writings and refers to the inner meaning of Scripture
which can be disclosed by applying the exegetical principles
of letter and number symbolism. Moreover, most of these writ-
ings use Maimonidean philosophical vocabulary to express
rational ideas. And, with the exception of the term <u>hamshakhah</u>,[3]
they also share a common technical vocabulary, replete with
terms culled from <u>Sefer Yezirah</u> and certain Neoplatonic sources.
As noted above, <u>SY</u> is a principal source of these writers and
is the basis of their ontology which views the universe as
being constituted from letters and numbers.[4] Finally these
works are unified by the total absence of most of the salient
features which distinguish the writings of other mystical tra-
ditions and circles.[5]

Barukh Togarmi and Joseph Gigatila

Barukh Togarmi is one of the many figures in the his-
tory of qabbalah concerning whom we know almost nothing. We

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[3]See above, p. 66 and below, p. 123, n. 46.

[4]See above, pp. 68-70.

[5]On this philosophical-qabbalistic circle, see
Diagram, below, p. 176.

do know, however, that Togarmi was one of Abulafia's main
teachers[6] and it is possible that Giqatila, too, was his
student.[7] Whatever the personal relationship of Giqatila
to Togarmi, there is no doubt that Giqatila studied Togarmi's
only extant work, Maftehot Ha-Qabbalah (hereafter: MQ).[8]
This small commentary on SY is a major source of GE and

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[6]Abulafia refers to Barukh Togarmi as "my teacher"
in his 'Ozar ᶜEden Ganuz, in a passage where he enumerates
twelve commentaries on SY that he read. A. Jellinek edited
this passage in Bet Ha-Midrasch (Leipzig, 1855), III, xlii.

[7]On the other hand, we cannot be certain that Barukh
Togarmi ever lived in Spain since we do not know when and
where Abulafia studied with him. Scholem's suggestion that
Abulafia studied with Togarmi in Barcelona around 1270
(Abraham Abulafia, 106) is unwarranted. We know only that
Abulafia left Spain in 1260 for the Near East, studied
philosophy in Italy with Hillel of Verona in the 1260s, and
returned to Barcelona by 1270. Abulafia never states
exactly when he returned to Spain. Since it is not known
where Togarmi lived, several possibilities present themselves:
Abulafia could have met him in Italy; in route to the Near
East in the early 1260s; in route to Spain; or in Spain, late
1260s or early 1270s.

[8]MQ is extant in three MSS: MS JTSA 835, MS Oxf.
1598, and MS Paris 770. Scholem edited MQ from MS Paris in
an Appendix to his Abraham Abulafia, pp. 229-44, and included
explanatory notes on many of the gematriot in Togarmi's com-
mentary. In numerous instances, however, Scholem supplied
the wrong gematria. In addition, MS Paris 770 is the worst
of the three MSS and is unreliable. In this study, we have
cited from MS Paris, only because Scholem has edited it and
it is more readily available. We have, however, relied on
(and also cited from) MS Oxf. 1598, ff. 48v-56r, which has
some passages not found in the other two. Most significantly,
MS Oxf. 1598, f. 48v states that Togarmi himself did not
write the commentary and not all of its contents reflect his
own personal views.

reveals the profound influence of its author on Giqatila.

Giqatila borrowed specific mystical ideas, letter and number symbols and technical terms, and copied several stylistic features from MQ.[9] The term hakhrahah, one of the important esoteric terms in GE, appears in MQ with the same meaning and in a similar esoteric context.[10] Indeed, the very title of Ginnat 'Egoz was suggested by MQ where the word "ginnat" appears, as it does in GE, as an anagram designating the three techniques of esoteric exegesis: gematria, notariqon, and temurah. Giqatila, it seems, borrowed more than the anagram; his method of disclosing the hidden meaning (sod) of Scripture through the exegetical technique of letter and number symbolism is highly similar to that of Togarmi. Finally, MQ may have served as the literary inspiration of Giqatila, composing GE as a commentary on SY.

Abraham Abulafia and Joseph Giqatila

The exact nature of the relationship between Giqatila and Abulafia rests, in part, on a short autobiographical

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[9]See Appendix III (to Chapter V, below, pp. 174-77. Some of these parallels have been noted by Scholem, Abraham Abulafia, pp. 106-107 and Farber-Ginat, "Haqdamat Giqatila le-Sefer Ginnat Egoz," Mahshevet Yisrael, I (1981), 64, n. 5.

[10]See above, pp. 76-78, and below, p. 176.

section in Abulafia's treatise, <u>Gan Na^cul</u>.[11] In this account,

Abulafia named certain individuals whom he personally in-

fluenced: ". . . there were two (mystics) in Medinacelli:

R. Samuel the prophet[12] who received some (qabbalah) from me,

and R. Joseph Giqatila who was highly successful in that

which he learned with me and advanced on his own. The Lord

was with him." Written in 1285, this account describes an

association which had occurred over fifteen years earlier.[13]

On the basis of this text alone, most scholars have

described Giqatila as a student of Abulafia and have regarded

<u>GE</u> as a work in the Abulafian tradition of prophetic qabbalah.

To cite Scholem: "Giqatila wrote <u>Ginnat 'Egoz</u> in 1274 . . .

with the purpose of explicating the method of prophetic

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[11]The passage in question was edited by A. Jellinek,
<u>Bet Ha-Midrasch</u>, III, xli, and Scholem, <u>Abraham Abulafia</u>,
pp. 193-95.

[12]On Samuel the Prophet, see M. Idel, <u>Abulafia</u>, I,
40, n. 27.

[13]Abulafia, in this autobiographical passage, lumps
all of his students together, without regard for any
chronological order. However, since Abulafia left Spain
in 1274 (Scholem, <u>Major Trends</u>, p. 127), he must have
studied with Giqatila sometime between the late 1260s
(see p. 110, n. 7, above) and 1273 (<u>GE</u> was written 1273-
74). Furthermore, since <u>GE</u> must have taken a few years
to write, and since Abulafia intimates that his mystical
thinking began to change around 1271 (<u>Major Trends</u>, p. 127),
it is most likely that the two mystics studied together
before 1271.

qabbalah."[14] In making this statement, however, Scholem did
not consider all of the data available to him. As a result,
he has simplified the nature of Giqatila's involvement with
Abulafia and has misinterpreted the theme of GE. A fresh
reading of the data is necessary.

To begin with, Abulafia does not describe Giqatila as
a mere student. Rather, he states that Giqatila was "highly
successful . . . and advanced on his own." While we are told
neither in which areas Giqatila advanced nor in which subjects
he was instructed, we can be certain that Abulafia did not
teach Giqatila prophetic qabbalah, simply because in 1271
Abulafia had not yet developed this type of mysticism! That
happened years later and only in 1279 did he write his first
work in prophetic qabbalah.[15] Instead, Abulafia's earlier
writings are in accord with most of the general themes of
Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic works.[16] On the other

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[14]Scholem, _Major Trends_, p. 194; _Abraham Abulafia_,
p. 108. See above, p. 23. There is no evidence to sub-
stantiate Scholem's statement (_Kabbalah_, p. 54) that Togarmi
instructed Abulafia in prophetic qabbalah.
   Others have also recently questioned Scholem's over-
simplified view of "early" Giqatila. See A. Farber-Ginat,
"Haqdamat," p. 64, n. 5.

[15]See M. Idel, _Abulafia_, I, 13.

[16]These early writings include _Get Shemot_, MS Oxford
1658, ff. 88r-107v, written in 1271; _Sefer Mafte'ah Ha-Ra^cayon_,
MS Vatican 291, ff. 20r-33v, presumably written during the
same time (see Idel, _Abulafia_, I, 5); and _Sefer Ha-Ge^culah_,
MS Jerusalem 8° 1303, ff. 71r-73v and Vat. 190, ff. 262r-
332v (Latin translation).

hand, there is not a trace of prophetic qabbalah or most of the other salient features which distinguish Abulafia's later works in Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic writings.[17] However, there are numerous esoteric themes and letter and number symbols in Abulafia's later writings which can be found in GE.[18] This indicates that either Giqatila and Abulafia used a common source or Abulafia used GE, as did many of his students, as a source of esoteric themes and

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[17] These themes are treated by Idel, in Abulafia, I and II.

Even word permutations (zeruf) are used by both writers for different purposes. In Giqatila's writings, as we have seen, word permutation is an exegetical technique used to ground philosophical-qabbalistic ideas in the Torah. Abulafia, in contrast, uses letter and word permutations to form non-sensical words for purposes of mystical meditations. See, e.g., Abulafia's commentary on Maimonides' Guide, Sitre Torah, MS JTSA #2367, ff. 15r, 17v, 19r, and 24r. See also Scholem, Major Trends, pp. 132-34.

[18] Some examples include GE, 58d (with parallels in GE, 17a [T], 42d [B], and MS JTSA 851, f. 93v) on Metatron which should be compared with Abulafia's 'Imre Shefer, MS Paris 777, f. 35r; GE, 46c [T] on sod 'alef to be compared with Abulafia's Sefer Ha-Melammed, MS Paris 680, f. 305r; GE, 72c on qamez to be compared with Abulafia, 'Or Sekhel (after 1291), MS Vatican 233, f. 101r; and GE, 24b [T] which should be compared with Abulafia's Ner 'Elohim, MS Oxford 1580, f. 13r. The esoteric symbolism in GE, 15c, which is found in Togarmi's MQ (see above, p. 177), also appears in Abulafia's 'Ozar ᶜEden Ganuz, MS Oxford 1580, ff. 50v and 55r as well as in his Sitre Torah, f. 12v. Clearly, in this instance, Togarmi was the source of both Giqatila and Abulafia. Abulafia's etymology in Sitre Torah, f. 21r: ‫דבר .... כסוי מורה כסא מלת כי‬ was probably taken from Giqatila. See MS JTSA 851, f. 87v. It is also suggestive that Abulafia was referring to Giqatila in his Sefer Mafte'ah Ha-Raᶜyon, MS Vatican 291, f. 32r: ‫אגב קבלתי כאשר‬ ‫לעד .... יחייהו והשם יוסף הרב מפי‬

symbols.[19]

It appears, then, that Giqatila should be viewed as the younger associate of Abulafia and not as the latter's student. We might also suggest that Abulafia had introduced Giqatila to the works of his teacher, Barukh Togarmi and to the study of Sefer Yeẓiraḥ.

Moshe de Leon and Joseph Giqatila

Though neither Joseph Giqatila nor Moshe de Leon make explicit reference to the other, Scholem has demonstrated that each mystic was fully aware of the other's writings. Giqatila made use of the Zohar, especially the Idras, when writing Sha�{c}are 'Orah (c. 1290),[20] and Moshe de Leon, in turn, incorporated numerous ideas from Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic writings into his theosophical qabbalistic works.[21] Here we are mainly concerned with De Leon's early, pre-Zoharic period (i.e., prior to 1280) and shall demonstrate that he, too, had a philosophical-qabbalistic phase and was directly influenced by Giqatila.

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[19]See below, p. 137, n. 30.

[20]See Scholem, "Eine unbekannte mystische Schrift des Mose de Leon," MGWJ, LXXI (1927), 109-23, especially, 112-13, and Major Trends, pp. 194-96; also, A. Farber-Ginat, "'Zohar' Traces in R. Yoseph Gikattila's Writings" [Heb.], Alie Sefer, IX (1981), 70-83.

[21]Major Trends, p. 195.

Like Giqatila, Moshe de Leon had an early interest in Maimonides' Guide and a general concern for questions of a philosophical nature. Scholem has noted a request by De Leon in 1264 for a copy of the Guide,[22] and the philosophical aspects of De Leon's Hebrew and Aramaic writings attest to the sustained influence of the Guide in his theosophical period. In the final analysis, however, the assertion that De Leon had a philosophical-qabbalistic phase prior to the Zohar, rests on the correct dating of his Hebrew treatise, 'Or Zaru^cah (hereafter: OZ), a work which reveals the influence of Giqatila's writings on almost every page.

Gershom Scholem contends that the work was written sometime after 1286,[23] ostensibly on the basis of De Leon's statement that Shoshan ^cEdut, which he wrote in 1286, was his first book. In the introduction to his critical edition of OZ, Alexander Altmann has advanced a convincing argument for a pre-1280 date on the grounds of striking stylistic and thematic parallels between OZ and Giqatila's early works, and because of the total absence of theosophical material or references in the book.[24] Altmann further observed that

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[22]Major Trends, p. 194.

[23]Ibid., p. 187.

[24]A. Altmann, "Sefer 'Or Zaru^cah le-R. Moshe de Le'on," Kovez ^cal Yad, N.S., IX (1980), 219-93 and esp. 235-40.

Scholem's post 1286 dating forces one to accept an unlikely
chronological ordering of De Leon's corpus: having composed
the (theosophical) Zohar between 1280-1286 and his Hebrew
theosophical works between 1286-1293, Moshe de Leon, we are
asked to accept, wrote a totally non-theosophical treatise in
the spirit of GE sometime between 1286-1290.[25] The above
sequence destroys the continuity of De Leon's mystical thought
and undermines the basis upon which Efraim Gottlieb ordered
the Giqatilian corpus.[26] Finally, Scholem has adduced no in-
trinsically compelling reasons, textual or otherwise, in sup-
port of the post 1286 date.[27] De Leon's statement that
Shoshan [c]Edut was his first book simply means, as Altmann
has suggested,[28] that it was his first theosophical book. We
may safely conclude that De Leon wrote OZ after GE and some-
time before his first theosophical work, Midrash ha-Ne[c]elam,
whose date of composition is still a matter of controversy.[29]

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[25]The year 1290 must be the terminus ad quem because
Moshe de Leon cites OZ in Sefer Ha-Mishqal which he wrote in
1290.

