

The Image of Jacob Engraved upon the Throne: Further Reflection on the Esoteric Doctrine of the German Pietists

Verily, at this time that which was hidden has been revealed because forgetfulness has reached its final limit; the end of forgetfulness is the beginning of remembrance.

Abraham Abulafia, 'Or ha-Sekhel, *MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* 92, fol. 59b

I

One of the most interesting motifs in the world of classical rabbinic aggadah is that of the image of Jacob engraved on the throne of glory. My intention in this chapter is to examine in detail the utilization of this motif in the rich and varied literature of Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, the leading literary exponent of the esoteric and mystical pietism cultivated by the Kalonymide circle of German Pietists in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first part of the chapter will investigate the ancient traditions connected to this motif as they appear in sources from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages in order to establish the basis for the distinctive understanding that evolves in the main circle of German Pietists to be discussed in the second part.

As I will argue in detail later, the motif of the image of Jacob has a special significance in the theosophy of the German Pietists, particularly as it is expounded in the case of Eleazar. The amount of attention paid by previous scholarship to this theme is disproportionate in relation to

the central place that it occupies in the esoteric ruminations of the Kalonymide Pietists.¹ From several passages in the writings of Eleazar it is clear that the motif of the image of Jacob is covered and cloaked in utter secrecy. I will mention here two of the more striking examples that illustrate my point: in his commentary on the liturgy Eleazar concludes a section in which he discusses several issues related to this image with the assertion '*ein lefaresh yoter*, "the matter cannot be further explained."² In a second passage from a text that is essentially a commentary on the '*Amidah*, the traditional standing prayer of eighteen benedictions, Eleazar again mentions the image of Jacob engraved on the throne and quickly notes: *we-'ein lefaresh ha-kol ki'im be-'al peh la-'ish ha-yare' bor'o be-khol'et*, "the matter cannot be fully explained except orally to one who fears his Creator at all times."³ The reluctance on the part of Eleazar to disclose matters pertaining to the motif of the image of Jacob is not something incidental or inconsequential. On the contrary, I assume that there is a profound secret here that may provide the scholar with an important key with which to discern the esoteric doctrine of the German Pietistic theosophy. A precise textual analysis should enable us to uncover this secret. The thesis that I put forth here is that in the circle of Judah the Pious—as is known in particular from the writings of Eleazar of Worms—there was transmitted an esoteric doctrine predicated on bisexuality in the divine realm. As Alexander Altmann,⁴ Joseph Dan,⁵ and more recently Asi Farber,⁶ have already noted, in the composition entitled the "Secret of the Nut" (*sod ha-'egoz*), contained in Ashkenazi sources, a composition that according to all three scholars preserves an older esoteric tradition of *merkavah*

speculation, the nut that symbolizes the divine chariot is described in bisexual images. More specifically, the bisexuality was expressed in terms of the symbolism of the nut depicting the structure of the chariot, in the description of the throne itself, as well as in the distinction between the *hashmal* and *hashmalah* (scripturally, the two are identical in meaning the word *hashmal* appears in Ezekiel 1:4 and 27, and *hashmalah* in 8:2 but in the various recensions of the *sod ha-'egoz* text and the Pietistic literature influenced by it, they are two distinct entities).⁷ Farber suggested that the origin of this sexual symbolism is not to be sought in the Ashkenazi reworking of the composition, but in the "ancient protokabbalistic form of the secret" that circulated from the Orient.⁸ Rather than adding these sexual images to the secret of the nut, the Pietists weakened or actually removed them by altering the text. Farber thus takes issue with Dan's hypothesis that the Pietists themselves added these sexual references to the received texts, a hypothesis that stands in marked contrast, as Dan himself acknowledges, with his view that

Pietistic theosophy is to be distinguished from kabbalistic on the grounds that they did not advocate a male-female polarity within the divine.⁹ Notwithstanding the obvious tendency on the part of the Pietists to minimize or even obscure the sexual nature of these images,¹⁰ a careful reading of their writings shows that there are veiled allusions to the bisexual nature of the throne world.¹¹ According to Farber, therefore, we must distinguish between the "exoteric" side of the Pietistic theology that attempted to attenuate or even suppress sexual images and the "esoteric" side that described aspects of the divine world in overtly sexual terms. This esoteric aspect was not fully committed to writing but was transmitted orally from master to disciple.¹² Another illustration of the esoteric side of the Pietistic theology, also related to the bisexual nature of the glory, can be found in the use of the aggadic motif of the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne in the writings of Eleazar of Worms.

More precisely, the thesis that I propose to demonstrate is that the relation between the upper and the lower glory according to the esoteric theology of the German Pietists must be understood in terms of the union of male and female potencies. I will set out to show, moreover, that for the Pietists the lower of these potencies identified as the cherub in the theosophic texts attributed to Judah and the compositions of Eleazar and as the image of Jacob engraved on the throne by Eleazar himself equated with the union of two cherubim that correspond to the divine names (YHWH and Adonai) and the two attributes (mercy and judgment); through a complicated numerological exegesis (discussed later) the two names are said to comprise the 613 commandments or the Torah in its totality. The Pietists draw the obvious theurgical implications: by performing the 613 commandments one unites the two names within the lower glory, an act that prepares it for its union with the upper glory.¹³ This implies that in the esoteric doctrine of the German Pietists one can find an exact parallel to two of the cornerstones of theosophical kabbalah: mythologization of the divine realm as male and female, on the one hand, and the theurgical understanding of the commandments, on the other.¹⁴ This doctrine, in my

opinion, must be viewed as part of the truly "esoteric" teaching cultivated by Judah and Eleazar and their followers, that can be reconstructed from the texts largely buried in manuscripts. To be sure, the Pietists were extremely cautious about disclosing these matters in print. Yet, once disclosed it can be seen that this theosophic doctrine may provide the ideational basis for the pietistic worldview including notions of the divine will,¹⁵ divine love,¹⁶ communion with God (*devequt*),¹⁷ performance of the *miswot*,¹⁸ especially prayer,¹⁹ and the subjugation of sexual desire.²⁰ These are matters that lie outside my

immediate concern, but it is clear to me on the basis of my research that one could fruitfully re-examine the whole question of the relationship between theosophy and pietism in the case of the Haside Ashkenaz. Finally, it is evident that in contrast to the theosophic kabbalah that developed in Provence and northern Spain, the bisexual nature of the glory in the religious thought of the Pietists remains in the realm of the esoteric in the exact sense of the term, that is, something that cannot be disclosed in writing to the populace. Even so, the assumption that the divine world in the writings of the German Pietists comprises masculine and feminine elements, and that the task of every Jew is to unite the two names of God that correspond to the divine attributes or the two glories, brings their secret teaching into close proximity to the orientation of the kabbalists, a view that has been affirmed by a number of contemporary scholars.²¹

II

The motif of Jacob's image engraved on the throne is mentioned in Targum Yerushalmi to Genesis 28:12,²² and in slightly different terminology in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on the same verse.²³ According to the targumic rendering, the angels who accompanied Jacob ascended to notify the angels above that Jacob, whose icon (*'iqonin*) was engraved on the throne, was below; the angels thus descended to have a look at the earthly Jacob. The midrashic elaboration in the targumim thus provides a motivation for the angels' movement as well as an explanation for the strange locution, "ascending and descending." The same motif appears in *Genesis Rabbah* 68:12²⁴ and in B. Hullin 91b. In both of these sources the matter is placed in the context of another well-known motif regarding the enmity or envy of the angels toward human beings.²⁵ That is, according to the statements in *Genesis Rabbah* and B. Hullin, the angels, who beheld Jacob's image above, were jealous and sought to harm Jacob below. The influence of the talmudic reworking of this motif is apparent in several later midrashic sources as well.²⁶ The specific background of this image is not entirely clear.²⁷ Some scholars have suggested that Jacob represents primordial Adam and hence the icon engraved on the throne is to be construed as the universal image of humanity.²⁸ Other scholars have intimated that the aggadic image of Jacob engraved on the throne is connected with speculation on the demiurgic angel or the Logos as it appears in Philo (one of the standard names for the Philonic Logos is Israel, the firstborn of God²⁹) or the fragment of the Jewish apocryphal text, *Prayer of*

Joseph, cited by the church father, Origen.³⁰ The notion of an angel named Jacob-Israel is also known from Jewish Christian texts, as reported mainly by Justin,³¹ and appears as well in Gnostic works such as the Nag Hammadi treatise *On the Origin of the World*,³² and in Manichean texts.³³ Such a tradition, perhaps through the intermediary of Philo, passed into Christian sources wherein the celestial Jacob or Israel was identified with Jesus who is depicted as the Logos and Son of God.³⁴ A reference to the demiurgic quality of Jacob may be found in the following comment in *Genesis Rabbah* 98:3 on the verse, "Hearken to Israel your father" (*weshim'u'elyisra'el'avikhem* [Gen. 49:3]). According to R. Yudan the verse should be recast as "hearken to the God of Israel your father" (*shim'u le-'el yisra'el'avikhem*), but an even more daring reading is proposed by R. Pinehas: *'el hu' yisra'el'avikhem*, that is, Israel your father is a God, for "just as the Holy One, blessed be He, creates worlds so too your father creates worlds, just as the Holy One, blessed be He, divides the worlds so too your father divides the worlds."³⁵ The demiurgic role accorded Jacob is highlighted as well in a passage from another midrashic collection: "But now thus said the Lord Who created you, O Jacob, Who formed you, O Israel' (Isa. 43:1): R. Pinehas said in the name of R. Reuben: the Holy One, blessed be He, said to His world, My world, My world, who created you and who formed you? Jacob created you and Israel formed you, as it is written, 'Who created you, O Jacob, Who formed you, O Israel.' "³⁶ From another passage in *Genesis Rabbah* 78:3 it is clear that the image of Jacob is a divine or at the very least an angelic power. In this context the expression *sarita* in the verse, *ki sarita'im'elohim*, "for you have striven with divine beings" (Gen. 32:28), is thought to be derived from the word *serarah* (rule, authority or dominion). According to the midrashic reading of the verse, therefore, Jacob is an archon (*sar*) together with God, and thus his image is engraved above on the throne.³⁷ Simply put, this verse is understood by the anonymous midrashist as imparting information about the apotheosis or divinization of Jacob. Interestingly enough, evidence for such a reading of the verse is found as well in Jerome's commentary on Genesis: "Sarith enim, quod ab Israel vocabulo derivatur, principium sonat. Sensus itaque est: Non vocabitur nomen tuum supplantator, hoc est, Jacob; sed vocabitur nomen tuum princeps cum Deo, hoc est, Israel."³⁸ Support for my interpretation of the *demut ya'aqov* motif is found in a passage attributed to R. Joshua ben Nahman in *Lamentations Rabbah* 2:2, commenting on the verse, *hishlikh mi-shamayim'ares tiferet yisra'el*, "He cast down from heaven to earth the majesty of Israel" (Lam. 2:1).³⁹ In that context the image of Jacob engraved on the throne is named on the basis of the verse just cited *tiferet yisra el*

and is compared parabolically to a king's crown (*'atarah*).⁴⁰ This image was transformed, as we shall see, in Eleazar's writings from a literary motif to a theosophic symbol. Other aggadic passages could be quoted to prove the point that in the rabbinic tradition, especially as expressed in Palestinian amoraic sources, Jacob was treated as a divine or

angelic being. Thus, for example, in an aggadic statement attributed to R. Berachiah in the name of R. Simon the name Jeshurun in Deuteronomy 33:26 is interpreted as a reference to *yisra' el sabba'*, Israel the elder, that is, Jacob, thus prompting a comparison (supported by relevant scriptural texts) of God and Jacob.⁴¹ An even bolder reading of this verse in another midrashic setting emphasizes the angelic or divine status of Israel Jeshurun: "'There is none like God, O Jeshurun': Israel says, there is none like God, and the Holy Spirit responds, except Jeshurun."⁴² As Michael Fishbane has noted, the theologoumenon preserved here in an extraordinary fashion subverts through the voice of the Holy Spirit the standard theological assertion attributed to Moses regarding the utter incomparability of God. In contrast to the seemingly normative claim of Scripture, the midrashic text affirms that there is one who is like God, namely, Jeshurun.⁴³ The divinization of Israel-Jeshurun is underscored by the semantic ambiguity of the response of the Holy Spirit, *el yeshurun*, which, as Fishbane observed, "may be read either as an ellipsis for *el(ah) yeshurun* ('except Jeshurun'), or as the more daring assertion, *elyeshurun* ('Jerushun is (like) God')."⁴⁴ In any event, the underlying theological assumption of this pericope, like the other midrashic statement referred to above, is that Jeshurun represents the angelic Jacob who is comparable to the deity. Along similar lines in another passage we find the following interpretation of Genesis 33:20, "He set up an altar there and called it El-elohe-Yisrael": "He said to Him: You are God in relation to the beings above and I am god in relation to the beings below."⁴⁵ It would appear that Jacob is the one who addresses God and thus makes the analogy that just as God is the divine authority above so he is the one who rules below. However, in a baraita in B. Megillah 18a it seems that God is the one who addresses Jacob:

R. Aha said in the name of R. Eleazar: Whence do we know that the Holy One, blessed be He, calls Jacob "god"? As it is written, "He called him El, the God of Israel" (Gen. 33:20). If you suppose that Jacob called the altar by the name "god," then it would have been necessary to read "Jacob called it." Rather it says, "He called him," i.e., Jacob, and who called him? El, the God of Israel.