[26]See above, p. 22, n. 60.

[27]Scholem himself acknowledges the unique character
of OZ in "Einige mystische Schrift," p. 121. See also Major
Trends, p. 395, n. 133, and see comments below, p. 118, n. 29.

[28]Altmann, "Sefer 'Or Zaru[c]ah le-R. Moshe de Le'on,"
p. 243.

[29]According to Scholem, it was written c. 1280;
according to Tishby, c. 1286. See Scholem, Major Trends,

In his introduction to his edition of OZ, Altmann

listed numerous thematic and stylistic parallels between

that work and Giqatila's early writings. He has thereby

demonstrated conclusively that De Leon consulted Giqatila's

works when he composed OZ.[30] Our comparison of OZ and GE

has yielded additional significant parallels and thus re-

inforces Altmann's position regarding the literary dependency

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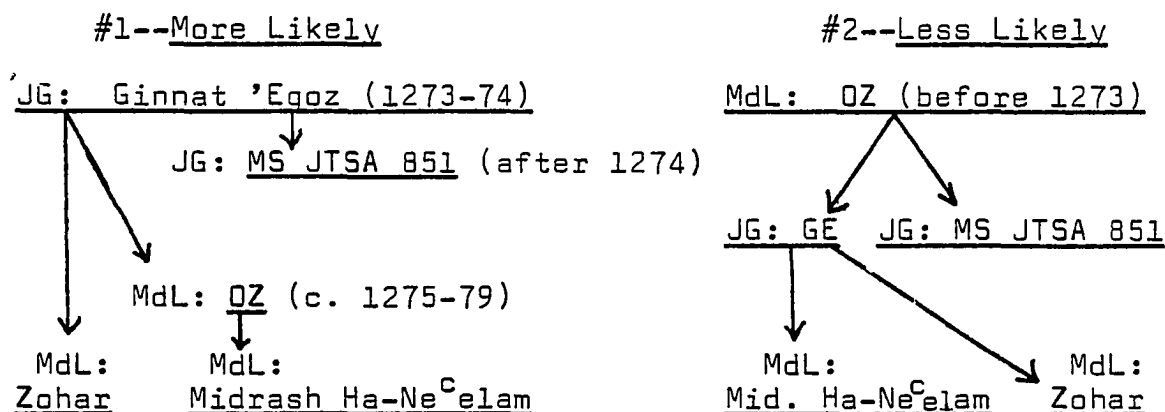pp. 186-90, and Tishby, Mishnat Ha-Zohar, I, 105-108.

Professor Y. Dan has suggested to me the possibility
that Scholem's difference with Altmann concerning the date
of OZ is really linked to the Scholem-Tishby controversy
regarding the date of the composition of the Zohar. Accord-
ing to Scholem, Moshe de Leon wrote his pseudepigraphic
writings first, and afterwards (1286-93) his Hebrew works
in his own name. Scholem may have thought that a pre-1280
date for OZ would weaken his argument that Moshe de Leon
began to write his Hebrew works after 1286.

[30]Altmann, however, does not address himself to the
possibility that De Leon wrote OZ before GE and that
Giqatila borrowed from OZ, and not the other way around.
However, several considerations, when viewed as a whole,
render this possibility remote. First, the assumption that
Giqatila read OZ is a mere conjecture; that De Leon both
read GE and used GE (in the Zohar) is an established fact.
It is sounder to maintain that De Leon used GE when writing
OZ and again later, when writing the Zohar, than to assume
that De Leon borrowed material from a work (GE) that was
itself based on his own book, OZ. See diagram, below,
p. 119. Second, Altmann also pointed to certain parallels
between OZ and Midrash Ha-Ne^celam, the oldest strata of the
Zohar. It seems much more reasonable to posit a shorter
time-lapse between these two works, which could not be done
if OZ were written before GE (before 1273). Third, unlike
Togarmi's MQ and some of Abulafia's early writings, OZ
contains the idea of hamshakhah. It is more reasonable,
therefore, to assume that De Leon wrote OZ after GE from

of <u>OZ</u> on <u>GE</u>.[31] These parallels include esoteric ideas, terms

and <u>gematriot</u>, some of which are found exclusively in the

Giqatilian corpus, and others of which are common to the

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whence he took the notion of <u>hamshakhah</u>.

Diagram

#1--<u>More Likely</u>	#2--<u>Less Likely</u>

JG: Ginnat 'Egoz (<u>1273-74</u>)

JG: <u>MS JTSA 851</u> (after 1274)

MdL: <u>OZ</u> (c. 1275-79)

MdL: MdL:
Zohar   Midrash Ha-Ne^celam

MdL: OZ (before 1273)

JG: GE   JG: MS JTSA 851

MdL: MdL:
Mid. Ha-Ne^celam   Zohar

[31]See Appendix IV (to Chapter IV), below, pp. 178-80.
The two prefaces seem to adhere to the following thematic
arrangement: 1) God inspires the author to write a work
which will explain esoteric material (<u>sodot</u>); 2) <u>Sodot</u>
were concealed from the masses long ago; 3) not everyone
is suited to study esoteric subjects; 4) the author vows
to study the secret knowledge of God; 5) the author under-
scores the human limitations regarding the apprehension
of the Deity, but 6) admits that some esoteric secrets
may be acquired through the mystical exegesis of the
Torah; 7) the author criticizes contemporary Torah
scholars for not addressing themselves to theological
issues.

writings of Togarmi, Abulafia and Giqatila. De Leon's OZ,

then, properly belongs to the philosophical-qabbalistic

circle, and evidences the direct influence of Ginnat 'Egoz.

To begin with, it is clear that De Leon patterned his

preface to OZ after the first part of the preface to GE which

has been preserved only in manuscript and which Altmann did

not utilize.[32] Aside from using many identical phrases,

terms and Scriptural citations, Moshe de Leon organized his

preface according to the same thematic structure of the

preface to GE. In addition, OZ and GE share a common mystical

vocabulary. Such technical terms as 'or ha-bahir,[33] 'or

ha-sekhel,[34] merkabah,[35] and sod[36]--to mention a few--are used

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[32]Asi Farber-Ginat recently published a critical edi-
tion of this preface. See "Haqdamat Giqatila le-Sefer Ginnat
Egoz," pp. 62-73. Curiously, Farber-Ginat did not include MSS
Jerusalem 8°2129, JTSA 1430, and Paris 811. Also, the Paris
MS she cites should be corrected to: MS Bibliothèque de l'Al-
liance Israelite universelle, H 8a.

[33]OZ, p. 261, ll. 132 and 137.

[34]OZ, p. 260, l. 96 and p. 261, ll. 123ff. Cf. to GE,
12b [B].

[35]OZ, p. 289, l. 157: ונשארו אבגד שהם סוד המרכבה כי
תמצא לעולם אבגד הם ארבעה בושאי המרכבה העליונה וגם אשר הם ה-
מרכבה ממש. Cf. to GE, 45d [B]. Merkabah, in the writings of
the philosophical-qabbalistic circle, refers not to "chariot"
mysticism but to mysticism dealing with the "combination" of
letters. Cf. two other anonymous works which were influenced
in part by Giqatila: Seder Ha-Maᶜalot, MS JTSA #2156, f. 51v:
סוד המעלה מן המרכבה אשר היא...אבגד and Sefer Ha-Zeruf, MS
Munich 22, f. 200r: הרי לך ב' היסודות א"ב ג"ד שהוא סוד המר-
כבה השלמה שהיא יו"ד ....

[36]OZ, p. 251, l. 35: [86] שהוא אלהינו [= 86]
בסוד כנוי .... Cf. GE, 11b.

in a similar fashion in both works. Most important, <u>hamsha-</u>

<u>khah</u>, the principle technical term of <u>GE</u>, appears with the

same, non-theosophical meaning in <u>OZ</u>.[37] Many of the im-

portant themes and ideas in <u>GE</u>, such that <u>YHWH</u> is the exclusive

Divine Name,[38] the Prime Mover,[39] and the ontological rela-

tionship of <u>YHWH</u> to created existence through <u>hamshakhah</u>[40]

are recurring themes in <u>OZ</u> as well. As noted above, there is

not a trace of theosophy in <u>OZ</u>. Sefirot, for example, desig-

nate the primal numbers[41] or the Intelligences,[42] as in <u>GE</u>.

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[37]<u>OZ</u>, p. 250, l. 4:   המסבת אמיתת מהותו גורמת מציאות כל
;וּמיסוד העשרה נמשכו שאר כל הספירות p. 254, l. 89: ;נמצאים
.ההמשכה הראשונה הנמשך מעם זוהר העליון ...p. 257, l. 30:
Cf. to <u>GE</u>, 65c [B] and 68c: כי הזוהר הוא סוד עולם השכל.
    It is worth noting Moshe de Leon's substitution of 'zl
for mshkh in his early theosophical qabbalistic work, <u>Midrash</u>
<u>Ha-Ne^celam</u>. Cf. the following passages (my emphasis):
    <u>OZ</u>, II, ll. 82-83:   <u>Midrash Ha-Ne^celam</u>, 4a:

-תחלת כל הנמצאים נברא צו
-רת המלאכים...כי תחלת <u>המ</u>
<u>שבת</u> כל הנמצאים היא   צורת
השכלים הנקראים אלהים....

ובראשית כל הנבראים ברא צורת ה-
מלאכים...שהם תחלת כל הנבראים
<u>הנאצלים</u> מזיו הדרו...ברא...צורת
המלאכים הנקראים אלהים ....

[38]<u>OZ</u>, p. 250, l. 12:   כי בהיות שאר כל השמות כנוויין
.אצלו הצרך לומר יהוה אחד
    All references in <u>OZ</u> to divine unity should be com-
pared with Book III of <u>GE</u>, "Sha^car Ha-Yihud," pp. 72d-74b.

[39]<u>OZ</u>, p. 250, ll. 9-11.

[40]<u>OZ</u>, p. 250, l. 4:   והמשכת אמיתת מהותו גורמת מציאות
.כל הנמצאים

[41]<u>OZ</u>, p. 250, l. 3:   ...כי כל הספירות הוא מוציאם במספר
and <u>OZ</u>, p. 254, ll. 87-89:   כל הספירות שבצולם הוא יסוד העשרה
.ומיסוד העשרה נמשכו שאר כל הספירות

[42]<u>OZ</u>, p. 266, ll. 45-46:   כי תמצא הספירה הראשונה שהיא
.סוד השכל הפועל היא ספירת בלימה   Cf. to <u>GE</u>, 53a [B].

OZ identifies the divine name 'Elohim with Metatron, who is in turn identified with the Cherubim, Sar ha-Panim, Intelligent Light ('or ha-sekhel) and the Serafim.[43] Such associations with 'Elohim are common in the philosophical-qabbalistic writings of Giqatila, Abulafia, and Togarmi. 'Elohim also appears in OZ as 'elem-Yah, the "mute one" of Yah, as in GE.[44] Finally, numerous passages in OZ are phrased in such a way that indicates that they were lifted from GE.[45]

In summation, there is a sizeable core of esoteric terms, ideas, and literary features which unifies the early writings of Giqatila, Abulafia, and De Leon, and which enables the historian to view them as members of a circle or school. These mystics lived, studied and wrote in Castile during the sixties and seventies of the thirteenth century. It is almost certain, with the exception of the older Togarmi, that these mystics were acquainted with each other's writings and knew each other personally. Barukh Togarmi should be viewed as the senior member of this circle and Abulafia and

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[43]OZ, p. 260, l. 111 and ll. 96ff.

[44]OZ, p. 275, l. 26 כך אל לא יכול לעשות...דבר בלתי יה
...שזה הפירוש כי שמי בקרבו...כי מן אלהים כשתוציא יה ישאר אלם.
Cf. to GE, 11c and MS JTSA #2156, f. 39v. See also above, p. 73.

[45]See Appendix IV (to Chapter V), below, pp. 178-80.

Giqatila as its associates. Later, perhaps after Abulafia
had left the circle, Giqatila and Moshe de Leon were its
principal members. Giqatila's major and original contribu-
tion was two-fold. First, he lucidly and systematically
developed various themes of philosophical-qabbalah in his
treatise, GE. Second, he incorporated several mystical
concepts from other Spanish qabbalistic schools, the most
important idea being hamshakhah or cosmological emanation.
As we have seen, Giqatila made the notion of hamshakhah the
dominating motif of his treatise, as he deftly wove this
cosmological theory together with the other principle strands
of his sources into a unified fabric of ideas.[46]

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[46]The following parallel between GE and Togarmi's MQ
sharply illustrates Giqatila's introduction of hamshakhah
(my emphasis):

MQ, p. 234:   GE, 26b:

שההוא סוד עולם הש-...   רזו מעלת השכלים הנפרדים והנקראים
כלים...והוא אור לבו-   אור השכל אשר מאתם נמצאו כל הנמצ-
שו סממנו ברא הכל.   אים כולם בדרך ההמשכה ואלו הן אור
                             לבושו ממש.

CHAPTER VI

FROM PHILOSOPHICAL-QABBALAH TO

THEOSOPHICAL-QABBALAH

In his <u>History of Jewish Philosophy</u>, David Neumark
enumerated what he thought were the four basic doctrines
of Spanish Jewish mysticism: the idea of the primordial point;
the science of letter and number symbolism; the theory of
primordial man; and the doctrine of sexual union in creation.[1]
Although not all Spanish mystics espoused each or even any
of these doctrines,[2] and although there are many more basic
theories which he did not consider, Neumark's approach has
methodological merit in that it seeks to describe qabbalah
in terms of several component ideas as opposed to one central
motif.

This is the approach advocated in this study. We
have seen that Giqatila--together with other Jewish mystics--

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[1]See <u>Toledot ha-filosofia be-Yisra'el</u> (New York,
1921), I, 182.

[2]Ironically, on the basis of these four doctrines,
Neumark claimed that Isaac ibn Latif was a qabbalist. In
fact, Ibn Latif subscribed to only one of these doctrines,
the theory of the primordial point.

advanced a theory of cosmological emanation known as

hamshakhah. Giqatila tried to show how the entire universe

emanated from the letters of the Divine Name which were

created in time. He also refers to these letters, which

occupy an intermediate place between the transcendent Deity

and the Separate Intelligences, as the primordial essence

(havayah qadmonit), the primordial point (nequddah 'ahat),

the supernal source (meqor ^{c}elyon), intelligent light ('or

sekhel), and the supernal will (hefez ha-^{c}elyon).[3] These

and other technical terms were part of a common thirteenth-

century Neoplatonic qabbalistic vocabulary.[4] Giqatila also

posited a mystical concept of the Torah which states that

the Torah, in its primordial form, is reducible to the

primordial point or the Divine Name. The Torah, then,

emanated from the letters of the Divine Name just as the

physical universe, in its formative stage, did. Thus both

the secrets of the universe (ma^{c}aseh bereshit) and the

secrets of the Torah (ma^{c}aseh merkavah) are to be acquired

through the same technique of letter and number symbolism.

Giqatila's theory of cosmological emanation also led him to

acknowledge the theoretical possibility of theurgic magic,

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[3]See above, pp. 58, 68, 98-99, and 102-104.

[4]Above, pp. 98-104.

an idea alluded to by Barukh Togarmi and Moses Nachmanides.[5]

These and other esoteric ideas such as Giqatila's concept of

"Perfect Man" (_'adam 'amiti_)[6] as well as his insistence that

rational concepts be subservient to, and grounded in, the

Torah, constitute the component elements which justify view-

ing Giqatila's early theological writings as a legitimate

mode of qabbalistic literature. In the final analysis, how-

ever, the most cogent reason for considering Giqatila's early

writings qabbalistic is that he himself, as well as many of

his contemporaries, referred to them as such.

Though Giqatila cannot be considered a philosopher

or rationalist for reasons we have already noted,[7] he none-

theless subscribed wholeheartedly to several rationalist

ideas, especially to Maimonides' views regarding the tran-

scendence and unity of the Deity. These rational ideas

forced him to "de-theosophize" some of the technical terms

that he borrowed from his Neoplatonic qabbalistic sources.

Because of the rational content of Giqatila's early works,

we have called them the philosophical-qabbalistic writings.

Giqatila, however, did not sustain an abiding inter-

est in this type of qabbalah. And he was not alone. One of

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[5]See above, pp. 76-79 and 95, n. 10. See Nachmanides, _Perush ᶜal Ha-Torah_, introduction, pp. 3-4.

[6]See above, pp. 57-61.

[7]Above, p. 26.

the more puzzling curiosities of thirteenth-century Jewish
mysticism is that, about the same time, the three principal
members of Giqatila's circle of mysticism abandoned their
study of philosophical-qabbalah and shifted their attention
to other areas of Jewish mysticism. Abraham Abulafia em-
barked upon a distinguished literary career in prophetic
qabbalah, writing the first of some forty-five volumes on
this subject in 1279. Both Joseph Giqatila and Moshe de
Leon, in turn, wrote voluminously on theosophical qabbalah
beginning with the end of the seventies or early eighties.
In the case of Giqatila and De Leon, the intellectual trans-
formation is more dramatic than Abulafia's since it amounts
to a complete break with Maimonidean religious rationalism,
which is central to their type of philosophical-qabbalah,
and marks a total acceptance of a Neoplatonic metaphysics
which understands creation as a process of necessary and not
voluntary emanation.

Unfortunately, there is not the slightest hint that
intimates how or why this intellectual transformation oc-
curred. We also do not know the psychological dynamics of
change which Giqatila must have undergone in order to make
this theological transition.

Giqatila's radical intellectual transition is espe-
cially pronounced in his qabbalistic magnum opus, Sha^care

'Orah (hereafter: <u>SO</u>).[8] Written before 1291, this work soon

became a classic of qabbalistic literature and continues to

be read today by both traditional and critical scholars.[9]

<u>SO</u> is a lucidly written and systematic explication of

sefirotic symbolism, the ten realms of the divine <u>pleroma</u>

emanating from within the <u>'En Sof</u>. Based on a mystical idea

that the entire Torah has been "woven out of divine names

and appellatives,"[10] the book discloses how the ten <u>Sefirot</u>,

each of which corresponds to one or more divine name, are

symbolized in over 1300 Scriptural verses. As with <u>GE</u>, <u>SO</u>

reveals the inner meaning of the Torah through the hermeneutic

principle <u>sod</u> which, having now lost its association with

letter and number symbolism, denotes the theosophical symbolic

meaning of Scripture. In sharp contrast to <u>GE</u>, <u>SO</u> has little

or no <u>gematria</u> and seems to be the work furthest removed from

Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic writings. Indeed, the

religious world-view of the two books differs so radically

that Gershom Scholem has remarked that, were it not for

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[8]All citations from <u>SO</u> are from the Warsaw, 1883
edition.

[9]The extent of the uninterrupted popularity of <u>SO</u>
is evident from the 115 extant manuscripts of <u>SO</u> listed in
the catalogue of Hebrew microfilms at the Jewish National
and University Library in Jerusalem.

[10]<u>SO</u>, 2a. This idea is also found in Giqatila's
earlier work, <u>Perush ^cal Ha-Merkavah</u>, MS JTSA #2156, f. 1r.
On the idea as a whole, see Scholem, <u>On the Kabbalah</u>,
pp. 37-44.

incontrovertible evidence, one would never attribute both works to the same author.[11]

Now, while the differences between GE and SO are many and profound, it seems that Scholem's observation is marred by a basic methodological flaw. Rather than focus on discrepancies between two works separated by a time-span of some seventeen years, one should examine some of the intermediate writings. A study of Giqatila's theosophical-qabbalistic works written prior to SO indicates that these works continue many important themes which were treated in his philosophical-qabbalistic writings. In fact, some of these later works appear to be conscious rewriting of earlier treatises in accordance with his newly embraced theosophical theology. As such, Giqatila's break with philosophical-qabbalah may not be as drastic as Scholem would lead us to think. Here we shall consider three works of Giqatila known to have been written prior to SO

Perush ᶜal Ha-Haggadah[12]

In style and theme, Giqatila's Perush ᶜal Ha-Haggadah (Commentary On the Passover Haggadah; hereafter: PH) seems

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[11]Abraham Abulafia, pp. 109-110.

[12]Giqatila's commentary to the Passover Haggadah has been printed several times. See I. Ben-Jacob, 'Ozar ha-sefarim (Vilna, 1880), pp. 126 [#56] and 128 [#103]. M. Kasher recently printed this commentary in his Haggadah

to be one of his first literary efforts following his break
with philosophical-qabbalah. Unlike all of his later theo-
sophical qabbalistic subjects, PH refers or alludes to the
doctrine of Sefirot only in passing.[13] Moreover, Giqatila
explains much of the Haggadah in his commentary in accordance
with themes which are found in his early theological works.
For instance, he explains the prohibition of leavened bread
on Passover not theosophically but allegorically: leavened
bread, we are told, represents the material sense perceptions
(murgashot) of man which inhibits or altogether prevents the
acquisition of non-material, intelligibles (musgalot),[14] a
recurring epistemological theme in all of Giqatila's philo-
sophical-qabbalistic writings.[15] The explanation of the ten
plagues in Egypt which Giqatila advances in PH is highly

Shelemah (Jerusalem, 1967). Kasher, unfortunately, copied
his text from the 1608 Basle edition which is corrupt,
truncated and has misarranged folios. It seems that the
editors of the 1608 Basle edition copied from the defective
text of MS British Museum 1076, ff. 141r-47r, or from a
similar MS. However, the commentary printed in the 1805
Grodno edition, entitled Zofenat Pa^c ne'ah, is a reliable
text and appears to accord well with the best MSS of the
commentary. Citations here are from this edition.

[13] See PH, p. 20a (incorrectly paginated, p. 15) and
cf. to SO, 12a-12b.

[14] PH, 6c-7d.

[15] E.g., GE, 4b, et al., but esp. see his preface (in
MS) to GE, below, pp. 188-90.

reminiscent of his comments in MS Oxford 1598.[16] In both

texts, the plagues symbolize the supernal contest between

YHWH and the Angel of Egypt who, representing the Intel-

ligences, controls the celestial spheres that govern the

natural forces operating in the sublunar world. The triumph

of YHWH over the Angel of Egypt ultimately signifies the

triumph of traditional Judaism over Aristotelian determinism.

Giqatila's commentary on the Haggadah, then, though without

question theosophical, is still very much attached themati-

cally to his earlier, philosophical-qabbalistic phase.

Sha^care Zedeq[17]

Unlike Giqatila's Perush ^cal Ha-Haggadah, Sha^care

Zedeq (hereafter: SZ) is a work totally immersed in theo-

sophical mysticism. It is a detailed explication of the ten

Sefirot and their theosophical symbolism and, in many

respects, may be regarded as a preliminary edition of Giqa-

tila's later treatise, SO. Nonetheless, several ideas and

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[16]PH, 19a-19b, 21d-22a, and esp. 22a-22b, all of
which should be compared with MS Oxford 1598, ff. 45v-46r.
Also, cf. PH, 22a with SO, 12b.

[17]All printed editions of SZ as well as many MS
versions are truncated. For the complete text, the reader
must see E. Gottlieb, "The Concluding Portion of R. Joseph
Chiqatella's Sha^care Zedeq" [Heb.], Tarbiz, XXXIX (1970),
359-89 and reprinted in his Studies, pp. 132-62. Gottlieb
edited the missing portion of SZ together with a critical
apparatus.

themes in it are drawn from his early writings. For example, SZ "proves," in the same manner as in GE, that the Tetragram denotes only divine essence or being by means of the principle of zeruf (permutation): all twelve permutations of the four-lettered Name denote only "being," whereas the permutations of the letters of other divine names may form different words with different meanings.[18] Also, the significance of the ten plagues in Egypt is explained in the same manner as it is in MS Oxford 1598 and in PH.[19] In addition, Giqatila addresses himself to the question of why the Torah is unvocalized, a subject which had concerned him in his earlier writings.[20]

Perhaps most significant, some of the theological and philosophical implications of his break with philosophical-qabbalah are consciously noted. Referring to the rational understanding of creation ex nihilo (yesh me-'ayin), Giqatila argues that the term is not to be construed

> like those who think . . . . He created something
> from that which is not, that is, from absolute
> nothing. This is not so. Rather, He created some-
> thing [yesh] from Nothing ['Ayin], that is, He

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[18]SZ (Cracow, 1881), 20a. Cf. to GE, 8b. In SO, the twelve permutations of the Divine Name YHWH are associated with the twelve astrological signs and are referred to as "seals" (hotamot). See SO, pp. 65b-66a.

[19]SZ, 5b. See above, p. 131, n. 17.

[20]See GE, 15d, Hassagot, 20d, and Appendix V (to Chapter VI), below, pp. 191-92.

caused the <u>Sefirah</u> of Wisdom which is (also)
called <u>yesh</u> to emanate (<u>he'ezil</u>) from the <u>Sefirah</u>
of <u>Keter</u> which is called <u>'Ayin</u> . . . . [21]

This theosophical-qabbalistic reinterpretation of "creation

<u>ex nihilo</u>" is implicit but hardly ever stated openly in

mystical literature. Aside from its general value, this

rare statement indicates that Giqatila was quite aware of

the theological changes that theosophical mysticism made

necessary. Indeed, one may view all of <u>SZ</u>--and <u>SO</u> as well--

as a conscious attempt to revise his theology in accordance

with his newly acquired theosophical understanding of the

divine names and appellatives. As such, <u>SZ</u> is, among other

things, a theosophical-qabbalistic rewriting of Book I

of <u>GE</u>.[22]

<u>Perush Ha-Niqqud</u>[23]

Among Giqatila's theosophical works written after <u>SZ</u>,

<u>Perush Ha-Niqqud</u> (hereafter: <u>PN</u>) bears the most striking

resemblance with his philosophical-qabbalistic writings,

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[21]MS Paris 823, f. 44v, ll. 60-62 (see Gottlieb,
<u>Studies</u>, p. 140): פי׳ לא כדעת הסוברים מוציא יש מאין שהרציא
דבר מלא דבר כלומר מאפיסה מוחלטת אין הדבר כן אלא הוציא יש מ-
אין כלומר האציל החכמה שהיא יש מן הכתר הנקרא אין ....
כי זהו יסוד הראשון ‫ Cf. to <u>GE</u>, 11d: סוד תורתינו בהיות כל
הנמצאים מחודשים מלא דבר.