It is worth noting in passing that a variety of medieval commentators understood the midrashic passage in light of the talmudic one.⁴⁶ Although from a scholarly vantage point it is necessary to distinguish between these two sources, there is no doubt that in both of them one can find traces of the older myth regarding the divine or angelic status of Jacob.⁴⁷

A reverberation of this aggadic tradition concerning the angelic status of Jacob is discernible in the *Hekhalot* corpus related to the celestial *hayyah* whose name is Israel.⁴⁸ The connection between the aggadic tradition regarding the image of Jacob engraved on the throne and the esoteric conception of an angelic creature named Jacob or Israel is evident in the *qerovah* of Yannai to Genesis 28:12,⁴⁹ wherein one reads an elaborate description of the angels, who surround the throne, seeing the image of Jacob and sanctifying God who is called the "Holy One of Israel" or the "God of Israel," terms that

indicate the special relationship between God and the people who are symbolized by the persona of Jacob.⁵⁰ This notion is attested to as well in several midrashic sources of which I will here cite two examples. The first comes from a fragment of *Midrash Yelammedenu*:

Another explanation, "Behold the angels of God were ascending and descending upon it" (Gen. 28:12). From the day that the Holy One, blessed be He, created the world, the angels were praising the Holy One, blessed be He, saying "Bless the Lord, God of Israel" (Ps. 41:14), but they did not know who was Israel. When Jacob reached Bet-El the angels who accompanied him ascended to heaven and said to the ministering angels, "If you wish to see the man in whose name we bless the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, descend and see that very man." The angels descended and saw his image. They said, "Certainly this is the form (*surah*) and this is the image (*demut*) engraved upon the throne of glory." All of them responded and said, "Bless the Lord, God of Israel."⁵¹

The second example is from a parallel in *Numbers Rabbah*: "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Jacob: 'Jacob, you have increased the glory in My eyes for, as it were, I have set your icon on My throne, and in your name the angels praise Me and say, 'Bless the Lord, God of Israel' (Ps. 41:14), 'That which is glorious in My eyes is honorable' (Isa. 43:4)."⁵² Yannai has added to the midrashic view the idea that the angels too are called by the names Jacob and Israel. Hence, the image of Jacob simultaneously alludes to the earthly man and the heavenly angel. The same motif can be found in a host of *piyyutim*, for

example, the poem recited liturgically as the *yoser* for Shavuot, '*eres matah we-ra'ashah* of Eleazar Qallir,⁵³ and the *qerovah* for the afternoon service on Yom Kippur, '*etan hikkir'emunotekha*, by Elijah bar Mordecai.⁵⁴

In this connection it is worthwhile to note that David Halperin has called our attention to an ancient targum to Ezekiel 1:26, preserved in manuscript, that explains the reference to the "semblance of a human form" upon the throne in terms of Jacob's image.⁵⁵ That is to say, according to the targumic author, the anthropomorphic glory who sits on the throne is in the image of Jacob. Put differently, the image of Jacob serves as a symbol for the human form of the glory. This notion too is clearly reflected in the *piyyut* literature, for example, the *qerovah* of Qallir that begins with the words, '*we-hayyot'asher henah merubba'ot kisse'*. The *payyetan* mentions all the details of the chariot in the appropriate order, following the biblical text, with one striking exception: in lieu of mentioning the image of the human form on the throne, Eleazar writes: '*tavnit tam yifen haquqah ba-kisse'*.⁵⁶ In other words, the aggadic image of Jacob engraved upon the throne replaces the biblical image of the human form seated upon the throne.

A related but somewhat different view is enunciated in a passage from *Pirque Rabbi'Eli'ezer*. "The ministering angels ascended and descended upon it and they saw the face of Jacob and said, 'This face is like the face of the creature (*hayyah*) that is in the throne of glory."⁵⁷ According to this text, then, the image of Jacob refers to the angelic creature that comprises all four creatures who bear the throne. An allusion to this

tradition is found in the *Midrash Sekhel Tov* of Menahem bar Solomon who cites the aforementioned passage from *Genesis Rabbah* describing the icon of Jacob engraved on the throne of glory. However, in his description of the angels ascending to glance upon this icon, he diverges in one significant detail from the received text of the earlier source: "They ascended and saw the fourth creature that was in the throne of glory whose name was like his, i.e., Israel."⁵⁸ Echoing this tradition, Judah ben Barzillai makes the following observation in his *Commentary on Sefer Yeairah*: "The Holy One, blessed be He, created the face of Jacob by means of a great splendor (*hadar gadol*), and it is explained in the aggadah that the face of Jacob is engraved on the throne. It is explained as well in the dream of Jacob our patriarch, with respect to the matter, 'Behold the angels of God were ascending and descending upon it,' that those [angels] above would descend to see the face of Jacob our patriarch, how it resembled the face of the creature that was under the throne of glory."⁵⁹ A slightly different version of this tradition is found in *Midrash'Otiyyot de-R. 'Aqiva'*: "'And the image of their face was an image of a man' (Ezek.

1:10), this is the image of Jacob engraved on the throne of glory."⁶⁰ In this passage the image of Jacob is related to the four creatures who bear the throne described collectively as the image of man. It appears that the words of this midrashic text influenced the eleventh-century exegete Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes (Rashi)⁶¹ who thus described the four creatures in his commentary to Ezekiel 1:5: "'An image of a man,' this is the image of the countenance (*demut parsufo*) of Jacob our patriarch." Similarly, in his commentary to the words in B. Hullin 91b, "they looked upon his icon above," Rashi wrote: "The human countenance (*parsuf'adam*) that is in the four creatures is in the image of Jacob." The four creatures comprise one form that is described as an image of a human in the appearance of Jacob. The relationship between this image and the glory that sits on the throne, also described as an image of an anthropos, is not sufficiently clear. It is possible, however, that underlying a particular layer of esoteric tradition is the notion that the glory interchanges with the anthropomorphic form that comprises all four creatures.⁶² Confirmation of this possibility is found in the teaching of the German Pietists of the Kalonymide circle. Thus, for example, one reads in the *Hilkhot ha-Merkavah* of Eleazar of Worms, which is part of his comprehensive work, *Sode Razayya'*:

Thus the prophet must see the throne of glory and upon it an angel, and of necessity the four creatures are one creature "Each one had four faces, the face of the first had the face of a cherub, the face of the second had the face of a human, the third had the face of a lion, and the fourth the face of an eagle" (Ezek. 10:14). The face of the first was the face of a cherub and the face of the second the face of a human."⁶³ The word "face" is [repeated] twice (*pene pene*) with respect to the cherub and twice with respect to the face of a human, but with respect to the face of the lion and that of the eagle [the word] "face" (*pene*) is written once, for it is written, "Let us make man in our image and in our likeness. God created man in His image, in the image of God He created him" (Gen 1:26-27). "This is the book of the generations of man on the day that God created man, in the likeness of God He made him," (ibid., 5:1) "for in the image of God He made

man" (ibid., 9:6). [The word] *pene* is written four times with respect to the human and the cherub . . . Thus there are four [occurrences of the word] "likeness" (*demut*) and twice "appearance" (*mar'eh*) Corresponding to them are [the words] "in our image and

in our likeness" (*be-salmenu ki-demutenu*), "man in His image in the image" (*ha-'adam be-salmo be-selem*). Therefore, with respect to the human face and that of the cherub [the word] *pene* [is written] four times. Therefore, Ezekiel and Daniel were called the "son of man" (*ben'adam*), i.e., one who knows that you have seen the image of a human (*demut'adam*).⁶⁴

It follows that, according to Eleazar, the four creatures of the chariot are but one creature,⁶⁵ and the principle image of that creature is that of an anthropos or a cherub the two are related to the same form.⁶⁶ Thus, in another passage Eleazar writes:

"They had the figures of human beings" (Ezek. 1:5), i.e., the essence of their appearance was that of a human, the cherub of the creatures. "They had the figures of human beings," the most cherished is their beginning, i.e., the cherished image is that of an anthropos. "The figures of human beings," their beginning is an anthropos. "The figures of human beings. However, each had four faces" (ibid., 5-6), their beginning was the head, i.e., the anthropos who was the head and most important amongst them. This is [the meaning of] "in the direction in which one of the heads faced" (ibid., 10:11), that is the cherub.⁶⁷

The principle form of the four creatures, which collectively comprise one entity, is that of an anthropos, also identified as the cherub. Thus, in another work, commenting on the attribution of a human face to the celestial creatures who bear the throne, Eleazar writes that "the essence of their appearance was that of a human who is a cherub."⁶⁸ The latter is identified specifically as the singular creature (*hayyah*) that comprises all four creatures.⁶⁹

It is noteworthy that a view very similar to that of Eleazar is expressed in writings that were composed in the Pietistic circle of the Special Cherub (*hug ha-keruv hameyuhad*).⁷⁰ In the case of these writings there is no doubt that the form that comprises all four creatures is identified as the cherub who sits upon the throne. I will cite here three examples that illustrate the point. The first is a passage from one of the main texts of this circle, the *Baraita of Joseph ben Uziel*:

Concerning that which is written, "Then the glory of the Lord left the platform of the House and stopped above the cherubim" (Ezek. 10:18), the glory of the Lord is the cherub, and the cherub is the creatures (*hayyot*), "and the glory of the God of Israel was above them, and this is the same

creature (*hayyah*) that I had seen below the God of Israel" (ibid., 19-20) . . . The cherubim, wheels, and all the work of the chariot are called one creature, and this creature is the cherub. Adam was created in its image and likeness, as it says, "and on top, upon this semblance of a throne, there was the semblance of a human form" (ibid., 1:26).⁷¹

The second example is taken from the *Sod ha-Sodot* of Elhanan ben Yaqar of London: "The Presence of the Lord moved from the cherub,⁷² the creature (*hayyah*) is called the cherub, it is the entirety of the chariot, for the whole chariot is one creature (*kol ha-merkavah hayyah'ahat*), and there is one life force for all of them, as it says, 'for the spirit of the creatures was in the wheels' (Ezek. 1:20), and all of them are one just as the limbs of a person."⁷³ The third example is drawn from the *Sefer ha-Qomah*, the commentary on the ancient work, *Shi'ur Qomah*, composed by Moses ben Eleazar ha-Darshan,⁷⁴ a work that has obvious affinity to the *keruv ha-meyuhad* material: "One creature rises above the Seraphim and that creature is the cherub . . . and the Presence has authority over the cherub."⁷⁵ From this passage it is evident that an ontic distinction between the divine Presence (*Shekhinah*) and the cherub is upheld, even though the latter is accorded the highest angelic status.⁷⁶ However, from other passages in this work the distinction is more ambiguous as the cherub is described in terms that are appropriately predicated of the Presence itself.