[22]See also Appendix V (to Chapter VI), below, pp. 191-92.

[23]<u>Perush Ha-Niqqud</u>, printed in <u>'Arze Levanon</u> (Venice,
1601). Since the printed edition of this work was unavailable
to me, I have used MS Oxford 1565, ff. 31r-45v. In <u>PN</u>, Giqa-
tila refers to <u>SZ</u> by name.

especially with Book III of GE and Sefer Ha-Niqqud (SN) with which scribes and manuscript cataloguers have often confused it.[24] Briefly, PN is a qabbalistic disquisition on the theosophical symbolism of the Hebrew vowel points. As SZ is to Book I of GE, PN may be regarded as a theosophical re-writing of Book III of GE (and SN). To cite one of many examples, holem, a raised dot, is considered in both works as the most sublime and abstract symbol. But whereas holem designates the transcendent Deity (YHWH) in GE and SN, it signifies the first Sefirah, Keter, in PN.[25]

In summation, it appears that Giqatila had his philosophical-qabbalistic writings very much in mind when writing many of his theosophical-qabbalistic works.

Hamshakhah in Giqatila's Theosophical-Qabbalistic Writings

Perhaps the most striking feature of Giqatila's theo-sophical-qabbalistic writings, especially SZ and SO, is the frequent use of the term hamshakhah. Hamshakhah appears so often in SO that it undoubtedly is, as in GE, the principal technical term of the book. But Giqatila now uses hamshakhah as it was originally used in the Gerona Circle, as the process of "drawing" divine bounty downwards through the

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[24]See above, p. 36, n. 14.

[25]MS Oxf. 1565, f. 33r.

sefirotic channels (zinnorot) to the world of man.[26]

It is not co-incidental that the same word is the principal term and leitmotif of both Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic and theosophical-qabbalistic writings. Hamshakhah must be regarded as more than the central theme of the respective works in which it appears; it is also the key to understanding the continuity of Giqatila's thought.

While we do not know the circumstances of Giqatila's intellectual transition to theosophy, perhaps the concept of hamshakhah served as a "bridge" between his two theological phases and partially explains the psychological and intellectual process of this transition. For, ultimately, Giqatila's central concern may not have merely been his early attempt to demonstrate the unity and transcendence of God through letter and number symbolism. Nor was it his later efforts to describe the Torah as a mystical fabric woven of divine names. Rather, the overriding religious and intellectual concern with which Giqatila incessantly grappled was the problem of God's presence in the world of man. For Giqatila, the concept of hamshakhah, both in its de-theosophized meaning in his early writings and in its original, theosophical sense in his later writings, is the key to understanding the presence and workings of the divine in the natural world of

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[26]See above, p. 67.

human experience. It is this abiding theological concern,
then, which unifies the work and thought of Giqatila during
his early and later literary periods.

Giqatila's intellectual shift to theosophical mys-
ticism probably signalled the end of his philosophical-
qabbalistic circle. There are no other known mystics who
engaged in this type of mysticism and, with only one or two
exceptions, there are no other extant texts which may be
considered representative of this form of qabbalah.[27] The
demise of the circle, however, did not mark the end of Giqa-
tila's philosophical-qabbalistic writings. Partly because
of their resourcefulness as a repository of esoteric themes
and symbols, and partly because of the distinguished reputa-
tion of their author, Giqatila's early theological writings
enjoyed a steady readership through modern times. Beginning
in the early fourteenth century, his early writings were
abridged,[28] included in larger qabbalistic anthologies,[29] and

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[27]One exception is (the fourteenth-century) Tisha^{c}a
Peraqim in MS Paris 767 and edited by G. Vajda, Kovez ^{c}al Yad,
N.S., V (1950), 109-37, and translated by idem, Le Traite
pseudo-Maimonidien: Neuf chapitres sur l'unité de Dieu (Paris,
1954). Another possible exception is Sod Darkhe Ha-Niqqud,
MS Cambridge 643, ff. 36v-42r.

[28]See Excursus II: "Ginnat 'Egoz--Manuscript Abridg-
ments and Collectianae," below, p. 156.

[29]See works cited below, p. 138, nn. 33-34. Giqatila
also influenced Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi's Perush ^{c}al

studied by students of both theosophical and prophetic mys-
ticism.[30]

Unfortunately, because there is no commentary on
Giqatila's philosophical-qabbalistic writings, there is no
way to know how subsequent generations, nurtured on the Zohar
and Giqatila's SO, understood these works. Was GE understood
as a work different from or identical with theosophical qab-
balah? Meir ibn Aldabi (c. 1300-1360), who lifted material
from GE into his Shevile 'Emunah,[31] surely realized the non-
theosophical character of GE. After stating the (Giqatilean)

Bereshit (fourteenth century), MS Paris 841, see ibid., f.
38v, and may have influenced MS Jerusalem 8°1303, ff. 20r-49v.

[30]An example of combining material from Giqatila's
philosophical-qabbalistic works with the doctrine of the
Sefirot can be found in Eshkol Ha-Kofer, MS Vatican 219,
ff. 1r-15r. Despite the many parallels this work has with
Giqatila's writings, Giqatila himself did not write the work
as is evident from, among several things, its literary style.
Also see MS Vatican 441, ff. 183r-201r.
    An example of material combined from Giqatila's
philosophical-qabbalah and Abulafia's prophetic qabbalah can
be found in the (early?) fourteenth-century work, Sefer Ha-
Zeruf, MS Munich 22, ff. 181-225 (incomplete) and MS Vatican
219, as well as other MSS. Another example can be found in
MS Jerusalem, 8°476, ff. 25v-28r. On these Jerusalem MSS,
see Scholem, Kitve yad ba-qabbalah, p. 8 and pp. 50-51.
Scholem recognizes Abulafia's influence but fails to note
the obvious influence of Giqatila.
    An example of combining elements from Giqatila's
philosophical-qabbalah, prophetic qabbalah, and theosophical-
qabbalah is found in MS Jerusalem 8°1303, ff. 50r-56r. This
fragment bears many thematic and stylistic parallels with
Giqatila's early works, contains the doctrine of the Sefirot,
and also mentions the Abulafian metaphor of the conjunction
of the soul as a divine kiss. (F. 53v.)

[31]See above, p. 36.

idea that <u>YHWH</u> is the foremost Divine Name, he concludes:
". . . however, according to the [theosophical] qabbalists,
'Ehyeh is above <u>YHWH</u>."[32] But we cannot always be sure how
Giqatila was perceived. The anonymous author of <u>Sefer 'Ohel
Mo^ced</u> (before 1500), which he wrote to defend qabbalah against
its detractors, incorporated numerous esoteric ideas and letter
and number symbols into his book.[33] The qabbalistic anthology
of David ben Isaac Ginzburg of Fulda, <u>Sefer Miqdal David</u>
(1595), is likewise replete with philosophical-qabbalistic
ideas and symbols culled from <u>GE</u>.[34] Both these authors were
without question theosophical qabbalists and appear to have
used material in <u>GE</u> as it suited their purpose. We cannot
know for sure how these and others reconciled Giqatila's
philosophical-qabbalistic writings with his later writings.
Perhaps some insight into this question, however, can be
gleaned from the words of the proofreader of the first edition
of <u>GE</u> that the book is especially suited for beginners in

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[32]<u>Shevile 'Emunah</u> (Warsaw, 1886), 9a.

[33]MS Cambridge 673. On f. 21v, the author mentions
"the author of <u>GE</u>."

[34]MS Jerusalem 8°397, ff. 1r-168r. See also Johanan
Alemano's qabbalistic anthology, MS Oxford 2234. On f. 136v,
Alemano discusses Exodus 14:25 exactly as Giqatila does in MS
Oxf. 1598, f. 46r. Because Alemano's interpretation of this
verse is found in the earlier <u>Sefer 'Or Ha-Sekhel</u> of R.
Jonathan, MS Jerusalem 8°130, f. 19r, Scholem suggested (<u>Kitve
yad</u>, p. 53) that Alemano used <u>'Or Ha-Sekhel</u>. This, of course,
has no basis, since Alemano might have seen this interpreta-
tion in the above cited work of Giqatila.

qabbalah.[35] By this he may have meant that <u>GE</u> was ideal for those starting out in qabbalah because--aside from its lucid style and systematic presentation--it touched upon only the initial stages of mystical speculation. Put another way, late medieval and early modern readers of "early" Giqatila may have viewed what we have here called his philosophical-qabbalistic writings as a primary or outward (<u>peshat</u>) level of qabbalistic truth. Giqatila's early and late theological writings need not have been harmonized simply because the pre-modern reader did not see them as necessarily in conflict, even as he felt no need to harmonize the grammatical and legal interpretation of Scripture with the philosophical and theo-sophical interpretations. Regardless of the exact way in which they were understood, however, it is somewhat ironic that Giqa-tila's philosophical-qabbalistic writings and especially <u>GE</u>, were preserved by both Jewish and Christian[36] readers because of the reputation of their author as a major theosophical mystic.

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[35]<u>GE</u>, 74c.

[36]On the Christian readership of <u>GE</u>, see J. Blau, <u>The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance</u> (New York, 1944), pp. 27, 58, and 102. See also below, Excursus II, p. 153 (MS Munich 215), p. 152 (MS British Museum 740), and p. 156 (MS Jerusalem 8°2129). See also Egidio Da Viterbo (fl. 1469-1532), <u>Scechina e Libellus de litteris Hebraicis</u>, ed. F. Secret (Rome, 1959), p. 17 and passim.

EXCURSUS I

WHEN DID JOSEPH GIQATILA FLOURISH?

THE HISTORY OF THE CONTROVERSY

Much of the controversy and confusion concerning when
Giqatila flourished illustrates the paucity of data that
often plagues medievalists as well as the careless errors
that have crept into early modern Jewish chronicles. As
early as the mid-nineteenth century, Eliakim Carmoly was
amazed that four noted chroniclers and bibliographers placed
Giqatila at the close of the fifteenth century, considering
that Giqatila had been cited by thirteenth- and fourteenth-
century authors. These chroniclers include Gedalya ibn Yaḥya,
Immanuel Aboab, Chaim Azulai, and Giovanni De Rossi.[1] Chaim

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[1]E. Carmoly, <u>Itinéraires de la Terra Sainte, des
XIII . . . XVII siècle</u> (Brussels, 1847), p. 276.
The fifteen century dating of Giqatila can be found
in Gedalya ibn Yaḥya, <u>Shalshelet ha-Qabbalah</u> (Jerusalem,
1962), p. 14; I. Aboab, <u>Nomologia o discursos legales</u> (Amster-
dam, 1629), p. 301 (Amsterdam, 1747), p. 324; Chaim Azulai,
<u>Shem ha-Gedolim</u>, edited I. Ben-Yakob (Vilna, 1853), II, 144,
s.v. שערי אורה   ; and G. B. de Rossi, <u>Dizionario
storico degli autori ebrei e delle loro opere</u> (Parma, 1802),
I, 125. One year later, however, in his <u>Manuscripti codices
hebraici bibliothecae J. B. de Rossi</u> . . . (Parma, 1803), I,
71f., De Rossi was inclined to place Giqatila in the early to
mid-fourteenth century. He did so on the basis of Abraham

Azulai, in fact, records two conflicting traditions. The first, which he ascribes to Abraham Zacuto's Sefer Yuḥasin, dates Giqatila circa 1350 and makes him a contemporary of R. Judah b. Asher (d. 1349). A second tradition places Giqatila among the Spanish exiles of 1492. Azulai was inclined to accept the second tradition, since it was based on a manuscript collectianae. Azulai, however, was aware that Giqatila had been cited by the early fourteenth-century qabbalist, Isaac ben Samuel (of Acre). To circumvent the difficulty, Azulai posited the existence of two Joseph ben Abraham Giqatilas and ascribed Sha[c]are 'Orah to the one of the fifteenth century!

Both traditions which Azulai mentions are untenable. Apart from the difficulty of inventing a second Joseph Giqatila unknown in Jewish literature, there is strong textual evidence which indicates that Sha[c]are 'Orah was written before

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Zacuto's Sefer Yuḥasin, as understood by Conforte in Qore Ha-Dorot, that Giqatila lived around 1350. Below, we shall show how Azulai (and Conforte) misunderstood Sefer Yuḥasin. De Rossi was also aware that Giqatila had been cited by (the fourteenth-century qabbalist) Isaac b. Samuel of Acre and he had seen A. M. Biscioni, Bibliothecae hebraicae Florentinae (Florence, 1757), pp. 299f. who cites a colophon of a MS of Sha[c]are 'Orah dated November 1325.

In addition to these four, Carmoly could have added Joseph Sambari, Lequṭim, ed. A. Neubauer, Medieval Hebrew Chronicles (Oxford, 1887-95), I, 140-41.

1291.[2] Azulai's first statement that Giqatila lived around 1350--which he ascribed to Abraham Zacuto--is also incorrect since in 1325 the Qabbalist Joseph Angelino had referred to Giqatila as deceased.[3]

As we shall see, Azulai misunderstood Zacuto who never explicitly stated that Giqatila lived in 1350; he wrote only that Giqatila was contemporary with R. Judah b. Asher who (incidently) died in 1349. Giqatila, who died before 1325, may still of course be considered a contemporary of R. Judah, albeit an older one. To be sure, Zacuto's reference to Giqatila in Sefer Yuḥasin is unclear. A careful reading of the original passage in Sefer Yuḥasin together with the parallel section in the chronicles of Zacuto's older con-temporary, Joseph ibn Ẓaddiq,[4] explains Zacuto's ambiguous style and suggests the reason why Azulai misunderstood Sefer

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[2]The conclusion drawn by Efraim Gottlieb on the basis of his textual comparison of Shaᶜare 'Orah with Bahya ibn Asher's commentary to the Torah which was written in 1291. See E. Gottlieb, The Qabbalah in the Writings of R. Bahya ben Asher [Heb.] (Tel-Aviv, 1970).
    The earliest extant MS of Shaᶜare 'Orah that I am aware of is dated 1311. See G. Sacerdote, Catalogo dei codici ebraeica della . . . d'Italia (= Biblioteca Casatense di Roma) (Florence, 1897), p. 587.

[3]See Livnat Ha-Sapir on Genesis (Jerusalem, 1914), p. 66c.

[4]Joseph ibn Ẓaddiq of Arévalo completed his work in 1487; Yuḥasin was completed in 1504. See I. Loeb, "Josef Haccohen et les chroniqueurs juifs," Revue des études juives, XVII (1888), 271.

Yuhasin.[5]

Ibn Ẓaddiq, <u>Qiẓẓur</u>	Zacuto, <u>Yuhasin</u>	
נלכדו היהודים במלכות קשטיליא ע״י גונסאלו מארסיניש...שנת ה׳ אלפים ק׳ ונתגר סימן שנת מרו [צ״ל: מס.]	ובשנה ההיא [1339] נל־ כדו כל היהודים מקסטיל־ יא ונתנו כופר בפשם שנת מ״ס והי׳ להם מס.	[A]
נפטר ה״ר יהודה ז׳ אשר בן הרא״ש ז״יל בטלימלה שנת ה׳ אלפים ק״ט. המלך דון אלונשו [צ״ל: אלפנ־ שו] בן המלך דון פראגדו ..מלך מ״ג שנה בשנת ה׳ אלפים ס״ז [1307] והוליד ח׳ בנים...ולכד גיברלטאר ..ומת עליה ממגפה ביום שישי...כ״ז מארסו שנת... ק״י	נפטר ה״ר יהודה בן הראש בטוליטלה שנת ק״ט [349].	[B]
<u>ובזמנו</u>[ההדגשה שלי] הי׳ השר דון יוסף דונאסיצה והחכם ר׳ יוסף ז׳ גקטיל־ יא הקנור בפיגייהפייל ו־ שם קבור אצלו הרב ר׳ יצ־ חק קבגטון ז״ל. [X]		
ורעשה ארץ באלול שנת ה׳ אלפים קי״ז.	רעשה הארץ באלול שנת קי״ז [1357]. <u>ונקודם זה</u> [ההדגשה שלי] היה השר דון יוסף דיאיסיגה והרב יוסף ז׳ ניקטיליא הקבור בפוגזייאפייל ושם קבור אצל ה״ר יצחק קאנפסון ז״ל.	[C] [X]

The passage in <u>Yuḥasin</u>, for purposes of comparative analysis, may be listed as the following five items: [A], [B], [C], [D] designating historical events and [X] for the reference to Giqatila:

[A]   In that year [1339], all the Jews of Castile were rounded up and a price-tag was placed on their lives.[6]

[B]   R. Judah b. Asher passed away in Toledo (in the) year 1349.

[C]   An earthquake erupted in September 1357.

[X]   <u>And before this</u> [my emphasis] lived the courtier Don Yucaf de Ecija[7] and R. Joseph ibn Giqatila who was buried in Peñafiel next to R. Isaac Campanton of blessed memory.

[D]   The year of 1370 was a time of misfortune for the (Jewish) community of Castile and Toledo . . . .

Although his account is quite terse, Zacuto records his facts and dates with precision, with the sole exception

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Ibn Zaddiq, <u>Qizzur</u> (ctd.)	Zacuto, <u>Yuḥasin</u> (ctd.)
והמלך דון אנריך..הרג את המלך אחיו דון פידרו והיתה עת צרה גדולה לכל הקהלות אשר בכל מלכות קסטיליא וקהל הקדוש קהל טליטלה לקו כפלים..שנת ה' אלפים ק"ל....	[D] ‏ובשנת ק"ל [1370] היתה עת צרה לכל קהלות קש— סיליא וקהל טוליטלה...

[6]On the arrest of the Jews in Castile in 1339 see Y. Baer, <u>History of the Jews in Christian Spain</u>, I, 354-60.

[7]On Don Yucaf de Ecija, see Baer, <u>History of the Jews</u>, I, 325-27, and especially p. 445, n. 22. Also Baer, <u>Die Juden im christlichen Spanien: Urkunden und Regesten</u>, II, 3150. Also see A. Ballesteros, "Don Jucaf de Ecija," <u>Sefarad</u>, VI (1946), 253-87.

of the reference to Joseph Giqatila (and Don Yucaf) which he
placed somewhat awkwardly in the middle. To which event does
"before this lived . . . Giqatila" refer? There seem to be
several possibilities: before 1357, the last recorded date
[C]; before 1349, the death of R. Judah [B]; or before 1339,
the first date mentioned in that passage [A].

It may very well be that Zacuto himself did not know
the exact date of Giqatila's demise. In any case, the reason
for his ambiguity becomes apparent when we compare Zacuto's
account with the parallel section in Joseph's ibn Zaddiq's
Historical Digest, which most likely was Zacuto's source in
Yuhasin.[8] Characteristic of his style, Ibn Zaddiq interlaces
the passage in question with non-Jewish events and stories.
Thus, in his account, Ibn Zaddiq records the [A] arrest of
the Jews of Castile, but adds [A$_1$] that it was inspired by
Gonzola Martinez. After mentioning the [B] death of R. Judah
b. Asher in 1349, he adds [B$_1$] some highlights of the reign
of King Alfonso XI who ruled [sic!][9] from 1307 to 1350. He

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[8]On the relationship between Yuhasin and the Qizzur,
see I. Loeb, "Josef Haccohen et les chroniqueurs," p. 271,
who suggests that the two may have had a common source. M.
Steinschneider in Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden (Frank-
furt a/M, 1905), pp. 71ff. suggests that Ibn Zaddiq's Qizzur
was a source of Yuhasin. The relationship between the two is
almost totally ignored by A. Neuman, "Abraham Zacuto:
Historiographer," in Harry A. Wolfson Jubilee Volume (Jerusalem,
1965), II, 597-629.

[9]Alfonso XI was born in 1307 and ruled c. 1322-1350.
See below, p. 148, n. 16.

then says that [X] <u>during his</u> (Alfonso's) <u>lifetime</u> [my

emphasis] Giqatila (and Don Yucaf) lived. Ibn Ẓaddiq then

notes [C] the earthquake of 1357 and [D] trouble for the Jews

of Castile in 1370.

In short, stripped of the non-Jewish events, Zacuto's

<u>Sefer Yuḥasin</u> retains the identical facts and dates and their

exact sequence as recorded by Ibn Ẓaddiq, with the exception

of his reference to Giqatila [X] which appears between events

[C] and [D] in his account and between [B] and [C] in Ibn

Ẓaddiq's chronicle.

Zacuto, it seems, deliberately moved his reference to

Giqatila forward. Once divorced from its original associa-

tion with the life of King Alfonso (as in Ibn Ẓaddiq's ver-

sion), the reference to Giqatila hangs in mid-air, since it

has no bearing on any of the other four events in the para-

graph. Accordingly, Zacuto substituted the connecting phrase

"before this" for the original "during his lifetime" and

thereby provided the reference to Giqatila with a link, albeit

loose and contrived, to the other events. Zacuto's sub-

stitution of "<u>before</u> this" forced him to place the reference

to Giqatila [X] <u>after</u> event [C] to conform to the sequence of

Ibn Ẓaddiq. In other words, "before this" refers to the

event directly preceding [X]--or item [C]--so that <u>Yuḥasin</u>'s

reference to Giqatila [X] is, in effect, really between [B]

and [C], as in Ibn Ẓaddiq's chronicle.[10]

Still, Zacuto's arrangement in his <u>Yuhasin</u> is mis-
leading and suggests that Giqatila was in fact alive circa
1350, since he placed "before this" [X] after the [C] earth-
quake of 1357. Chaim Azulai was therefore misled and,
following the Jewish Chronicler David Conforte who also
misunderstood Zacuto, he stated that there was a tradition
that Giqatila lived around 1350.[11]

Several twentieth-century scholars unwittingly pro-
vided more accurate information when they recorded Giqatila's
demise "sometime after 1305."[12] These scholars no doubt

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[10]Zacuto could not have retained the exact order of
Ibn Zaddiq--[A], [B], [X], [C], [D] and used the words
"after this" [X], i.e., after the death of R. Judah in 1349.
This would not have been justified by his source, since Ibn
Ẓaddiq stated only that Giqatila lived <u>within</u> the lifetime
of Alfonso XI or sometime between 1312 and 1350.

[11]Azulai refers to David Conforte. See his <u>Qore Ha-
Dorot</u>, ed. D. Cassel (Berlin, 1846), p. 256.

[12]M. Seligson, "Joseph Gikatilla," <u>Jewish Encyclo-
pedia</u> (New York, 1903), V, cols. 666f.; S. A. Horodezsky,
"Josef ben Abraham Gikatila," <u>Encyclopedia Judaica</u> (Berlin,
1905), col. 409; J. Marcus, <u>Universal Jewish Encyclopedia</u>
(New York, 1941), IV, 609; I. Dinur, <u>Yisroel Ba-Golah</u>, 2nd
ed. (Tel-Aviv, 1969), II:4, 426, n. 74; G. Scholem, <u>J. Frei-
mann Festschrift</u>, p. 165, n. 5. This should be compared to
Scholem's remarks in <u>Kabbalah</u>, p. 409. A. Jellinek, in
<u>Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala</u> (Leipzig, 1852), p. 59
claims that a reference to Giqatila by Isaac b. Samuel of
Acre indicates that Giqatila died by the close of the
thirteenth century. In fact, the reference of Isaac implies
nothing of the kind.

based themselves on Adolf Neubauer[13] and others who incor-
rectly dated Sefer Ta^came Ha-Mizwot--a theosophical-qabbalis-
tic treatise falsely attributed to Giqatila--at 1305. His-
torians thus believed they had a terminus a quem for dating
Giqatila's demise. Alexander Altmann, however, has proved
that Giqatila did not write this book.[14] We are therefore
left only with the tradition preserved by Joseph ibn Zaddiq
that Giqatila was alive sometime during the life of Alfonso
XI of Castile, or between 1312 and 1350. These dates, however,
may be narrowed. We have already seen that Joseph Angelino
had referred to Giqatila as deceased in 1325.[15] We thus have
a terminus ad quem of 1325. Furthermore, we may plausibly
suggest that the tradition preserved by Ibn Zaddiq associates
Giqatila not with the lifetime of Alfonso but with his
regency, which began around 1322.[16] This would also explain
the otherwise curious juxtaposition of Giqatila with Don
Yucaf de Ejica, since the latter became a courtier in the

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[13]Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian
Library (Oxford, 1886-1906), II, 863.

[14]Alexander Altmann, "Ta'ame ha-Misvot Attributed to
Isaac Ibn Farhi and Its Author" [Heb.], Kirjath Sepher, XL
(1964-65), 256-76, 405-412.

[15]See above, p. 142, n. 3.

[16]Baer, in History of the Jews in Christian Spain, I,
325, says that Alfonso XI began to rule in 1322. Most hand-
books and surveys of Spanish history that I consulted date
Alfonso's reign from 1325.

service of Alfonso in 1322.[17]   If correct, we may place the
demise of Giqatila sometime between 1322 and 1325.

Most nineteenth-century scholars knew that Giqatila
flourished during the thirteenth century; they disagreed only
with respect to the exact year of his birth. A somewhat
heated, if pointless, debate on this question was brought to
a quick and decisive end when, in 1855, Adolf Jellinek wrote
that in a MS of GE that he had seen, Giqatila dated his
treatise at 5034 A.M., or 1273-74.[18]   Actually, there are at
least eleven extant MSS of GE which contain the date.[19]
Since Giqatila also tells us that he was twenty-six when

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[17]Giqatila and Don Yucaf were not juxtaposed because
they died in the same year, since we know that Don Yucaf was
alive as late as 1339.

[18]Beth Ha-Midrasch (Leipzig, 1855), III, xxxix-x,
n. 6. E. Carmoly had given 1248 as the year of Giqatila's
birth in 1847. Still, the controversy continued. M. Stein-
schneider, apparently unaware of either Carmoly or Jellinek,
questioned the 1248 date. See Die Neuzeit. Vol. I (1861).
Steinschneider was criticized for not knowing Jellinek's
date. Luzzatto defended the integrity of Steinschneider's
judgment but he, too, had a MS of GE in his possession with
the 1273-74 date (see "Noch Einmal Josef Gikatilia," Die
Neuzeit, I [1861], pp. 70-76).