The cherub sits on the throne and it is the image (*demut*) of the Holy One, blessed be He, as long as His shadow is upon him, and this is [the import of] what is said, "in the hands of the prophet I was imaged" (Hosea 12:11) . . . This is the cherub that changes and is seen in all these aspects."⁷⁷

Concerning the cherub it is said, "Your stately form is like the palm" (Song of Songs 7:8), the a"t ba"sh [of the expression, "like the palm," *damtah le-tamar*] is numerically equal to [the expression] *ha-keruv*.⁷⁸ . . . And that which is written, "Great is our Lord and full of strength" (Ps. 147:5), ["full of strength," *we-rav koah*, equals 236 which stands for one of the standard measurements of the Creator in the *Sh'ur Qomah* tradition] and this is the cherub. [The expression] *we-rav koah* has the letters of *keruv* . . . This cherub is called in the Torah the Lord and the one."⁷⁹ Thus one must say that this cherub appeared to the prophets. Having proven that the cherub appeared to the prophets, it must be said that the glory of God is the cherub, as it says,

"the glory of the Lord [appeared in a cloud]" (Exod. 16:10), i.e., [the word] *nir'ah* ("appeared") is numerically *zeh hakeruv* ("this is the cherub"),⁸⁰ as it says, "It is the glory of God to conceal a matter" (Prov. 25:2), one must conceal it and not reveal it except to the modest.⁸¹

According to these passages, in marked contrast to the former, the cherub is identified with the Presence or glory, at the very least in its visible aspect upon the throne. Let me mention yet another passage in this work wherein one may discern some effort to harmonize the two positions without, however, completely obliterating the distinction between the angelic cherub and the divine glory: "It is always called a cherub when there is not an abundance of the emanation of the Presence (*hamshakhat ha-shekhinah*) upon it, even though all is one. Therefore, it is called 'king of all kings' (*melekh malkhe*

hamelakhim), for it enthrones kings like the angel of the countenance (*sar ha-panim*), Moses our master, and his disciples, i.e., prophets who were like him, for the Presence rested upon the angel of the countenance and the prophets, and through his influence it enthroned them, but God forbid that the children should be like the father."⁸²

In the passages from Eleazar that I have cited above, the image of Jacob was not mentioned at all, but in other places in his writings he does mention this motif explicitly in conjunction with the four creatures who bear the throne. Thus, for example, in his commentary on Ezekiel's chariot he writes:

"Each of them had a human face" (Ezek. 1:10), this is the face of Jacob An archon from the supernal archons wrestled with him and Jacob prevailed."⁸³ Therefore he was placed first in the verse, "Each of them had a human face," *u-demut penehem pene'adam*, which is numerically equal to "and they had the image of the face of Jacob," *u-videmut peneya 'aqov hem*."⁸⁴ And the final letters [of *u-demut penehem pene'adam*] are *tamim* on account of Jacob, the "mild man," *ish tam* (Gen. 25:27)."⁸⁵

In another work of Eleazar we find the following passage that parallels the one just cited:

"Each of them had a human face" (Ezek. 1:10), for the man is the most glorious of all countenances since he rules over them all He created Adam two-faced (*du-parsufin*) and the male went first. So too the human face, which is the essence, goes first for the human image is the image of Jacob Therefore it comes first in the verse *u-demut*

penehem pene'adam, the final letters are *tamim* on account of Jacob, the "mild man," *ish tam*. [The expression] *u-demut penehem pene'adam* numerically equals *u-videmut pene ya'aqov hem*."⁸⁶

The appearance of the anthropoid creature that comprised the four celestial creatures of the chariot is that of Jacob. Indeed, the creatures constitute the heavenly Jacob. A brief allusion to this motif is discernible in one of Eleazar's liturgical poems wherein the divine voice proclaims: *ga'awati le-tif'arti yisra'el menashsheq be-'orah/ demut pene'adam mehabbeq le-to'arah*.⁸⁷ The word *ga'awah*, grandeur, reflects more specifically the use of this term in older Jewish esoteric literature where it connotes the luminous form of the enthroned glory.⁸⁸ Hence, Eleazar poetically conveys the image of the divine form kissing the illuminated splendor of Israel. *Prima facie*, it may seem that the latter expression simply refers to the mundane community of Israel.⁸⁹ From the continuation of the poem, however, it is evident that the "majesty of Israel," *tif'eret yisra'el*, is a technical designation of the form (*to'ar*) that has the appearance of a human. In this context, therefore, as in the passage from *Lamentations Rabbah* mentioned above, the biblical expression "majesty of Israel" is transformed into a symbol for the icon of Jacob engraved on the throne.⁹⁰ The double image of kissing (*menashsheq*) and hugging (*mehabbeq*) reflects the particular locution of a passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati*, discussed below, wherein the glory is said to embrace (*megappef*), fondle (*mehabbeq*), and kiss (*menashsheq*) the visage of Jacob engraved on the throne at the time that Israel below

utters the Trisagion (Isa. 6:3) in prayer.⁹¹ Support for my interpretation may be gathered from another passage from Eleazar that is an exegesis of the verse, "I am my beloved's, and his desire is for me" (Song of Songs 7:11): "This is to teach that the desire of the chariot (*ma'aseh merkavah*) is upon the image of Israel (*demut yisra'el*), and this is what is written upon Israel is His grandeur," *al yisra'el ga'awato* (Ps. 68:35)."⁹² From the context it is clear that the expression *ma'aseh merkavah* is employed here in a rather unconventional way as a designation of the divine glory that is enthroned upon the chariot;⁹³ I have therefore rendered it simply as the "chariot" rather than the more literal translation "work of the chariot." It seems, moreover, that the *demut yisra'el*, the image of Israel towards whom the desire of the glory is directed, is the icon of Jacob engraved on the throne.⁹⁴ The erotic passion conveyed in the verse from Song of Songs is alluded to as well in the liturgical refrain, "upon Israel is His grandeur," that is, the grandeur, *ga'awah*, is synonymous with *ma'aseh merkavah*, the enthroned glory, and Israel is a

shortened way of referring to the image of Israel, *demut yisra'el*, the iconic representation of Jacob upon the throne that represents the anthropomorphic form of the angelic creatures. In the following section I will deal at much greater length with the meaning of the icon of Jacob in the esoteric teaching of Eleazar and the particular nuance of the aforementioned erotic imagery. Suffice it here to say that, for Eleazar, the four creatures constitute one creature that is in appearance like Jacob and thus may be identified as the iconic form of Jacob engraved on the throne.

The theosophic implications of Eleazar's thought are drawn out and elaborated upon in the commentary on Ezekiel's chariot by Jacob ben Jacob ha-Kohen of Castile, a text whose literary dependence upon the commentary of Eleazar has been well noted in scholarly literature⁹⁵: "The four creatures are one creature that is divided into four, and it is the creature whose name is Israel on account of the face of Jacob engraved in it, for his name was Israel."⁹⁶ In another composition, the *Perush ha-'Otiyyot*, Jacob alludes to the identification of the image of Jacob and the heavenly creature whose name is Israel: "The name of the one creature that is in the four creatures is Israel and it is in the image of the icon of Jacob, our patriarch, peace be upon him, as it says, 'Your name shall no longer be Jacob, but Israel etc.' (Gen. 32:29)."⁹⁷ In another passage from this work the matter is reiterated: "The head of the holy creatures is in the image of the icon of Jacob, our patriarch, peace be upon him, for he was the head of the creatures of the chariot."⁹⁸ As will be explained more fully below, the theosophic recasting of the esoteric tradition preserved in the Ashkenazi material entails that the creature whose name is Israel is identified with the image of Jacob, the lower glory in relation to the attribute of *Tiferet*, which is the upper glory. It emerges from the texts of Jacob ha-Kohen that the creature divided into four creatures is the glory that is below in the world of angels corresponding to the divine gradation that is the glory above in the sefirotic pleroma.

The words of Jacob are repeated, albeit in slightly different language, in the *Sefer ha-Orah* of his student, Moses of Burgos: "The four creatures are one creature that is divided

into four, and this is the creature whose name is *Tif'eret Yisra'el* on account of the fact that the face of Jacob, whose name was Israel, is engraved in it."⁹⁹ A parallel version to that of Jacob ha-Kohen is also found in an anonymous commentary on the tenth chapter of Ezekiel called *Sod ha-Merkavah ha-Sheniyyah*, that apparently was composed by a participant in the circle of Jacob and Isaac ha-Kohen¹⁰⁰: "That which he mentioned in the four creatures that he saw in each appearance the form of an anthropos refers to the small countenance (*'appe zutre*), and this is the icon of

Jacob engraved in the four holy creatures, concerning whom it says, 'How will Jacob survive? He is so small (*qaton*)' (Amos 7:2). However, the upper glory (*ha-kavod ha-'elyon*) that stands upon the throne, the great majesty (*ha-yaqar ha-gadol*) that is the large countenance (*'appe ravreve*), is not seen by the *hashmal*, angel, seraph, or even the throne."¹⁰¹ This passage is based on Eleazar's commentary on the chariot, which is discussed below in more detail. In the theosophic setting of the kabbalistic reworking of the Pietistic work, the image of Jacob, which is the form of the anthropos that comprises the four celestial creatures,¹⁰² is the lower glory that parallels the upper glory or the sixth emanation, *Tif'eret*. Utilizing the distinction attributed to R. Papa in B. Hagigah 13b between the face of the cherub (*pene keruv*) that is the small countenance (*'appe zutre*) and the face of an anthropos (*pene'adam*) that is the large countenance (*'appe ravreve*),¹⁰³ this author implies that the lower glory is the cherub and the upper glory the human form. The matter is expressed more clearly in a second passage: "Just as in the supernal chariot [i.e., the sefirotic realm] there is the image of the four creatures and the image of Jacob amongst them . . . the large countenance, so this great light passes with increased might at the end of the splendor [*sof zohar*, i.e., the last emanation or the *Shekhinah*] until from that great light and mighty splendor is made the image of the second chariot in the likeness of the four creatures, and He created there the small countenance, the icon of Jacob, the mild man."¹⁰⁴

It is worthwhile to cite in this context a tradition that appears in one of the recensions of *Sefer ha-Iyyun*, the thirteenth-century pseudepigraphic work of mystical contemplation¹⁰⁵: "Afterwards the Holy One, blessed be He, created an image using the four primal elements,¹⁰⁶ like the image of a real man. These are the four camps of the Divine Presence. They are: Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael."¹⁰⁷ In her discussion of this passage, Farber suggested that perhaps there is an identification here of the angelic creatures and the glory or the body of the Presence (*guf ha-shekhinah*) mentioned immediately preceding the aforesaid text.¹⁰⁸ An alternative interpretation is offered by Moshe Idel who suggested that in this passage the expression "body of the Presence" refers not to the four angelic camps, but rather to the seven archangels who are also called "soul" (*neshamah*) in relation to God who is the "soul of the soul" (*neshamah la-neshamah*).¹⁰⁹ According to this explanation, the image of the Presence (*demut ha-shekhinah*) is not the glory itself but rather an angelic form in the structure of an anthropos made up of eight angels, the lower seven constituting the body, and the eighth

one the head."¹¹⁰ The relation between the body of the Presence and the image that comprises the four camps is that of

the body to the soul as is attested by a version of *Sefer ha-Iyyun*, apparently deriving from Moses of Burgos¹¹¹: "The Holy One, blessed be He, created an image in the form of the four elements, for the Presence is in them like a soul and they are in the image of a body, the image of an anthropos, and they are the four camps of the Presence. They are: Michael, Gabriel, Uriel and Raphael."¹¹² Confirmation of this understanding, as both Farber and Idel noted,¹¹³ can be found in the commentary of Moses of Burgos to the chariot-vision of Ezekiel: "Four camps of angels . . . [they are] spiritual bodies . . . in the image of a spiritual anthropos . . . The four camps are in the image of spiritual bodies and the [*Shekhinah*] is in the image of a soul within the body."¹¹⁴ The same viewpoint appears in zoharic literature. Thus, for example, one reads in the following passage:

These four creatures are contained one within the other for they correspond to the four directions When they are contained one within the other one body is made from them, and this is the secret that is called Adam. Several different types of [angelic] camps go out from those that are the inner secret in relation to the Point"¹¹⁵ that stands upon them. Adam: male and female. The letter that is the secret of the male is the letter *nun*, the secret of Adam in his perfection, and this letter rules over the Point, which is a *dalet*, above the four creatures When they looked momentarily it is written, "Each of them had a human face" (Ezek. 1:10), and afterwards the image of each one separated in accordance with its quality. When they all hid so that they would not look above within the secret that was upon them, no image was seen at all except the image of an anthropos, the image that comprises all images."¹¹⁶

A similar tradition regarding the four angels in the image of an anthropos is mentioned in the introduction to *Tiqqune Zohar*. However, in that context the anonymous author connects the anthropomorphic image in the angelic world specifically to Metatron who is described as the body of the Presence¹¹⁷:

The lower Presence . . . her chariot is Metatron, the body of the Presence. The Presence is [designated by the word] *mah*"¹¹⁸. . . her chariot is Metatron. Concerning him it is said, "God's chariots are myriads upon myriads, thousands upon thousands" (Ps. 68:18). What is [the meaning of] "thousands," *shin'an*? [This is an acrostic for the four creatures] ox (*shor*), eagle (*neshar*), lion (*'aryeh*), and human (*'adam*)."¹¹⁹ This is the secret of the chariot (*merkavah*), *rekhev mah*"¹²⁰ precisely."¹²¹

It is difficult to decide definitively if this matter reached the kabbalists from ancient sources preserving an older form of theosophic speculation according to which Metatron was identified as the divine chariot inasmuch as he comprised all four living creatures or

even represented the enthroned glory itself. In any event, the fact that one stream of tradition connects the image of Jacob with the glory, and a second stream connects that image with the creatures that bear the throne, in my view strengthens the supposition that the kabbalists were elaborating in novel ways upon an ancient tradition concerning the anthropomorphic form of the chariot.