[19]See below, Excursus II. We cannot know whether
Giqatila began or completed GE in 1273-74.

he composed <u>GE</u>,[20] we may establish his date of birth circa 1247-48.[21]

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[20]Giqatila bothered to record this important information only because, as he tells us, his age numerically equals the <u>gematria</u> of the Tetragram.

[21]It is possible that Giqatila was born in 1247 or 1249 since he tells us he was "<u>about</u> twenty-six."

EXCURSUS II

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL-

QABBALISTIC WRITINGS OF JOSEPH GIQATILA

<u>Baqqashah</u>

Manuscripts:

MS Bar Ilan 281, ff. 1r-2v.

MS Jerusalem 8° 3489, ff. 1r-3r.

MS Vatican 219, ff. 61r-62r.

Edition:

Gruenwald, Ithamar. "Two Cabbalistic Poems of Joseph
    Giqatila" [Heb.]. <u>Tarbiz</u>, XXXVI (1966), 76-84.
    Edited from MS Vat. 219.

^{c}<u>Iqqare Ha-'Emunah</u>

Manuscripts:

MS Montefiore 129.

MS Vatican 219, ff. 62r-62v.

Editions:

Aldabi, Meir. <u>Shevile 'Emunah</u> (Warsaw, 1886), end.

Gruenwald, Ithamar. "Two Cabbalistic Poems of Joseph
    Giqatila." Pp. 85-89.

Ginnat 'Eqoz--Manuscripts of Complete Text.[1]

MS Amsterdam-Rosenthaliana 24 (= HS Ros. 86), ff. 1r-131r.**
MS copied in 1446. German hand. Scribe: Eleazer Cohen.

MS Bar Ilan 281, ff. 1r-133v.*/**
MS dated Heshvan, 5375 (= 1614).

MS British Museum 740.[2]
German rabbinic writing, 15th cent.
This MS was presented to Johannes Reuchlin in 1495 by
Johannes Dalburg, Bishop of Worms.[3]
MS has Latin (and some Hebrew) marginal notes.

MS Hamburg cod. heb. 253 (= Steinschneider 232), ff. 1r-245v.*

MS JTSA (= Jewish Theological Seminary of America), mic.
no. 8352,[4] ff. 1r-218r.*/**

MS JTSA mic. no. 1640 (= Adler 1218), ff. 1r-114r.*
Completed at Tlemcen in 1531.
Scribe: Ḥayyim Saturah b. Moshe.

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[1] Completed MSS include all three books of GE and the
Preface. MSS--whether complete or incomplete--which contain
a separate introduction preceding the Preface are marked by
an asterisk (*). MSS which also contain the 1273-74 date of
composition in the Preface are marked with a double asterisk
(**).

MSS which contain both the Introduction and the date
of composition are marked by three asterisks (*/**).

[2] On the pagination, see G. Margoliouth, Catalogue of
the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum,
III, 11-12.

[3] See f. 206r, and Margoliouth, p. 12.

[4] There is no complete catalogue of MSS in the
Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. MSS
listed at the JTSA Library according to their mic. no. are
listed that way here.

<u>Ginnat 'Egoz</u>, ctd.

MS Leipzig 12, ff. 124r-245v.[5]

MS Munich 215, ff. 65v-159r.[6]
Occasional Latin marginal notes indicate probable Christian
readership.
Comparison of this MS to printed edition (Hanau, 1615)
reveals close affinity.

MS Oxford 1593, ff. 1r-314r.**
Italian cursive.

MS Oxford 1594, ff. 1r-130v.

MS Oxford 1595, ff. 1-356r.[7]
Completed on 24 Tammuz, 1552. Old German cursive. Marginal
notes.
Owner: Eliyyah, Rabbi of Hanau, 1612. May have some rela-
tionship to first edition which was printed in Hanau in 1615.
See below, MS Oxford 1596.

MS Oxford 1596, ff. 1-287r.
Old German cursive. Almost identical to the first printed
edition, Hanau, 1516, and most likely was the principle MS
from which the first edition was edited.

MS Paris 812, ff. 1r-258r.
Similar in many respects to MS Munich 54. Cf. e.g., MS
Paris 812, f. 219r to MS Munich 54, f. 219r.

MS Paris, Alliance Israélite universelle H 8a, ff. 1r-241r.*

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[5]See F. Delitzsch, "Codices Hebraici ac Syriaci,"
in A. G. R. Nauman, et al., eds., <u>Catalogus Librorum
Manuscriptorum qui in</u> . . . <u>Lipsiensis</u> (Grim, 1838), p. 280.

[6]On MS Munich 215 in general, see G. Scholem, ed.
and trans., <u>Das Buch Bahir</u> (Leipzig, 1923), p. 89, n.

[7]See Adolph Neubauer, <u>Catalogue of the Hebrew
Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library</u> (Oxford, 1886), p. 555.

Ginnat 'Egoz, ctd.

MS Segre Amar 128 (private collection on loan at Hebrew
University, Jewish National and University Library,
no. 38° 5832).**
16th cent. Italian cursive.
Copied by Abraham b. Meshullam in 1561.

MS Vatican 603, ff. 1r-171v.

Ginnat 'Egoz--Incomplete or Fragmented Manuscripts

MS British Museum 741, ff. 1r-175r.*/**
Oriental rabbinic writing. Copied in 1503.

MS Cambridge Ool. 24, ff. 1-39r.*/**
16th cent.
F. 39r corresponds to printed edition (Hanau, 1615), 20c, l. 32.
Notation in catalogue is worth citing: "This MS was found in
one of the synagogues of the Black Jews of Cochin in India by
the Reverend Claudius Buchanan, in the year 1806."[8]

MS JTSA Marshall 684.
Unavailable.

MS JTSA mic. no. 2269, ff. 39v-40r.
German hand (?), 16th cent.

MS JTSA mic. no. 1657 (= Adler 1430), ff. 1r-3v.*/**

MS JTSA mic. no. 3622 (= JTSA 847), ff. 1r-24v.
Corresponds to GE (Hanau), 47c-60d.

MS Paris 811, ff. 1r-191r.*/**
F. 6v corresponds to GE (Hanau), 45d.

MS Sassoon 919, ff. 1v-3r; ff. 111-143r.[9]
F. 3r corresponds to GE (Hanau) 42a.
Ff. 111-143 correspond to Book III of GE.

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[8]Notation found on flyleaf of MS.

[9]On MS Sassoon 919, see D. S. Sassoon, Ohel David,
II (London, 1932), 1010ff.

Ginnat 'Egoz--Incomplete and Fragmented, ctd.

MS Sassoon 919, ff. 181-84.

Ginnat 'Egoz--Fragmented text with Misordered and Mis-

arranged Pages

MS Berlin-Tübingen 941, f. 88r.

MS British Museum 742, ff. 1r-142r.[10]
15th-16th cent.
Ff. 1r ff. correspond to Chapter II of Book II of GE.

MS Hamburg cod. heb. 69 (Steinschneider 231), ff. 1r-72r.
F. 72r corresponds to GE (Hanau), 38b, 1. 50.

MS Jerusalem 8° 3489, ff. 1v-316v.*/** Oriental rabbinic hand.
Completed on 17 Adar II, 1595. Contains Baqqashah.
Bound incorrectly so that Book III (ff. 84r-124r) appears
before Book II (ff. 124r-316v).

MS Munich 54, ff. 1r-256v.
Example of misarranged text: F. 65v (1. 16)-f. 66v (1. 18)
contains subject matter corresponding to GE (Hanau), 23a
(1. 38)-23b (1. 13).
F. 66v, 1. 18, however, corresponds to GE 22d (1. 21)!

MS Paris 835, ff. 15r-89v.
Text is totally misarranged. For example:
    f. 15r-19v = GE 58d-59b,
    f. 19v-22r = GE 8c-9a,
    f. 22r-29v = GE 9c-11b,
    f. 29v-33v = GE 5a-5c.

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[10]On this text, see Margoliouth, Catalogue, p. 15.

Ginnat 'Egoz--Manuscript Abridgments and Collectianae

MS Cambridge 673, ff. 2r-56v.
Oriental writing, 16th cent.
Abridgment of Book II, only. Occasional misarranged
text, e.g.:
    f. 56r = GE 47,
    f. 47v = GE 58c!

MS Jerusalem 8° 2129[11]
16th cent., German rabbinic.
Scribe: Isaac b. Alexander ha-Kohen.
An inscription on f. 16v states that the scribe, pressed
for time, abridged his work from a complete MS which
belonged to a non-Jew.

MS Munich 11, ff. 305v-329r.

MS Vatican Barb. Or 82, ff. 1v ff.**
Copied in Candia in Tevet, 1407.
Scribe: Moshe b. Isaac ibn Tibbon.
Scribe explains that he was pressed to abridge this work
because of his plans to immigrate to Jerusalem from
Marseilles (marginal note, f. 2v).

MS Vatican 504, ff. 316v-317v.
17th cent.

MS Vatican 221, ff. 1v-14v.
Dated 1383.
Anthology selected from Book I of GE.

Manuscripts of Ginnat 'Egoz Not Consulted

MS Moscow-Ginzburg 625.

MS Moscow-Ginzburg 839.

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[11]There is no pagination. The inscription cor-
responds to f. 16. GE is abridged in 112 folios.

<u>Ginnat 'Egoz</u>

Printed Editions

Hanau, 1615. Reprinted, Jerusalem, n.d.

Zolkiew, 1773.

Mohilev, 1798.

<u>Ginnat 'Egoz</u>--Abridgments

Printed

<u>Ma^cayan Gannim</u>. Eliakim b. Abraham of London. Berlin, 1803.

<u>Sefer ha-Niqqud</u>--Long Recension[12]

MS Columbia University, New York 92, ff. 1r-20v.
Scribe attributed this work to Abraham Abulafia. Later
copyist questioned this and suggested Giqatila as its
author.

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[12]<u>Sefer ha-Niqqud</u> is found in two basic versions: a
long and short recension. There is no way to determine
whether Giqatila himself wrote both works or whether the
shorter recension reflects a later scribal abridgment. There
is some material found in the shorter recension which is not
found (i.e., left out unintentionally) in the longer version.
All shorter recensions listed below have this extra material
(on <u>zeruf</u>, see MS Mun. 11, f. 303v, 1.18-f. 304r, 1.24), and
all longer recensions listed below--with one exception--do
not contain this material. MS Mantua 80, however, conforms
to most basic features of the long recension but also con-
tains the extra material found only in the short recension.
It is therefore likely that MS Mantua 80 reflects a recension
which is older than the other two recensions.
     <u>Sefer ha-Niqqud</u> has been listed by scribes and

Sefer Ha-Niggud--Long Recension, ctd.

MS Firenze Lorenziana 14 (= Plut. 44.14), ff. 199r-220v.

MS Leipzig 12, ff. 231v-240v.

MS Mantua 80 (no pagination).

MS Milan-Ambriosana 47, ff. 38r-57r.
Attributed by scribe to Abraham Abulafia.

MS Munich 54, ff. 257r-280v.

MS Munich 215, ff. 181-289.
Attributed to Abraham Abulafia.

MS Vatican 603, ff. 172v-193v.

MS Yale University 130, ff. 13r-33r.

Sefer Ha-Niggud--Short Recension

British Museum 753, ff. 40r-40v.

MS Harvard University 58, ff. 35-40.
Attributed to Abraham Abulafia.

MS JTSA mic. no. 2314, f. 13r.

MS Munich 11, ff. 288-305r.
Attributed to Abraham Abulafia.

MS Paris 770.

MS Paris 774, ff. 38v-53v.
Text has marginal, explanatory notes.

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bibliographers than various titles, e.g., Sefer ha-Niggud,
Sod ha-Niggud, Perush ha-Niggud, etc. More confusing, both
scribes and bibliographers have often attributed this work
to Abraham Abulafia.
        On Sefer ha-Niggud, see E. Gottlieb, Studies,
pp. 91-105 and above, pp. 36-40.

<u>Sefer Ha-Niqqud--Short Recension, ctd.</u>

MS Paris 1092, ff. 122v-143r.
15th cent. Marginal notes.

MS Rome-Angelica (= Or. 46), ff. 81r-91v.

MS Moscow-Ginzburg 179, ff. 58r-66r.
Attributed to Abraham Abulafia. Occasional marginal
notes.

<u>Perush ^cal Ha-Torah</u> (?)

MS JTSA mic. no. 2156 (= 0753), ff. 38v-45r.
No title.

<u>MS JTSA 851</u>
MS JTSA mic. no. 1891 (= MS JTSA 851), ff. 62r-97v.
Copied in Egypt in 1559.
Scribe: Yosef b. Menaḥem.
The beginning of this MS is fragmented but some of the
missing material is found in the following manuscript
fragments:
    MS Oxford 1598, ff. 45r-48r.
    f. 45r, incipit: כחות הפליוגנים ותחתוגנים
    f. 47r corresponds to MS JTSA mic. no. 1819, f. 62r, 1. 1).

MS Munich 22, ff. 227r-229r.
16th cent. German rabbinic.
Identical to MS Oxford 1598.

MS Paris 793, ff. 246r-253v.
A better MS than MS Oxford or Munich. Also has brief
explanatory notes in margin.

MS Jerusalem 8° 408, ff. 44r-45r.

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63r.

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73v.