It is important for our discussion to note that, according to the targumic author cited by Halperin, the motif of the image of Jacob is mentioned in the context of the chariot-vision of Ezekiel, whereas in the other sources discussed above it is connected with Jacob's dreamvision of the ladder.¹²² Interestingly enough, in one of the major textual units of the corpus of mystical speculation on the chariot, the *Hekhalot* literature, the ladder becomes a clear symbol for the ascent to the chariot. Thus, in a key passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati* we read that the one who is free from the cardinal sins of idolatry, lewdness, bloodshed, slander, false oaths, profanation of the divine name, impudence, and baseless hatred, and who observes all of the ritual proscriptions and prohibitions, is worthy to ascend to the chariot "to gaze upon the King and His glorious throne," and such a person is like "a man who has a ladder in his house."¹²³ The possibility that the ladder mentioned here is related to the ladder of Jacob is strengthened, in my opinion, by a second passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati* wherein the descent of the angels to the world and their ascent back to heaven is described in terms reminiscent of the image of the angels descending and ascending upon Jacob's ladder.¹²⁴ Similarly, in a later text, the *Sefer ha-'Orah* of Moses of Burgos, the author cites a passage in the name of his teacher, Jacob ha-Kohen, concerning the throne and the world of the chariot. *Inter alia*, Jacob ha-Kohen describes the angels in terms reflecting the aforementioned text in *Hekhalot Rabbati*: "They ascend upon the ladder of the streams of fire, one with the permission of the other. . . until they reach the hosts of 'Aravot."¹²⁵ The connection between the ladder of Jacob and the chariot figures prominently in a tradition that appears in one of the Pietistic compositions that Dan attributed to Judah the Pious¹²⁶:

There are angels who are not worthy to see the body of the chariot, but sometimes there is an illumination below like the sun that shines by way of a window as a pillar, so there are visions upon the river¹²⁷ and the stream. So it was in the case of Jacob, our patriarch, for an opening corresponding

to the chariot was opened, facing the throne of glory, and there was an illumination of the visions from heaven to earth, referred to as the "ladder that was set on the ground and its top reached to the sky" (Gen. 28:12)."¹²⁸

This passage attests that in the circle of Judah the Pious there was a tradition that assumed that the ladder beheld by Jacob referred to an illumination that shone upon him from an opening before the throne of glory. This illumination is described as a ladder connecting heaven and earth, for by means of it Jacob saw what he did in the world of the chariot. There is also an allusion in this passage to a technique known from other Pietistic

sources that involved a body of water as a medium of visualization.¹²⁹ That is, the illumination cast from above and beheld below is comparable to a vision of something as reflected in a river or stream. Jacob's vision of the chariot was an indirect one. No mention is made here of the image of Jacob engraved on the throne, although it is reasonable to assume that underlying this passage is some such motif; that is, Jacob is granted a vision of the chariot that is described as the ladder set on the ground and whose head reached the heavens. The link that connects heaven and earth is Jacob, for he is in both places insofar as he is below but his image is engraved above. In a passage from Eleazar of Worms' comprehensive compendium of esoteric and mystical secrets, *Sode Razayya*, cited by Nathan Nata ben Solomon Spira in his *Megalleh'Amuqot*, one can discern a further development of the aggadic motif such that Jacob is himself the ladder: "From the earth to the throne of glory above there are twenty-two matters . . . and this is what is written, 'he lay down in that place' (Gen. 28:11), read in it [a reference to] twenty-two [*kaf-bet* in the word *wa-yishkav*, he lay down] in that place, from the image of Jacob below to the image of Jacob on the throne, for 'its top reached the sky,' for there were twenty-two steps."¹³⁰ Another and earlier example for this development, that indeed may have influenced Eleazar's formulation, may be found in the *Midrash Leqah Tov* of Tobias ben Eliezer: "'A ladder was set on the ground,' this refers to Jacob our patriarch himself, 'and its top reached the sky,' for the image of his icon was engraved on the throne of glory."¹³¹

To review the evidence that has been examined up to this point, in the earliest sources the motif of the icon of Jacob engraved on the throne may have been related to the hypostatization of the Logos. The appropriateness of the persona of Jacob to represent the Logos is due to a merging of two factors: first, this biblical patriarch, the ideal Israel, symbolically and typologically replaces Adam; and, second, the Logos is typically portrayed as the macroanthropos. It is thus entirely

plausible that the adamic figure of Jacob should symbolize the Logos. Moreover, in some of the relevant sources I have uncovered another stream of tradition according to which the icon of Jacob is identified as the angelic creature that has the face of a human and comprises all four creatures who bear the throne. It is possible that the celestial image of Jacob is a mythic portrayal of the demiurgic angel who is most commonly referred to as Metatron in Jewish esoteric sources.¹³² In this connection it is of interest to mention a tradition expressed in a later mystical treatise, a commentary on the seventy-two-letter name of God, apparently from the circle of *Sefer ha-Temunah*,¹³³ the text has been printed in *Sefer Razi'el* and is extant in several manuscripts.¹³⁴ In one passage reference is made to the "palace of Metatron" described further as the "pure intellect that overflows to the soul of the innocent, pure, and perfect man."¹³⁵ The pure intellect obviously alludes to the Active Intellect that is the supernal anthropos as is explicitly mentioned in another passage from that very text. The identification of Metatron and the Active Intellect is known from many sources both philosophical and mystical written in the High Middle

Ages.¹³⁶ In the text that I am presently discussing the anonymous author identifies the palace of the intellects, which are angelic beings, and the supernal world. Yet above that world is another realm of existence referred to by the technical rabbinic eschatological term, the world-to-come, which is also identified as the "palace of Jacob, the palace of Metatron, for the souls of the righteous from the lower world come there. Metatron is the Active Intellect, and this is the power of Shaddai,¹³⁷ everything is one power."¹³⁸ From here it may be inferred that Jacob is identified with Metatron who is the Active Intellect. Even though the author employs standard medieval philosophical terminology, it is reasonable to assume that there is an echo here of an ancient tradition based on the identification of the heavenly Jacob and Metatron who stands in the position of the Logos or the divine Intellect depicted mythically as the supernal anthropos. In the text under discussion there is no mention of the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne. However, the connection between the image of Jacob and Metatron is alluded to in a passage that apparently belongs to the older *Hekhalot* literature copied by Aaron ben Yehiel in his book, *Qorban'Aharon*, from a manuscript of the commentary on liturgical poems by Eliezer ben Nathan of Mainz in the possession of Ephraim Zalman Margalioth.¹³⁹ In that passage Metatron, the angel of the countenance (*sar ha-panim*), is identified as Jacob who is said to be inscribed upon the throne and upon the heart of Metatron.¹⁴⁰ One of the clearest indications of this tradition is found in the Ashkenazi Pietistic commentary on the names of Metatron extant in various manuscripts

and printed as *Sefer ha-Hesheq* in Lemberg in 1865.¹⁴¹ Commenting on one of the names of Metatron, the anonymous Pietist writes: "nro is numerically equal to 'upon the throne' (o=::, i.e., both expressions = 83), for he [Metatron] is engraved above on the throne of glory."¹⁴² While the aggadic notion of Jacob's image engraved upon the throne is not mentioned here, it is obvious that precisely this theme has been appropriated by the author of this text and applied to Metatron. It is likely that such an appropriation was made possible by the fact that in the older merkavah sources, the name Israel is associated with Metatron, specifically his crown.¹⁴³

In my opinion, an echo of this tradition is reflected as well in the writings of Abraham ibn Ezra when he mentions the aggadic motif of the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne. Thus, for example, in one place in his commentary on the Torah he writes: "The explanation of '[He fixed the boundaries of peoples] in relation to Israel's numbers' (Deut. 32:8): the sages, blessed be their memory, said that the form of Jacob, our patriarch, is engraved on the throne of glory, and this is a great secret. The attestation to this is 'For the Lord's portion is His people' (ibid., 9), this is the great level that He did not do for any other nation' (Ps. 147:20)."¹⁴⁴ Ibn Ezra notes that there is a great secret in the words of the sages, but he does not explain the content of the secret. The key to the allusion is the matter of the throne upon which the image is engraved. In the writings of ibn Ezra the term "throne" has at least two significations: it refers either to the world of the heavenly spheres in general¹⁴⁵ or to the tenth sphere in particular.¹⁴⁶ It appears to me that in the

context of the aforementioned passage the throne alludes to the tenth sphere.¹⁴⁷ If this supposition is correct, then it follows that the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne should be identified as the first intellect that comprises within itself the intelligible world. Moreover, as I have argued elsewhere, in the philosophical thought of ibn Ezra, the first intellect in the chain of being is Metatron, also called *yoser bere'shit*, the demiurge.¹⁴⁸ Thus, the secret to which ibn Ezra alludes is the identification of the image of Jacob with Metatron who is the form of the intellect that stands above the tenth sphere. Whereas the governance of every nation depends upon the stars and zodiacal signs, the providence of Israel depends solely upon the very image that is the first intellect, the macroanthropos in whose image the microanthropos (represented ideally by Israel) is created.¹⁴⁹ Further evidence for the identification of the image of Jacob as Metatron can be found in the literary corpus of Abraham Abulafia. Thus, for example, let us consider the following passage in the latter's *Or ha-Sekhel*:

The secret of "And [the angel of God] moved" (Exod. 14:19), he is the end even though he is the beginning. The secret is that he is the end of the angels, but he is still the beginning. He alone is the angel (*mal'akh*) who is called by the name of God (*ha-'elohim*). This is the secret of the "jealous God" (*'el qanna'*) and he comprises the seven *sefirot* of the name (*zayyin sefirot ha-shem*). Therefore, the image of Jacob engraved on the throne of glory comprises the seven *sefirot*. This is a great secret and from it you can understand the secret of the warp and you can discern in it as well its opposite.¹⁵⁰ Thus the secret of Jacob (*ya 'aqov*) is "my heel" (*'aqevi*),¹⁵¹ and the secret of Israel (*yisra'el*) is "to my head" (*le-ro shi*).¹⁵²

My intention here is not to analyze this passage in all of its complex details, but only to emphasize the most important issues related to the figure of Metatron. Without doubt the main topic in this text is Metatron who is referred to as the only angel to be called Elohim. Through a series of numerical equations various terms and concepts are linked in a continuous chain. The word *mal'akh* has the same numerical value as *ha-'elohim*, both equal 91, and together they make up the sum 182, which is the respective value of the expressions *'el qanna'*, *ya 'aqov*, and seven times the four-letter name YHWH (i.e., 7 x 26) conveyed in the expression *zayyin sefirot ha-shem*. In the ontological scheme of Abulafia, based on Maimonides, Metatron is the Active Intellect or the last of the ten separate intellects.¹⁵³ On the other hand, Metatron is also described as the first of the created entities outside the divine.¹⁵⁴ Abulafia alludes to this dual status of Metatron in his comment that the angel of God "is the end of the angels, but he is still the beginning." The two aspects of Metatron are alluded to as well in the names Israel and Jacob; the secret of the former is conveyed in the transposition of the consonants *yisra'el* to form the word *le-ro'shi*, "to my head,"¹⁵⁵ and the latter in the letters *ya 'aqov* that are transposed into *'aqevi*, "my heel."¹⁵⁶ The aspect of Metatron as the first is conveyed in the physical image of the head, and as the last, in the image of the heel. (As shall be noted in the following section, the precise symbolism is discernible in the theosophic speculation of Eleazar of Worms.) Just as Israel and Jacob are two names for one and the same person, so too the two aspects are unified in the one angelic personality. Metatron is described,

therefore, as possessing opposite qualities, the first and last, beginning and end, which parallels the description of the two functions of Metatron in other passages in Abulafia by use of the terms *na'ar* and *zaqen*; that is, this angel is the

na'ar, the youngest of the angels in the sense of being last in the ontic chain, as well as the *zaqen*, the oldest or the first in that chain.¹⁵⁷ The passage that I have cited above illustrates that the aggadic motif of the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne is clearly transferred in Abulafia to Metatron.¹⁵⁸ It is worthwhile to note that in a list of seventy-two intelligible powers (*kohot sikhliyyim*) that appears in the introduction to the collection of Jacob ha-Kohen's teachings, *Sefer ha'Orah*,¹⁵⁹ the fifth power is described as the

pure intellect¹⁶⁰ that is the form fixed on the throne of glory, and Jacob, peace be upon him, comprehended its knowledge, and he was constantly conjoined to that attribute, to the point that he and it became one thing.¹⁶¹ His image was like his image above, and from the abundance of His love the Holy One, blessed be He, called him a god in the lower entities¹⁶² for it was done according to his will, as it says, "He called him El-elohe-yisrael" (Gen. 33:20).¹⁶³ Thus you will find that his name has the computation of the explicit name [YHWH] which is 186. How is this so? Jacob is numerically 182, and when you join together to it the four letters of His name, YHWH, this name adds up to 186. You find that numerically it is [like the word] *maqom* [literally "place" but also a designation for God] that is 186.¹⁶⁴

There is no reason to assume that in this passage the pure intellect is identified as Metatron or the first intellect. On the contrary, Metatron is enumerated as a separate power, the second in the list, and to him is attributed the designation "fixed intellect" (*sekhel qavu'a*), reflecting the technical terminology of the Iyyun circle.¹⁶⁵ It appears, therefore, that preserved here is another tradition that assumed that the form fixed on the throne of glory represented one of the powers in the intelligible world but not Metatron. It is interesting to note that in other places in this anthology of esoteric teachings the pure intellect is described by Jacob ha-Kohen himself in terms that are very close to the description of Metatron. I will emphasize in particular the correlation between Jacob and the Tetragrammaton that relates specifically to the immanence of the divine in the world. The numerical value of Jacob is 182, to which must be added 4, representing the 4 letters of the name, to get a sum of 186. This figure is the numerical value of the word *maqom*, "place," one of the traditional designations of God, and it is alluded to as well in the Tetragrammaton when the numerical value of each of the letters is squared: $10 \times 10 + 5 \times 5 + 6 \times 6 + 5 \times 5 = 100 + 25 + 36 + 25 = 186$. It is

noteworthy that in *Sefer ha-'Iyyun* one finds the same numerological connection between the word *maqom* and the squaring of each letter of the Tetragrammaton, but in that context the matter is linked specifically to Metatron:

All of this is an allusion to acknowledging the sovereignty of the Holy One, blessed be He, over all of His powers. The start is with Metatron Concerning this it was said, "Blessed is the glory of God from His place" (Ezek. 3:13). He is the domain (*maqom*) of the world, but the world is not His domain.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, the numerical value of *maqom* is 186, and the Tetragrammaton is also 186. How so? *Yod* is numerically ten, and when you calculate ten times ten, it is one hundred. *Heh* is numerically five, and when you calculate five times five, it is twenty-five. *Vav* is numerically six, and when you calculate six times six, it is thirty-six. The final *heh* of the Name yields a sum of twenty-five. Accordingly, you shall find that the Name yields a sum of 186. This is the calculation which has been completely squared, when you calculate the numerical value of each individual letter and word in a correct computation.¹⁶⁷

The source for this numerology is the literature of the German Pietists where the matter too is connected with the immanence of the divine in the world. Thus, for example, Eleazar of Worms writes in his *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*: "Thus, when the Tetragrammaton is squared, i.e., ten times ten, five times five, six times six, and five times five, it equals the numerical value of *maqom*, for He is the place of the world."¹⁶⁸ It is not a coincidence that the use of the same numerology appears in a similar context in the *Sefer ha-'Iyyun* and in the introduction to Jacob ha-Kohen's *Sefer ha-'Orah*. Even though in the latter case the name of Metatron is not mentioned explicitly, it is reasonable to assume that here too such a tradition is implicit. Perhaps related to this nexus of ideas is the fact that the image of Jacob fulfills one of the roles assigned to Metatron in the older sources.

My conjecture is confirmed by additional textual evidence. In several places in the writings of Jacob ha-Kohen, the creature named "Israel" is identified as the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne.¹⁶⁹ I have already alluded to this matter above, and here I will cite some further illustrations. Thus, for example, in his commentary on Ezekiel's vision of the chariot he writes:

The face of a human [in the creatures] is the glory of Jacob called the creature whose name is Israel, and he is called

the back of God, blessed be He Moses was able to see the glory below the supernal glory for it is the back [of God] and it is the face of Jacob engraved in the four creatures Now, my son, consider [the expression] "you will see My back," *wera'ia'et'ahorai* (Exod. 33:23), there are eleven letters whose numerical value is that [of the expression] "with the image of Jacob that is engraved on the throne," *bi-demut ya'aqov shehaquq ba-kisse'*,¹⁷⁰ which consists of nineteen letters.¹⁷¹

Jacob ha-Kohen distinguishes between two glories-in the passage before the one that I cited, he employs the well-known expression used by Nathan ben Yehiel of Rome in his talmudic lexicon, *Sefer he-'Arukh*, the "glory above the glory"¹⁷² the great glory that consists of the face of God that Moses did not see, and the lower glory that is the hinder

part of God that is seen through prophetic vision. The words of Jacob ha-Kohen are based on those of Eleazar of Worms in his own commentary on Ezekiel's vision of the chariot as will be seen in more detail in the following section. However, the Castilian kabbalist has clothed the words of Eleazar of Worms in the technical language of the theosophic doctrine of the *sefirot*: the upper glory is identified as *Tiferet*, the sixth of ten emanations; and corresponding to him in the world of the chariot beneath the divine realm is the lower glory that is symbolized as the image of Jacob. Thus he writes in the continuation of this discussion:

Just as the Holy One, blessed be He, brought forth for His supernal glory, which is close to Him, nine appearances that are nine gradations, for the glory is the median line called His Majesty (*tif'arto*), and the nine gradations are *Keter, Hokhmah, Binah, Hesed, Gevurah, Nesah, Hod, Saddiq, and'Atarah*. . . so too He brought forth for the glory that is beneath Him, that is the Majesty of Israel (*Tiferet Yisra'el*), nine appearances that are the nine images of the creatures that are fixed in the nine spheres, and these Ezekiel saw. Thus, these are alluded to in the final letters of the words *mar'ot'elohim* (visions of God), [*taw* and *mem* that spell] *tam* [a reference to Jacob on the basis of Gen. 25:27], for these are the nine images that are found in relation to the glory of Jacob, the mild man that is engraved upon the chariot, who is called the glory that stands beneath the supernal glory.¹⁷³

The point is reiterated in another section of the same text:

Know, my son, that the upper glory that is called the middle line is that which is called *Tiferet Yisra'el*, and the image

of Jacob engraved in the holy creatures is the glory that is below the upper glory, and it is likewise called *Tiferet Yisra'el*. . . . This is to teach that there is a glory above the glory. Since the face of the anthropos is that of Jacob who is engraved upon the throne, thus you find the word Adam repeated twice, once in the last letters of the words, "O throne of glory exalted [from of old]," *kisse' khavod marom* (Jer. 17:12) and once in the last letters of the words "granting them seats of honor," *we-khisse' khavod yanhilem* (1 Sam. 2:8).¹⁷⁴

It may be concluded from these passages that the angelic creature named Israel is the image of Jacob, also named *Tiferet Yisra'el*, for it is the lower glory that corresponds to the upper glory, that is, the sixth emanation likewise called *Tiferet Yisra'el*. Furthermore, according to Jacob ha-Kohen, this creature is described in language that is used in ancient Jewish esoteric sources to describe Metatron.¹⁷⁵ One may infer, therefore, that there is a blurring of boundaries separating Metatron and the creature that is named Israel. To put the matter in somewhat different terms, the name Israel is an appropriate designation for Jacob, and thus the image of Jacob is applied to Metatron and/or the celestial creature. In all the sources that I have discussed up to this point there is no explicit mention of the gender of the icon of Jacob, but it stands to reason that it is masculine like the figure below, of which it is an image. This would concur, moreover, with other images associated with the demiurgic Logos that are decidedly masculine in character. There is, however, one text in *Hekhalot Rabbati*, to which I made a passing reference above, wherein it appears that the image of Jacob assumes a feminine characterization. The

relevant passage relates in graphic terms the drama that unfolds before the throne at the moment that the Jewish people utter the Trisagion below. The mystics are implored to narrate what they have seen:

Bear witness to them¹⁷⁶
of the testimony you see in Me
regarding what I do to the visage of Jacob, your father,
which¹⁷⁷ is engraved¹⁷⁸ upon My throne of glory,
for when you say before Me, "Holy,"
I bend down over it,¹⁷⁹ embrace it, fondle it, and kiss it,
and My hands are on its arms,¹⁸⁰
thrice daily,
for you say before Me "Holy,"
as it says, "Holy, holy, holy."¹⁸¹

There is no question that in the above text the image of Jacob, or more precisely the visage (*qelaster panav*) of Jacob, is described vis-avis the divine king who sits upon the throne in terms befitting a feminine persona.¹⁸² It is possible that the visage of Jacob is here feminized on account of the throne, which is described in this literature in feminine terms.¹⁸³ However, it is also possible to explain the feminine characterization in another way: if we assume that the image of Jacob symbolizes the ecclesia of Israel, and we assume further that the latter is feminine, then it follows that the image above is feminine.¹⁸⁴ This reconstruction fits well with the thematic context of the passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati*: when Israel utters the Trisagion below, God descends from His throne to embrace, fondle, and kiss the visage of Jacob. However, it is possible that even in this passage the face of Jacob symbolizes the heavenly or ideal Adamic figure without any connection to the feminization of the ecclesia of Israel. If this is the case, then the feminine language used in describing the image must be construed as a metaphorical expression of God's love for Israel, but it does not signify a dynamic in the divine world between the masculine king and the feminine form engraved on the throne.¹⁸⁵ The utilization of gender imagery in a metaphorical context is not uncommon in aggadic and midrashic sources; referring to a specific reality as male or female does not necessarily imply a hypostatic orientation. Thus, for example, the influence of the text from *Hekhalot Rabbati* is apparent in a passage from *Midrash 'Otiyyot de-R. 'Aqiva'* (version B), but in that context the image of Jacob should be described precisely as a male potency:

HLQ refers to Jacob who is called smooth-skinned (*halaq*) . . . and He engraved his image upon His throne of glory.¹⁸⁶ When his descendants recite the Trisagion the Holy One, blessed be He, lowers His mouth from above and kisses him on his head that is engraved on the throne of glory, as it says, "For the Lord has chosen Jacob for Himself" (Ps. 135:4). Whence do we know that Jacob is called smoothskinned (*halaq*)? As it says, "and I am smooth-skinned" (Gen. 27:11). "For the Lord's portion (*heleq*) is his people, Jacob His own allotment" (Deut. 32:9).¹⁸⁷