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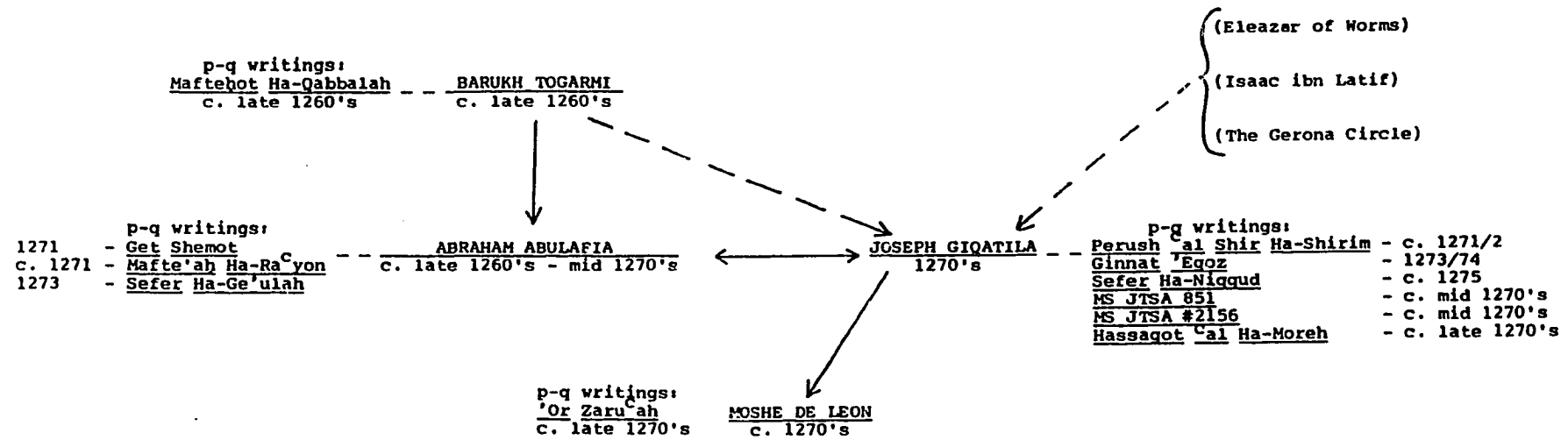   Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies (Locust Valley, N.Y.,
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DIAGRAM AND APPENDICES

THE PHILOSOPHICAL QABBALISTIC CIRCLE

p-q writings:
Maftehot Ha-Qabbalah
c. late 1260's

BARUKH TOGARMI
c. late 1260's

(Eleazar of Worms)

(Isaac ibn Latif)

(The Gerona Circle)

p-q writings:
1271 - Get Shemot
c. 1271 - Mafte'ah Ha-Ra^{c}yon
1273 - Sefer Ha-Ge'ulah

ABRAHAM ABULAFIA
c. late 1260's - mid 1270's

JOSEPH GIQATILA
1270's

p-q writings:
Perush ^{c}al Shir Ha-Shirim — c. 1271/2
Ginnat 'Eqoz — 1273/74
Sefer Ha-Niqqud — c. 1275
MS JTSA 851 — c. mid 1270's
MS JTSA #2156 — c. mid 1270's
Hassaqot ^{c}al Ha-Moreh — c. late 1270's

p-q writings:
'Or Zaru^{c}ah
c. late 1270's

MOSHE DE LEON
c. 1270's

———————————⟶ = direct influence

— — — — — → = direct or indirect influence

⟵————————⟶ = mutual influence

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APPENDIX I

REFERENCES IN <u>SEFER HA-NIQQUD</u> TO MATERIAL IN <u>GE</u>[1]

<u>Ginnat</u> <u>'Egoz</u>	<u>Sefer</u> <u>Ha-Niqqud</u>, <u>MS Vat. 603</u>

Discussed in <u>GE</u>, <u>passim</u>;
cf., e.g., <u>GE</u>, 24b.

F. 172v:

וכבר בארנו זה העניין בסוד
עניין הפעולה בהיותה נחלקת
לחמשה עניינים ולא יותר...

<u>GE</u>, 24c(and <u>passim</u>):

F. 173v:

...בהירות השם המיוחד
נחלק לשתי מחלוקות החלק
הראשון...יה והחלק השני
זה תמצא יה מורה על
הפעולה ותמצא זה מורה
על התנועה...

ולפיכך...מה שנאמר למעלה
ורמזנו בהירותה השם המיוחד
נחלק לשני דרכים יה לפעולה...
הו לתנועה....

Cf. <u>GE</u>, 70d and 71a.

F. 185v:

וכבר הרחבנו בביאור אילו
המאמרים במקומות רבים
מחבורנו....

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1. See above, pp. 36-40. These references in <u>SN</u> are found only in <u>GE</u> and thereby demonstrate that Giqatila wrote <u>SN</u> after <u>GE</u>.

APPENDIX   II

PARALLELS BETWEEN THE <u>HASSAGOT</u> AND <u>GE</u> AND MS JTSA 851[1]

A.

<u>Ginnat 'Egoz</u>, 33c[B]:

והנה כל אדם שהוא אדם אמיתי
דבק בשם י–הוה ואין ביניהם
אמצעי ולפי ענין זה סוד נעשה
אדם בצלמנו כדמותינו כלומר
מה שאנו קרובים לסבה הראשונה
בסוד מה שיהיה נקרא אדם אמיתי
....
(24c) צלם אדם דומה לאלהים.
הנה אלהים סוף י–הוה אלהים
בסוד כ"ו: כ"ף ר"ו פ' נמשך
מבח כ"ו וסוד פ"ו סוד אדם
מ"ה: מ"ם ה"א אלהים הנה לך
מצד התורה שזה נמשך מזה
והאדם אמתי נקרא מצד נפש
שכלית שהוא אלהים....

<u>Hassaqot</u>, 24b:

ועל המעלה הזאת נקרא האדם
האמיתי אדם בהיות צורת
השכל מגיע לנשמה. ועל זה
נאמר ויאמר אלהים נעשה
אדם בצלמינו כדמותנו כי
זה היא נפש השכלית שיש
באדם כי ממקום קדוש נמשכת
... נמשך אל העליונים אפי׳
למעלה מהשכלים.

<u>MS JTSA 851</u>, f. 95r:

אד"ם יוד הא ואו הא מם
הא אלהים שהוא סוד הכסא;

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1. See above, pp. 42-43. These parallels, which Gottlieb
(<u>Studies</u>, pp. 110-13) did not mention, demonstrate the lin-
guistic and thematic dependency of the <u>Hassagot</u> on <u>GE</u>.
These parallels thus reinforce an already strong case that
Giqatila wrote the <u>Hassagot</u> which is now extant.

In the above passages, Giqatila discusses the con-
cept of 'adam 'amiti, Perfect Man, who potentially can
reach a spiritual level equal to or superior to that of
the Intelligences. The passage from the Hassagot dis-
cusses the esoteric-symbolic relationship between YHWH,
'Elohim and 'adam 'amiti as follows:

'adam[אדם] = 45 = mem heh[מ״ם ה״א] = 86 = 'Elohim.

YHWH[י-הוה] = 26 = khaf waw[כ״ף ו״י] = 26 + 86 = [כ] [פ]
[ו] [ו]

YHWH[יוד הא ואו הא] = 45 = 'adam[אדם].

All the above gematriot in the Hassagot are found
in GE, except that 'adam, as noted by Gottlieb, is not
explicitly identified with YHWH. Giqatila, however, does
make explicit this identification in MS JTSA 851, as noted
above. Finally, both the passages in the Hassagot and
GE contain a veiled gematria on Gen. I:26:

נעשה אדם בצלמינו כדמותינו = 1214 = 12 + 14 =

26 = YHWH.

B.

Ginnat 'Egoz, 59b:

וכבר ידעת כי כבודו הוא
סוד שמו ברוך שם כבוד
מלכותו לעולם ועד וימלא
כבודו את כל הארץ בהיותו
ההוי' שהיא אמתת שם כבו-
דו וממלאי כל הנמצאים
ובכן מה שאמרו הוא מקום
לעולמו ואין עולמו מקומו
באמת כן הוא כי ההויה
מקום לעולמו בהיותו סו-
בלת הנמצאים....

Hassagot, 29b:

דע כי מקום תחלת האמת הוא
אצל השם ית'..וסוד מלוי
מקום זה סוד שפע השכל הבא
מהשם שהוא י-הוה להיותו
אוחז מקום שכלי רוחני....
דע כי ברוך כבוד יי' ממ-
קומו פירושו מה שאמרנו כי
הנאצל בראשונה שהוא הכבוד
הנעלם מקבל שפע ברכה מאת
הבורא שהוא מקומו ונקרא
אותו...וזהו סוד מקום
עולמו ואין עולמו מקומו
ואחר כל זה התבונן סוד
הנה מקום אתי כלו' לי
מיוחד אמתת מקום...ואם כן
תתבונן בסוד מקום ותמצא
מקום ליי'....

MS JTSA 851, f. 64r:

ואמנם אות קו"ף הוא סוד
מקו"ם באמרו הנה מקו"ם
אתי...ואמנם תדע לך כי
מקום הוא השם בעצמו ב-
חשבון המרובע.

In the Hassagot, Giqatila explains various references
to YHWH as "Maqom"(מקום). YHWH "fills" the world since
the Kavod(= Intelligences) is the recipient of an efflu-
ence from YHWH. In that sense, YHWH is "Maqom"("Every-
place"). סוד מלוי מקום refers to an unstated
gematria: מלוי = 86 = 'Elohim(which also = Kavod; see
GE, 12d); מקום = 186 which also = YHWH when the nu-
merical value of each letter is squared(100 + 25 + 36 +
25 = 186). This last gematria, which can also be found
in German esoteric theology(see above, p. 94 , n. 5), is
found in GE, 56a and MS JTSA 851, f. 64r which also con-
tains the identical Scriptural verse cited in the Hassagot.

C.

<u>Ginnat 'Egoz</u>, 60d[t]:   <u>Hassagot</u>, 27a:

ענין הסולם שראה יעקב ב-   כי כשיעלה אדם על הסלם וזהר
מראה הנבואה כי הוא אמ-   הר סיני אז ימצא על ראש הסלם
ת‭ ‬סיני שמש והוא אמרו   והנה ה' נצב עליו ועל ראש
והנה י-הוה נצב עליו ודע   סיני וירד ה' על הר סיני אל
בי סוד סיני הוא בעצמו   ראש ההר זה שוה לזה....
סוד סלם שראה יעקב ובסיני
נאמר וירד י-הוה על הר   וגם ענין וירד ה' על הר סיני
סיני על ראש ההר ובסולם   הוא סוד השם המפורש שהוא
נאמר והנה י-הוה נצב   י-הוה וגם עלם ולפיכך אמר והנה
עליו....   ה' נצב עליו.

The above passages are based on the <u>gematria</u>: **סיני** =
130 = **סלם** . In the second passage in the <u>Hassagot</u>, **סיני**
is related to <u>YHWH</u>, though it is not clear how. In <u>GE</u>,
60b, Giqatila explains that <u>YHWH</u>(= 26) = **סיני**(= 130):

45 = **יוד הא ואו הא**

39 = **יוד הא ואו**

26 = **יוד הא**

20 = **יוד**
———
130

D.

ומה שאמר ובל תמונה תדע לך
כי זהו פרצוי״ף אד״ם..ומה
שאמר ותמנת י-הוה יבים ו-
תמנת כתיב ואין שם תמונה
כי תמונה ממש פרצוף אדם....

וסוד התמונה אמרו גדולי
הקבלה בגמרא [צ״ל: ב-
גמטריא] פרצוף אדם ודי
לך בביאור זה.

The above passages are based on the gematria:

תמונה = 502 = **פרצוף אדם** = 501 (+ 1). When Scripture states that Moses beheld the "image"(**ותמנת**) of God, "image" should not be taken literally since only **תואנה** , in plene spelling, means a human image.

APPENDIX III

BARUKH TOGARMI AND JOSEPH GIQATILA

<u>GE</u>, 7b[B]:

בסוד שלשה דרכי הקבלה והן
גימטריא נוטריקון תמורה.

<u>GE</u>, 3b[T]:

אל גנת אגוז...בסוד שלשה
דרכי התורה גמטרי״א נו–
טרי״קון תמו״רה.

MS Oxf. 1598, f.46v:

ואלו הם נקראים בית עבדים
.. תלי״י גלג״ל ל״ב הרי לך
כל העולם כולו בית עבדים.

<u>GE</u>, 34b:

ראמנם כי אלו השלשה ספרים
תמצאם בפסוק אחד בתורה
והוא...ש״ם ש״ם לו חק ומשפט
וש״ם ניסהו..וסודם ספר ספר
וספור.

<u>MQ</u>, MS Oxf. 1598, f. 48v:

זה פי׳ כוללם ספר יצירה...
בשלושה דרכי הקבלה והם
בגים׳ דנוטריקון ותמורה.

<u>MQ</u>, f. 49v:

וזה יהיה בכח גמטריא נוטרי–
קון תמורה שסודו גנ״ת.

<u>MQ</u>, f. 49r:

כי אע״פ שאלו שלשתן ר״ל תלי
גלג״ל ל״ב הם מלכים הם גם
כן נקראים בי׳] – בית[עבדים. [1]

<u>MQ</u>, f. 50v:

ספר ספר ספור והוא סוד שם [2]
שם לו חק ומשפט ושם ניסהו.