In this redactional setting, it does not seem that the decisively feminine aspect of the original image in *Hekhalot Rabbati* is an essential element. On the contrary, I would suggest that the issue of the feminine gender is effectively neutralized here for it is clearly the masculine character of the icon of Jacob that is stressed. Indeed, the homoeroticism reaches a fervent pitch in this text insofar as the decid-

edly male nature both of God and of the image of Jacob is underscored. Further proof of my contention can be found in an anonymous text, based on the aforementioned words of *Midrash'Otiyyot de-R. 'Aqiva'*, which reflects in my opinion the ambivalent relationship regarding the gender of the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne:

HLQ. do not read *hlq* but rather *hlq*, this is Jacob, our patriarch, who is called smooth-skinned (*halaq*), for in him the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, is renewed. The Holy One, blessed be He, engraved his image on the throne of glory, and when Israel recite the Trisagion the Holy One, blessed be He, lowers His face above and kisses the mouth of Jacob and his image that is on the throne, as it says, "For the Lord has chosen Jacob for Himself" (Ps. 135:4)¹⁸⁸

Even though the images in *Hekhalot Rabbati* are unquestionably erotic, the authors of the two texts cited above understood the relevant passage as an allusion to God's relationship to Jacob's image, which is clearly male. The eroticism, therefore, is set within the framework of a relationship between two masculine personalities. As will be seen shortly, the image of Jacob receives a definite feminine character in the esoteric theosophy of the German Pietists, especially as it is formulated in the writings of Eleazar of Worms. In great measure, this development is based on the passage from *Hekhalot Rabbati* that I have been discussing. The distinctive quality of Eleazar's usage is highlighted by a comparison of his works with kabbalistic literature from roughly the same period. By the mid-thirteenth century or so the image of Jacob becomes a standard symbol for the masculine potency in the sefirotic realm, either the sixth gradation, *Tiferet*, or the ninth, *Yesod*, although there are occasional references in the pertinent sources that indicate that Jacob was employed specifically as a symbol for the feminine potency, the divine Presence.¹⁸⁹ An exception to the established framework can be found in the following comment of Judah ben Yaqar on the words *mosi' hamah mimeqomah u-levanah mimekhon shivtah* ("He brings forth the sun from its place and the moon from its dwelling") in the standard morning liturgy for Sabbath, *ha-kol yodukha we-ha-kol yeshabbeh ukha*:

It says "its place" (*meqomah*) by the sun and "its dwelling" (*mekhon shivtah*) by the moon to allude to the fact that the nations count [days and months] according to the sun . . . but Israel count according to the moon for the image of Jacob is engraved in it."¹⁹⁰ Even though we have not found in the aggadah that his name or form is engraved in the moon,

still it must be said that the moon is called *ma'or qatan* (the "lesser light"),¹⁹¹ and on account of her name the verse says, "How will Jacob survive? He is so small," *mi yaqum ya'aqov ki qaton hu'* (Amos 7:2, 5)¹⁹² It says in the *Hekhalot*¹⁹³ that there is a creature whose name is Israel and engraved upon its forehead is Israel, and it stands in the middle of the firmament, and it says, "Bless the Lord who is blessed." All the archons above respond after it, "Bless the Lord who is blessed forever." Each and every one of the angels, hosts, and all the camps utters to this creature while standing, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one."¹⁹⁴ Therefore, it is explained that the creature, whose name is Israel and upon whose forehead is inscribed Israel, sees the moon upon which is engraved the image of Jacob. She is called small (*qatan*) on account of Jacob who is Israel, and the moon draws the name Jacob to her and unites with it, and the moon sits next to the creature. This is [the meaning of the expression] "its dwelling" (*mekhon shivtah*). Similarly, it is written there,¹⁹⁵ "what I do to the visage of Jacob, your father, which is engraved upon the throne of glory, for when you say before the Holy One, blessed be He, "Holy, holy, holy," I bend down over it, embrace it, fondle it, and kiss it, and My hands are on My arms." All this is by way of parable and secret (*derekh mashal we-sod*).¹⁹⁶

It is reasonable to assume that Judah ben Yaqar was influenced directly by German Pietistic traditions or a shared source that expanded upon the relevant *Hekhalot* passages¹⁹⁷: in the teaching of Judah ben Yaqar, as in the case of Eleazar of Worms as will be seen below, the image of Jacob is a feminine form that is engraved upon the moon and upon the throne of glory. The change in symbolism began in the thirteenth-century kabbalistic sources, and a striking example of this phenomenon is Nahmanides, a student of Judah ben Yaqar. In the teaching of Nahmanides, as it is explicated by several of the commentators on the secrets contained in his Torah commentary, the image of Jacob symbolizes the masculine potency in the sefirotic pleroma, either *Tiferet* or *Yesod*.¹⁹⁸ It is no surprise, therefore, that in the writings of the Ashkenazi sages who were influenced by the Provençal-Spanish theosophic kabbalah, for example, Shem Tov ben Simhah ha-Kohen¹⁹⁹ and Abraham of Cologne,²⁰⁰ the image of Jacob was interpreted as a symbol for *Tiferet* or *Yesod*, masculine potencies of the divine. Hence, in Jewish esoteric literature of the thirteenth century there were at least two ways to explain the aggadic motif of the image of Jacob:

either as the ideal male as was prevalent in the theosophic kabbalah or as a feminine potency as it appeared in the esoteric teaching of the German Pietists, an echo of which is heard as well in some kabbalistic sources. Despite the difference between the approach of the German Pietists, especially Eleazar of Worms, in relation to the image of Jacob and the dominant kabbalistic interpretation, I contend that a careful examination of the signification of that image in the Ashkenazi material demonstrates that the theosophy of the latter exhibits a striking conceptual kinship to kabbalistic myth and symbolism.

From a detailed investigation of the use of this motif in the German Pietistic literature from the main circle of Judah the Pious, and especially in the works of Eleazar of Worms, the possibility arises that already in the Ashkenazi doctrine of the glory there appears a pronounced theosophic position that describes the glory in masculine and feminine terms. The dynamic in the divine realm between the two glories male and female is quite close to the bisexual theology expressed in the theosophic kabbalah. What is most surprising is that this closeness is not simply phenomenological, but it is terminological as well. That is, Eleazar of Worms at times describes the relationship between the two glories in the very terms and expressions utilized by the kabbalists.

Before turning to a detailed textual analysis to substantiate my hypothesis, it is in order to pose the question, Was the image of Jacob employed as a technical designation of a divine hypostasis in the early theosophic writings of German Pietistic provenance that served as the sources for Eleazar's teachings, including those texts that Dan has attributed to Judah the Pious himself? As far as I am able to discern, it can be assumed that in these texts the image of Jacob does symbolize a distinct power in the throne world. Thus, for example, we read in a passage from a text entitled *Sefer ha-Kavod*, although, as Dan has noted,²⁰¹ this is not to be identified with the text by the same name composed by Judah the Pious and cited by other authors: "The spirit of Jacob was created on the fifth day, for on the fifth day [Ps. 81 is uttered which includes the verse] 'Raise a shout for the God of Jacob,' and his form (*to'aro*) is engraved on the throne of glory."²⁰² From this text it is difficult to ascertain if the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne is to be identified with the glory itself. It will be noted, however, that in another passage from this text it appears that the name Jacob when written in the plene form (*yod-'ayin-qof-waw-bet*), and

not the image of Jacob, symbolizes the glory in a state of aggrandizement and multiplicity:

"Not like these is the Portion of Jacob, for it is He who formed all things" (Jer. 51:19) . . . *Ya'aqov* is written in the plene form with a *waw*, for they say six words, *Shema' yisra'el yhwh'elohenu yhwh'ehad* ["Hear, O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord is One"] (Deut. 6:4), and corresponding to them *barukh shem kevod malkhuto le-'olam va'ed* ["Blessed is the name of His glorious kingdom forever"] and corresponding to them *yhwh hu' ha-'elohim yhwh hu' ha-'elohim* ["The Lord alone is God, the Lord alone is God"] (1 Kings 18:39). Know that they said six words, for it is written, "[Then Elijah took twelve stones] corresponding to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob-to whom the word of the Lord has come: Israel shall be your name" (ibid., 31). *Shema' yisra'el yhwh'elohenu yhwh'ehad* and corresponding to it is the plene form [of Jacob] with a *waw*. Moreover, the *Shema'* is recited during the day in proximity to [the blessing] *yofe'or u-vore' ha-kol*, and it is recited at night in proximity to [the blessing] *ma'ariv aravim*. Therefore, the plene form is used in the case of *yoser ha-kol*, *ya'aqov*, and *yoser'or uvore' ha-kol*.²⁰³

It is likely that in this passage there is a trace of an older tradition regarding Jacob or Israel as the divine power called the demiurge (*yoer bere'shit*). This matter is alluded to in the words from the opening verse of the citation, "the Portion of Jacob, for it is He who formed all things," *heleq ya'aqov ki yoser ha-kol hu* (Jer. 51:19), as well as in the liturgical formulation based on Isaiah 45:7, "He who forms light and creates all," *yoSer'or*

u-vore"et ha-kol. It seems to me, moreover, that the demiurge is here identified with the *kavod*; this is alluded to in the prayer, "Blessed is the name of His glorious kingdom forever," *barukh shem kevod malkhuto le-'olam va'ed*. In this passage there is also an allusion to the containment of two attributes within the demiurge or the *kavod*. This is alluded to in the name Jacob when it is written in the plene form, *yod-'ayin-qof-waw-bet*, that is, Jacob plus the extra letter *waw*.²⁰⁴ Jacob receives this addition by means of the recitation of the three specified liturgical expressions, for in each of these there are six words: (a) *Shema yisra'el yhwh'elohenu yhwh'ehad*, (b) *barukh shem kevod malkhuto le-'olam va'ed*, and (c) *yhwh hu' ha'elohim yhwh hu' ha'elohim*. Moreover, the sum of the words of the *Shema'* and the *barukh shem* equal twelve, which corresponds to twelve celestial tribes, that is, the angels that surround the glory,²⁰⁵ alluded to

in the image that appears in the verse from 1 Kings 18:31 concerning the "tribes of the sons of Jacob" (Jacob= Israel= the glory). On the other hand, the last liturgical expression, *yhwh hu' ha'elohim*, signifies the unity of the two names of God that symbolize the attributes of mercy and judgment within the glory. According to this text, therefore, the form of Jacob written with a *waw* alludes to the *kavod* that is surrounded by twelve angelic beings and comprises within itself the unity of the two names or two attributes. There is no explicit indication in this text that Jacob is a feminine hypostasis nor is there a hint of an upper glory that influences the lower glory. Nevertheless, there are obvious allusions in this passage that Jacob is the glory that in its state of fullness comprises the two names, YHWH and Elohim, which correspond to the two divine attributes. As will be seen below, in another passage from this same composition, the "glory of the God of Israel" (*kevod'elohe yisra'el*) is described in similar terms. Furthermore, many of the views of Eleazar that I shall mention are clearly based on passages in these texts still largely buried in manuscript.

Let me now turn to the development of this motif in the writings of Eleazar of Worms. I will begin with a passage that is found in the pseudo-Hai commentary on the forty-two-letter name of God included in Eleazar's *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*²⁰⁶: "*PZQ* is numerically equal to *yofi nikhbad* ('glorious beauty') as well as the numerology of *Cal kiss'o* ('upon His throne')²⁰⁷ as well as *'al levanah* ('upon the moon') for He sits upon His throne and the beauty of His Presence (*yofi shekhinato*) illuminates the image of Jacob that is engraved on His throne in the image of the moon."²⁰⁸ Two aggadic traditions are combined hereone concerning the image of Jacob engraved on the throne, and the other concerning that image engraved in the moon.²⁰⁹ The word *PZQ*, one of the combinations of the forty-two-letter name of God, is numerically equal to the expression *yofi ha-nikhbad* ("glorious beauty"), that is, 187, which is also the numerical equivalent of the expressions *'al kiss'o*, "upon His throne" and *'al levanah*, "upon the moon." The use of the term *yofi* here resembles the technical connotation of that term in the *Hekhalot* literature, and hence its signification is the luminous beauty of the enthroned form of the Presence.²¹⁰ The latter two expressions, *'al kiss'o* and *'al levanah*, convey the notion that the luminous splendor of

the *Shekhinah* the glorious beauty shines upon the image of Jacob that is said to be engraved either upon the throne or upon the moon. According to this text, the image of Jacob is optically below the *Shekhinah* that shines upon it, but it is not clear to what potency, attribute, or gradation this image is related. In a second passage from this composition there is a reference to the image of Jacob based on the relevant passages in *Hekhalot Rabbati*²¹¹:

When Israel say the *qedushah* and the *shema' yisra'el* each day, He says to the ministering angels: See how Israel sanctify, enthrone and unify Me. Immediately He hugs and kisses (*mehabbeq u-menashsheq*) the face of Jacob engraved upon the throne of glory as we have found in the "Book of the Palaces" (*sefer hekhalot*) and in the "Book of the Glory" (*sefer ha-kavod*) where He says each day when the [time of the] morning and afternoon services arrives, "Blessed are you to Me, those who enter before the chariot (*yorde merkavah*)"²¹² (you have made Me one unit in the world as it says, "Who is like You, O Lord, among the celestials" [Exod. 15:11], blessed are you to Me, those who enter before the chariot; until here is the *Sefer Yirqah*²¹³) if you tell My children what I do to Jacob, your patriarch, when they lift their eyes heavenward and utter the Trisagion."²¹⁴

In order to enter into the depth of the symbolism of the image of Jacob in the thought of Eleazar of Worms, it is necessary to examine carefully additional passages of his own writings in which he mentions and elaborates upon this matter. I will begin with a passage from Eleazar's commentary on Ezekiel's chariot that will be cited according to two manuscript witnesses:

We have known that the human being is the most glorious of the creatures, and the head is the most glorious of all. Thus it is above with respect to the image of Jacob, the chosen of God, and he is engraved upon the throne of glory. "[The Lord] has cast down from heaven to earth the majesty of Israel" (Lam. 2:1). And it is written, "[You are My servant] Israel in whom I glory" (Isa. 49:3). Jacob is called small (*qatan*), for the cherubim have small faces (*'appe zutre*) . . . and the face of Jacob is engraved on the throne. Thus the last letters [of the expression] "O throne of glory, exalted," *kisse' khavod marom* (Jer. 17:12) are *adam*, as well as [the last letters of] "granting them seats of honor," *we-khisse' khavod yanhilem* (1 Sam 2:8). Since he is unique the image of man precedes all the countenances, as it is written, "For the Lord has chosen Jacob for Himself" (Ps. 135:4), and it is written, "Jacob His own allotment" (Deut. 32:9). It is written, "You will see My back," *we-ra'ita'et'ahorai* (Exod. 33:23)-that is numerically equivalent to [the expression] "like the image of Jacob that is engraved on the throne," *ki-demut ya'aqov haquqah ba-kisse*²¹⁵. . . It is written that Jacob said, "Am I (*'anokhi*) under God?" (Gen. 30:2), [the

word *'anokhi* is numerically equivalent to *kisse'* (throne). Thus, Jacob receives the splendor when the prayer rises upward. It is written, "And they saw the God of Israel" (Exod. 24:10), it should be read as "Israel under His feet."²¹⁶

It is known that the human being is the most glorious of the creatures, and the head of a human is the most glorious of all the limbs, and so it is above. This head is in the image of Jacob, our patriarch, may peace be upon him, who is engraved upon the throne of glory. Concerning him it is said, "[The Lord] has cast down from heaven to earth the majesty of Israel" (Lam. 2:1), "[You are My servant] Israel in whom I glory" (Isa. 49:3). Therefore, it says in Song of Songs, "His left hand was under my head" (2:6), transpose [the letters of *le-ro'shi*, "my head"] and read *yisra'el* [Israel].²¹⁷ Therefore, the diadem of the glory is called Israel . . . for it is made from the praise of Israel and ascends to the throne of glory . . . "And the Lord was standing above him" (Gen. 28:13), as upon the throne above. Thus [it is written], "He mounted a cherub" (2 Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:11). And it is written, "[Moses] would hear the Voice addressing him from [above the cover that was on top of the Ark of the Pact] between the two cherubim" (Num. 7:89). Jacob is called small (*qatan*), and similarly the cherubim have small faces (*'appe zutre*) . . . Since the human countenance is that of Jacob engraved on the throne, thus you find the word *'adam* in the last letters [of the expression] "O throne of glory, exalted," *kisse' khavod marom* (Jer. 17:12), as well as in the last [letters of] "granting them seats of honor," *we-khisse' khavod yanhilem* (1 Sam 2:8). Concerning them He said [to] Moses, "You will see My back," *we-ra'ita'et'ahorai* (Exod. 33:23), that is the power that is in him. Jacob said, "Am I (*'anokhi*) under God?" (Gen. 30:2), [the word] *'anokhi* is numerically equivalent to *kisse'* (throne). Therefore, Jacob receives the splendor when the prayer rises upward. It is written, "And they saw the God of Israel and under His feet etc." (Exod. 24:10), it should be read as "Israel under His feet."²¹⁸ In accord with his usual exegetical manner, Eleazar connects seemingly disparate issues through word associations and numerological equivalences. The first and most surprising connection is that between the back of God revealed to Moses and the image of Jacob engraved on the throne.²¹⁹ There is no doubt that, in the teaching of Eleazar, the

image of Jacob alludes to an actual divine hypostasis. Thus, for example, he writes in his commentary on the secrets of the liturgy: "The Lord, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel . . . it mentions Israel and not Jacob for Israel is the archon together with God that is engraved upon the throne."²²⁰ The words of Eleazar are based on the aggadic passage from *Genesis Rabbah* cited above on the verse, "for you have striven with God" (Gen. 32:29): "You are the one whose icon is engraved above." That is to say, Jacob is the archon (*sar*) who is together with the divine and whose image is engraved upon the throne. Further support for my contention is found in the passages that I cited above from Eleazar's commentary on the chariot in which the image of Jacob is called the "splendor of Israel" (a tradition, as we have seen, that already appears in earlier midrashic sources, including *Lamentations Rabbah*) and also, "God of Israel," which is the visionary object of the nobles of Israel at the Sinaitic epiphany described in Exodus 24. According to the second version cited above, from the MS Mussajoff, Eleazar also identified the image of Jacob with the crown made from the liturgical praises of Israel. This association reflects the ancient tradition that Israel is the name of the crown composed of the prayers of Israel that the archangel according to some literary sources Sandalphon and according to others Metatron²²¹ -binds to the head of the glory.²²² It is worth noting that already in early

Pietistic texts, attributed by Dan to Judah the Pious, the image of the crown from ancient Jewish mysticism evolves into a hypostatic power in the divine realm.²²³ Eleazar adds to this idea the comparison between the image of Jacob and the crown whose name is Israel, based, of course, on the fact that Jacob is Israel.

From the passage cited it seems, moreover, that the image of Jacob is identified as the cherub alluded to in the expression "small face" (*'appe zutre*).²²⁴ Eleazar reached this identification through the conjunction of two matters related to the concept of smallness (*qatnut*). On the one hand, in B. Hullin 60b Jacob is designated "Jacob the small one," *ya'aqov qatan*, apparently on the basis of the verse, "How will Jacob survive? He is so small," *mi yaqum ya'aqov ki qaton hu'* (Amos 7:2),²²⁵ which itself may be based on the words of Jacob, "I am unworthy of all the kindness," *qatonti mi-kol ha-hasadim* (Gen. 32:10). On the other hand, in a second talmudic passage, B. Hagigah 13b, the face of the cherub is described as the "small face" (*'appe zutre*) in contrast to the human face that is the "great face" (*'appe ravreve*).²²⁶ Eleazar combines these two motifs and thereby forges an identification of Jacob's image with the cherub. This identification is alluded to in the verse, "He mounted a cherub," that is, God rode upon the image of Jacob (the exact meaning of this will become clear at a subsequent

stage in this analysis). From the other passages cited by Eleazar it also emerges that Jacob's image, which is that of a cherub, is the throne upon which the upper glory sits.²²⁷ To this Eleazar alludes in his words: "And the Lord was upon him [i.e., Jacob] as upon a throne from above." And in more detail: "Thus you will find [the word] *'adam* in the last letters of the words, 'O throne of glory, exalted,' *kisse' khavod marom* (Jer. 17:12), as well as in the last [letters of the expression] 'granting them seats of honor,' *we-khisse' khavod yanhilem* (1 Sam 2:8) . . . Jacob said, 'Am I (*anokhi*) under God?' (Gen. 30:2), [the word] *'anokhi* is numerically equivalent to *kisse'* (throne)."²²⁸ This is the allusion as well at the end of the passage in which Eleazar informs us that Jacob's image bears the title "God of Israel," for the name Israel designates the lower power in the divine realm, symbolized in Scripture by the expression "And under His feet."²²⁹ Eleazar has this in mind in the following passage in his commentary on the secrets of prayer: "'Bow down to His footstool' (Ps. 99:5), the face of the cherub. 'They saw the God of Israel' (Exod. 24:10), 'under my head' (Song of Songs 2:6). The holy one of Jacob, this is what is said, 'He has cast down from heaven to earth the majesty of Israel' (Lam. 2:1)."²³⁰ The description of the lower aspect of the glory as that which is beneath the feet is echoed in the *Sefer Hakhmoni* of Shabbetai Donnolo, acknowledged as one of the most important sources for Haside Ashkenaz:

Even though it says "I beheld the Lord" (Isa. 6:1), he did not see the image of His face, he saw the throne. He did not see the glory of the Lord upon the throne, but rather the skirts [of His robe] as the skirts of a coat. Thus we have learned that Moses saw the glory of His back standing and Isaiah saw in a vision His glory seated on a throne. From the vision of the throne and the seraphs standing above Him, he understood that [the throne] was that of God. He saw, however, the glory of His skirts that is the glory under His feet.

When [the glory] was seen by Moses, Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and the seventy elders of Israel, [even though it is written, "And they saw the God of Israel"], they saw only His glory that is under His feet, by means of a sign and symbol, as it says, "And under His feet was the likeness of a pavement of sapphire" (Exod. 24:10).²³¹

In Eleazar's thought, the following items are identified through a chain of symbolic associations: the image of Jacob, the back of God, the God of Israel, the majesty of Israel (*tif'eret yisra'el*), the crown of the glory of Israel (*'ateret kevod yisra'el*), the small face (*'appe zutre*), the cherub, and the throne of glory. Let me cite another passage from

the *Sod Ma'aseh Bereshit* (Secret of the Work of Creation), the first part of the compendium, *Sode Razayya'*, in which the image of Jacob is identified with the crown (*'atarah*), the cherub, and the throne:

We know that there is nothing more glorious amongst the creatures than man, for he is above in the image of Jacob, the one selected by God, and he is engraved on the throne of glory, as it is written, "He has cast down from heaven to earth the majesty of Israel" (Lam. 2:1), and it is written, "Israel in whom I glory" (Isa. 49:3) . . . Thus in Song of Songs it is written, "His left is under my head" (2:6), [*lero'shi* read as] *yisra'el*. Thus it is called *'ateret kavod*, glorious crown, the mantle of Israel, that is made from the praises of Israel, and rises to the head of the glory . . . [The people of] Israel have their name [from the verse] "because you have striven with Elohim" (Gen. 32:28). Thus, "And the Lord was standing above him" (ibid., 28:13) as upon the throne of glory above. Thus, "He rode upon a cherub" (2 Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:11), and it is written, "[When Moses went into the Tent of Meeting to speak with Him,] he would hear the Voice addressing him from above the cover that was on top of the Ark of the Pact between two cherubim" (Num. 7:89). Jacob is called small, because the cherubim are smallfaced . . . Since the face of man is Jacob who is engraved on the throne, the word *'adam* is [in the consonants] at the end of these words, *kisse' khavod marom*, "O throne of glory exalted from of old" (Jer. 17:12) as well as *we-khisse' khavod yanhilem*, "granting them seats of honor" (1 Sam 2:8). Thus, the image of man goes with all the countenances, for it is written, "For the Lord has chosen Jacob for Himself" (Ps. 135:4), and it is written, "Jacob His own allotment" (Deut. 32:9). It is written, *we-ra'ita'et'ahorai*, "and you shall see My back" (Exod. 33:23) that is numerically equal to *bi-demut ya'aqov she-haquqah ba-kisse'*, "in the image of Jacob that is engraved on the throne." Afterwards it is written, "And Jacob said, Am I under Elohim" (Gen. 30:2). *Anokhi* numerically equals *kisse*. Thus, Jacob receives the splendor when the prayers rise above."²³²