---

1. <u>Gematria</u>:   בית עבדים = 538 =   תלי גלגל לב

2. <u>Gematria</u>:שם = 340 = ספר ; שם, שם, שם [Ex. 15:25] = ספר
   ספר ספר[<u>SY</u>: I:1].

GE, 25c:

ובהיות המילה כוללת המח-
לוקת האחרונה שבשם המיוחד
תמצא השם המיוחד מעיד בה
כאמרו בתורה מי יעלה לנו
הסתימה תמצא ראשי תיבות
סיל"ה וסופו חותמם י-הוה..

MQ, f. 50v:

והנה הסוד הוא בפסוק מי
יעלה לנו הסתימה שהראשית
מילה והאחרית י-הוה.... 3

MS JTSA 851, f. 94r:

ובהיות ש"ס מיוח"ד מירחד
על זא"ת.

MQ, f. 51r:

...וידוע שכן התורה נקראת 4
הזאת על שם המיוחד.

GE, 66b:

הוה והיה ויהי בסוד ע"ח.

MQ, ff. 51r-v:

שלשה אוהבים הוה והיה ויהיה 5
...והוא החכמה.

GE, 25c:

יש לך להתבונן כי יפלא
ממך דבר למשפט בין דת
לדם....

MQ, f. 52r:

והוא שם מיוחד ועמו ב' כוחות
והוא יוד הא ראו[צ"ל ו"ו] הא
סוד דם...והנה ההפרש בין
עלי שהורא שם בהירותו דת או
דם.... 6

MS Oxf. 1598, f.46r:

ויש לך להתעורר על המכה
הראשונה דם היתה והוא סוד
השם המיוחד שנהפך להם ל-
משחית בסוד יוד הא רו הא
שהוא סוד דם....

---

3.   A notariqon: י-הוה= מי יעלה לנו הסתימה.   Cf. GE, 64c.

4.   Gematria: שם המיוחד = 413 =   הזאת .

5.   Gematria: הוה והיה ויהיה = 78 =   החכמה.

6.   יוד הא רו הא = 44 = דם = חם [=440 = 4+40 = 44].

MQ, f. 52r:

רדע זה שהוא סוד עולם
השכלים ההוא אור לבושו.[7]

GE, 26c[B]:

ולפיכך נקראו השכלים
הנפרדים אור השכל ו-
נקראים אור לבושו.

MQ, f. 52v:

ובזה יודע לך סוד קעקע שהם
פה מילה מילה פה ושניהם
שדי י-הוה.[8]

MS JTSA 851, f. 64v:

ובכתבת קעקמ כי הוא
סוד שם.

MQ, f. 53r:

ואולי הייתי מפרש העניינים
יותר מבוארים לולי פחדתי מ-
טעות בו הרואה בענין זה שלא
יסבר ההכרחה הנזכרת כפי מח-
שבתו. כי יש יסוד בהכרחה
ההיא מה היא ואינה בפשוטה
ואני אומר לכתוב ואיני רשאי
ואני אומר שלא לכתוב ואיני
יכול להניחה לגמרי לכן אני
כותב ומניח וחוזר עוד במקום
אחר וכן דרכי.[9]

GE, 72a[B]:

סוד אחד והוא בי יש כח ב-
תחתונים למשול על אמצעים
בהברח העליונים ולא נכון
לבאר עכשיו יותר ובכל מם-
ביל ידוס.

MS JTSA 851, f. 62r:

ואני אומר לכתוב ואיני
רשאי ואני אומר שלא ל-
כתוב ואיני יכול להניח.

MS JTSA #2156, f. 42r:

והיה ויהי ויהי כי כולם
הם סוד הויה ואני אומד
לכתוב ו אנינן רשאי ו-
לפי׳ די....[10]

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7.   Gematria: עולם השכלים = 551 =   אור לבושו .

8.   קעקע = 340 = שם ; פה +מילה+ פה + מילה + פה = 85 × 4 = 340 = שדי
י-הוה = 340.

9.   On the concept of hakhraḥah, see above, pp. 100-102.

10.   This is a stylistic parallel only, since Giqatila is
not referring to hakhraḥah here.

GE, 15c:
אלו השלשה שמות שסודן כ״ו
פ״ו ס״ה הם סוד המעלות
השכלים הנקראים בכללן ג״ן
עד״ן כי מתוך השגת אלו
יכנס אדם חי בגן עדן.

MQ, f. 53r:
כלומר בסוד גן עדן וגם
בהשבעת הלשון סוד גן
עדן הידוע מן שלש מאו-
דות כ״ו ס״ה פ״י. [11]

GE, 4a[B]:
ערב ובקר וצהרים אמ״ש.

MQ, f. 54r:
עולם שנה נפש ערב ובקר
וצהרים. [12]

GE, 34a:
וזהו מעשה מרכבה שמעיד
על זה י-הוה סודו במעשה
מרכבה כוז״ו.

MQ, f. 54v:
והוא השם אלהינו י-הוה
כוזו במוכס״ז בוזו שהוא
שם המרכבה... [13]

---

11. (אדני) = 177. ... = 65 (אלהים) + 86 (יהוה) + 26 = 177 = גן עדן

12. עולם שנה נפש = 931 = ערב ובקר וצהרים.

13. Temurah: substitute the next alphabetic letters for:
כוזו = י-הוה.

APPENDIX IV

MOSHE DE LEON AND JOSEPH GIQATILA

GE, MS JTSA 1657,[1] f. 1r:

וישלח יי' את ידו ויגע על פי
...ויגע בי...ויערני...ויאמר
לי עורה למה תישן..וראה הד-
רכתיך..במחקר כל פאר....

OZ, p. 245, 11. 2-4:

והנה יד יי' נגעה בי ויעורר
רוח בקרבי...ויען ויאמר אלי
בן אדם עמוד על רגליך ואדב-
רה אליך הלא הדרבתיך במחקרי
המזימה....

GE, f. 1v:

ולפרש ענינים במסגר הסוד...
אשר להסתירם קדמונים הו-
זהרו ואת הדלת סגרו והעלימו
...הנסתרים..בהיות המחשבות
רודפות הסתרים כאשר ירדוף
הקורא בהרים...ובדי שלא
יבינום פתאים וכסילים....

OZ, 11. 5-9:

ולפרש עניינים אשר הם במחקרי
הסודות...ענינים בם הקדמונים
בחרו והשער סגרו והעלימו ב-
מסתרים דבריהם. אחרי כאשר
יצאו הרודפים אחריהם....ע"ב
הוזהרו לסתור החכמת..למען
הפתאים והכסילים....

GE, f. 2r:

אל תעלו כי אין יי' בקרב-
כם....

OZ, p. 246, 1. 13:

אל תעלו כי אין יי' בקרבבם....

GE, f. 1v:

וכל איש אשר בו מום....

OZ, 1. 14:

וכל איש אשר בו מום לא יקרב.

1. This MS corresponds to MS Adler 1430.

GE, f. 1v:

‏...וכבשמעי אלה הדברים נפשי
‏במסגר הקנוי הובאה...ונשבעתי
‏אם אתן שנת לעיני לעפעפי
‏תנומה עד אמצא מקום ליי' ו-
‏חקרתי אחריו...ומצאתיו...
‏וראיתי סוד החכמות...

OZ, 11. 16-19:

‏ואני בשמעי הדברים האלו...
‏ונפשי בתוך מסגר המזימה
‏נשבעתי אם אתן שנת לעיני
‏לעפעפי תנומה...עד אמצא
‏מקום ליי' וחקרתי בחקירת
‏המזימה ומצאתי בסוד דרכי
‏החכמה...

GE, f. 2r:

‏ונפשי השיגה קצת אמתת יחודו.

OZ, 11. 22-23:

‏אמנם נוכל להשיג קצת אמת-
‏תו...

GE, f. 2v:

‏כי בין האחד והתשעים וה-
‏מאתים ובין רבב אלהים
‏רבותים הגלגל חוק מבדיע
‏בנתים...

OZ, p. 247, 11. 32-3:

‏כי הם פרגוד המכריע בנתים
‏בין אחד ותשעים ומאתים
‏ובין רבב אלהים רבותים...

GE, 2c[printed ed.]:

‏וראתי אנשים נקראים חכמים
‏...וחכמי הזמן לא יערו
‏משנתם וישבו תחתם במחנה
‏עד כלותם...ואריה בבקר
‏יאכל תבן.

OZ, p. 249, 11. 66-7:

‏כי שמעתי אנשים נקראים
‏חכמים והם לא יעורו מתנום-
‏תם וישבו תחתם במחנה עד
‏כלותם...בתבנית שור אוכל
‏עשב.

GE, 3b[B]:

‏והנני נכנס ב ביאור חלקי
‏הספר ומעדניו כי כתר מל-
‏כות במהלכיו.

OZ, p. 250, 11. 91-2:

‏והנני נכנס בסוד חלקי הספר
‏ומהלכיו...

Sefer Ha-Niqqud, MS Vat. 603, f. 190v:

OZ, p. 253, 11. 71-84:

 וסוד העליון למעלה הוא ל־
עולם ודוגמתן שלשלת שהיא
נאחזת בטבעת והיא תלויה
למעלה וכשתנתק הטבעת העל־
יונה שהיא היסוד הרי הי־
סוד כל השלשלת נופלת ל־
מטה. והרי לך יסודו לא
למטה ולא באמצע כי אם
למעלה דאילו תסיר כל ה־
טבעות שהן למטה ותנתק
אותן אין העליונה מפסדת
כלום. אמנם לעולם היא
בקירומה שתנתק אותה.
והרי לך כל הטבעת שבשל־
שלת תלויות למעלה והיא
יסוד להם ואילו העליונה
הפסד בא לכל השאר....

ואמנם דע לך כי אחד הוא
הקשר המקריים באשר כל ה־
שלשלת מתקיימת בו היא טבעת
השלשלת שבכל הטבעות נאחזת
ממנה. וכשהטבעת העליונה
והיסודרית אין שם הרי כל הטי
בעות נופלות ובכל שאר השלשלת
נופלת. ואלו ינתקו כל הטבי
עות האחרים אין הטבעות העל־
יונה מפסדת בלום והרי היא
בקירומה ובן הוא ית'...ובש־
אין היסוד המירחד בתוך השאר
הרי כל הטבעות נופלת למטה
כי היא קיום כל השלשלאות...

GE, MS JTSA 1657, f. 2r:

OZ, p. 255, 11.122-4:

וגם כי אמנם הצורות השכ־
ליות לא ישיגוהו כי לא
ידעו מהו כ"ש הגלגלים ש־
הם בעלי חמר אף שוכני
בתי חמר.

וגם אמנם הצורות השכליות
אשר גדלו במעלה ובדעת וב־
שכל יותר מן השכלים והגל־
גלים לא ישיגו זוהרי אמי־
תת מציאותו ואחדותו כ"ש
שוכני בתי חומר.

APPENDIX   V

The following parallel passages constitute one ex-
ample of how Giqatila reinterpreted theosophically an
important theme in his earlier, non-theosophical writings.

SZ[1]

GE, 15c:

ולפי׳ ספר תורה היא
בצורה זו...שאלו הו-
שם לה ניקוד לפסוק
הרי הגיע לצורתו וג-
בולו ואין מי שיוכל
לציירו בצורה אחרת,
אמנם לא הושם לא ני-
קוד ולא שיעור ולא
גבול. ולפי׳ דע כי
ספר תורה היא צורת
העולם העליון ואיני
יכול לפרש יותר.

ולפי זה הדרך לא תמצא שם ההויה
מנוקד בכל התורה בנקוד שיהיה
מורה עליו יתברך. אמנם תמצאהו
מנוקד בנקוד מורה תורה שב״א
חולם קמץ סרור תורה...וכבר
פירשנו...הסבה היות הספר תורה
בלתי מנוקד...כי בעוד שלא הו-
שמה צורה לתיבה לא הושם לה גבול
ידוע; ובעוד שאין השם המירוחד מנוקד
בניקוד מורה בענין מירוחד זה הרא
בהירותו יתברך סובך כל ההמשבות
ומקבל כל הצורות מפני שהוא צורה
לכל הצורות...

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1. MS Paris 823, f. 47r and edited by Gottlieb, Studies,
P. 155.

In both passages, Giqatila explains that the Torah
is unvocalized because vowel points, which are considered
the "form" of the consonants, would limit the infinite
Torah by giving its letters and words a definite form
or set meaning.   In GE, Giqatila states that both God
and the Torah are "boundless," and therefore the Torah
and the Divine Name are unvocalized.   The esoteric re-
lationship between YHWH and the Torah is contained in
the following gematria: YHWH, pronounced: אדני , the
vowels of which are: שבא, חולם קמץ = 609(+ 3) = תורה=
(611 + 1) = 612.   Cf. also the gematria above, p. 148, n.45.

In SZ, the Torah becomes the mystical symbol of
the first Sefirah, Keter. As Giqatila explains fur-
ther on in that same passage, this relationship is
symbolized by the letters of the Torah which are written
with ornamental "crowns"(ketarim).   Thus, in SZ, the
nature of letter symbolism has now changed.   In Giqatila's
philosophical-qabbalistic writings, letter symbols are im-
portant in most cases because of their gematria: numeri-
cal equasions are the key to esoteric relationships and
associations.   In SZ and his other theosophical works,
the form or shape of the letters themselves constitute
the translucent symbols of the supernal world of the
Sefirot.