It is noteworthy that, in another passage from this work, Eleazar attributes to the image of Jacob the title, "Israel, the elder," *yisra'el sabba'*, an expression that appears already in *midreshe'aggadah* as a name for Jacob.²³³ In the passages of Eleazar, however, the expression manifestly is an epithet for a divine hypostasis identified concomi-

tantly as the letter *shin* of the head phylacteries. There is no doubt that for Eleazar the reference is to the phylacteries of God, and one may see in this symbol an allusion to the crown made from the prayers of Israel, which is compared to the phylacteries.²³⁴

Why is the *shin* on the compartments of the head phylacteries that correspond to Jacob, as it is written, *yisra'el'asher bekha'etpa'ar*, "Israel in whom I glory" (Isa. 49:3), and the phylacteries are called the glory (*peter*)²³⁵, as it says, *pe'erka havosh Calekha*, "Put on your turban" (Ezek. 24:17)? At the time of the destruction [of the Temple] He cast them to the earth, as it is written, "He cast down from heaven to earth the majesty of Israel" (Lam. 2:1) . . . It is said in *Sefer Ye. irah*²³⁶: He enthroned the letter *shin* [in fire] and placed upon it a crown, and drew upon it the heavens, for they are of fire . . . Moreover, the *shin* is on the compartments near the written verses (*ha-ketivah*)²³⁷ for the image of his icon is fixed upon the throne of glory, and the image of the cherub resembles him. This was the cherub upon which He rose and came to Egypt, as it is written, "He rode a cherub and flew" (2 Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:11).²³⁸ This is [the implication of] "And when Israel saw the great hand" (Exod. 14:31), i.e., Israel the elder (*yisra'el sabba*).²³⁹ When Israel saw the image of Jacob upon the sea they uttered the song. From [the verse] "Then [Moses and the Israelites] sang [this song to the Lord]" (ibid., 15:1) until [the verse] "The Lord will reign for ever and ever!" (ibid., 18), there are 182 words [corresponding to the numerical value of the consonants in the name "Jacob"].²⁴⁰

The relationship between the splendor of Israel, the image of Jacob, and the phylacteries is established in the commentary to Lamentations 2:1 attributed to Eleazar: "'The majesty of Israel,' the image of the icon of Jacob is the majesty of Israel. Another explanation: the majesty refers to the phylacteries of the Master of the world . . . The majesty of Israel [the consonants of the word *yisra'el* can be read as] *le-ro'shi* ('to my head') . . . *tiferet yisra'el* is numerically equal to *demut diyogan shel ya'aqov'avinu she-be-kisse' ha-kavod haquqah le-ma'alah* ('the image of the icon of Jacob, our patriarch, engraved upon the throne of glory above').²⁴¹ While there is ample reason to doubt the attribution of this text to Eleazar himself,²⁴² there is equally good evidence to assume that the text was authored by one close to the Kalonymide circle of Pietists. If that is the case, then the text can edify something of the nature of the esoteric teaching cultivated by

Judah or Eleazar. The conclusion that this text was not authored by Eleazar does not diminish its significance in constructing the views accepted by him.

Up to this point we have seen that in the compositions of Eleazar the image of Jacob symbolizes the crown and the cherub, and it is even identified as the back of God, also called "God of Israel," "splendor of Israel," and "Israel the elder." This image is also the cherub upon which God descended to the Red Sea, alluded to in Scripture by the description of the great power (literally, great hand, *ha-yad hagedolah*) that Israel saw upon the sea.²⁴³ These examples indicate that in the esoteric doctrine of Eleazar the image of Jacob is transformed into a distinct hypostasis in the divine world. Moreover, from a comparison of the conclusion of the passage cited above and another text it can be shown that in the teaching of Eleazar the image of Jacob is the glory (to be more precise, as will be seen further below, the lower glory). In the first instance Eleazar mentions the twelve stitchings that surround the letter *shin* of the phylacteries and that correspond to the twelve tribes. On the other hand, in his *Sefer ha-Shem* (Book of the Name) Eleazar speaks of the "twelve tribes that camp in four corners like the twelve tribes that surround

the throne."²⁴⁴ Even more detail is given in Eleazar's commentary on the secrets of prayer:

Twelve times daily the word "holy" (*qadosh*) is said corresponding to the twelve tribes who are referred to [by the words] "You shall be holy," *qedoshim tehiyu* (Lev. 19:2), and corresponding to the twelve holy ones (*qedoshot*) that surround the throne of glory, three on each side . . . Corresponding to them were the three tribes of Israel for each and every banner and the Ark in the middle. Similarly, in the case of the phylacteries, there are three stitchings on each of the four sides and the writings [of the scriptural passages upon parchment] in the middle. The twelve tribes of Jacob correspond to the twelve zodiac signs and the twelve stones of the Ephod."²⁴⁵

The letter *shin*, therefore, symbolizes the crown and the image of Jacob or the cherub that is identified with the glory. The relationship between the letter *shin* and the glory can be explained in light of other passages in Ashkenazi texts in which the numerical equivalence of the letter *shin* (300) is said to equal that of the letters of the Tetragrammaton, YHWH, written in the code of a"t ba"sh, that is, MSP"S (40 + 90 + 80 + 90). Thus, for example, one reads in the pseudo-Hai commentary on the forty-two-letter name of God included in Eleazar's *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*: "This is the numerical value of [the expression] *yofi'al*

ha-yericah, and the numerical value of *yofi'al Hadarni'el*, and likewise the numerical value of *yofi'al MSP"S*, for the beauty and splendor of the Holy One, blessed be He, who is called MSP"S, rests upon the curtain and a great splendor surrounds His throne. Therefore, we must praise the supernal name that is MSP"S whose numerical value is that of [the letter] *shin* [i.e., 300], and *shin-yod-nun* [i.e., the letters that make up the word *shin* = 360] is numerically equal to *shimkha* ['your name' that likewise = 360] and the [word] *shin* is an acrostic for *shem yhwh nigra'*, 'the name of the Lord is proclaimed' (Deut. 28:10), and the name YHWH through a"t ba"sh is numerically equal to *shin* and these are the letters MP"S."²⁴⁶ In slightly different words Eleazar himself expresses this nexus of motifs in his commentary on Ezekiel's chariot vision: "Every person knows . . . that there is a *shin* on the phylacteries for the glorious name [YHWH] in a"t ba"sh is MSP"s and MSP"S has the numerical value of 300 [represented by the letter *shin*]. Therefore, the name is placed between the eyes, for the eyes are like the two cherubim."²⁴⁷ "The scriptural expression, *yoshev hakeruvim*, indicates that just as when the righteous of Israel have phylacteries on their heads the name is upon them, so too on the foreheads of the cherubim is the explicit name, as it says, '[the Ark of God] to which the Name was attached, the name Lord of Hosts Enthroned on the Cherubim' (2 Sam. 6:2); since the name is on their foreheads it says *yoshev ha-keruvim*, the one who is enthroned on the cherubim."²⁴⁸ At a later point in this study I shall deal at greater length with the subject of the cherubim in the esoteric teaching of Eleazar and their relationship to the glory and the explicit name of God. Presently, it is important to note that the image of Jacob is identified as the crown that is the glory or the Tetragrammaton symbolized by the letter *shin*. In another manuscript passage attributed to Eleazar, the connection

between the glory or the cherub and the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne of glory is emphasized with greater clarity:

Those thirteen attributes correspond to the twelve tribes and Jacob who is engraved upon the throne of glory. The twelve tribes stand around the glory just as they stood in the Tabernacle. Corresponding to this there are thirteen occurrences in Scripture of *or panekha* ("light of Your countenance") and *ha'erpanekha* ("shine Your countenance"),²⁴⁹ for through the merit of Jacob the tribes shall recall the thirteen attributes and He shall shine upon us in that very attribute that Moses our master chose. *Mar'eh keruvim* ("the appearance of the cherubim") is numerically equal to *mar'eh kavod* ("the appearance of the glory").²⁵⁰ Accordingly, the

Holy One, blessed be He, commanded that the cherubim be made, for this is the attribute of mercy. [The word] *keruvim* is numerically equal to *rahamekha* ("Your mercy"),²⁵¹ as it is written, "There I will meet with you, and I will impart to you from above the cover, from between the two cherubim" (Exod. 25:22).²⁵² The identification of the image of Jacob with the crown, on the one hand, and with the cherub, on the other, raises the possibility that in the esoteric theosophy of Haside Ashkenaz, particularly in Eleazar, this hypostasis is feminine.²⁵³ The feminine characteristic of the crown is especially prominent in the frequently discussed passage in the pseudo-Hai text included in Eleazar's *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*,²⁵⁴ referred to above.²⁵⁵

When the crown is upon the head of the Creator, it is then called Akatriel, and then the crown is hidden from all the holy angels . . . then they ask one another, Where is the place of His glory?"²⁵⁶ Concerning it David said, "O you who dwell in the shelter of the Most High and abide in the protection of Shaddai," *yoshev be-seter'elyon be-sel shaddai yitlonan* (Ps. 91:1). [The word] *be-seter* has the numerical value of Akatriel.²⁵⁷ [The expression] *be-sel shaddai yitlonan* has the letters of *bi-selot shaddai nalun*²⁵⁸ as well as the letters *selot denan yesh lo*,²⁵⁹ for the prayer is the *selota'* of the Holy One, blessed be He. It sits to the left of the Holy One, blessed be He, like a bride by the bridegroom, and it is called the daughter of the king (*bat melekh*). Occasionally, on account of the mission it is called the daughter of the voice (*bat qol*) . . . this is the tenth kingship (*malkhut'asirit*) and it is the secret of all secrets (*sod kol ha-sodot*).²⁶⁰

In his discussion of this text, Scholem mentioned a second passage in which it is asserted that the "Presence of the Creator is called daughter . . . and it is the tenth *sefirah* and the kingship (*malkhut*) for the crown of kingship (*keter malkhut*) is upon His head."²⁶¹

Although in the revised English version of Scholem's *Origins of the Kabbalah* there is a parenthetical remark that introduces this second passage as found "in a commentary on the name of forty-two letters, attributed to Hai Gaon,"²⁶² the fact of the matter is that this passage is found in the section of *Sefer ha-Hokhmah* written by Eleazar himself and not in the introduction that comprises the pseudepigraphic commentaries on the divine names.²⁶³ It should be noted that in another context in the same work Scholem cites the relevant passage and correctly asserts that it is

part of *Sefer ha-Hokhmah* in which the seventy-three gates of interpretation are explained.²⁶⁴ It is worthwhile to cite a third passage from this text noted as well by Scholem²⁶⁵:

When Moses our master requested before the Holy One, blessed be He, "Show me Your glory" (Exod. 33:18), He said to him: "No man shall see Me and live" (ibid., 20). Even so you have found favor in My eye and thus I will reveal to you My shoe (*pazmeqe*) that I have not shown to any prophet. This is the import of the verse, "With him I speak mouth to mouth, plainly and not in riddles, and he beholds the likeness of the Lord" (Num. 12:8), for He showed him by way of the luminous speculum His shoe, and it is the supernal crown (*keter'elyon*) called the tenth kingship (*malkhut'asirit*).²⁶⁶

From these three passages it may be concluded that the crown is described in concepts and motifs characteristic of theosophic kabbalistic symbolism.²⁶⁷ More precisely, according to the different Ashkenazi traditions transmitted in the pseudo-Hai commentary on the forty-two-letter name of God that is included in *Sefer ha-Hokhmah* one may derive the following chain of symbolic images: the diadem (*'atarah*) = Presence (*Shekhinah*) = glory (*kavod*) = prayer (*tefillah* or *selota'*) = bride (*kallah*) = king's daughter (*bat melekh*) = voice of revelation (called by the technical expression, *bat qol*, daughter of the voice) = tenth kingship (*malkhut'asirit*) or *sefirah* = shoe of God (*pazmeqe*) = angel of the Lord (*mal'akh yhwh*) = image of God (*temunatyhwh*) = supernal crown (*keter'elyon*). It is important to emphasize, as I have already intimated, that several of these protokabbalistic images recur in other passages in *Sefer ha-Hokhmah* that were unquestionably authored by Eleazar of Worms, as well as in other texts written by Eleazar or the disciples that were closest to him.²⁶⁸ Thus, for example, there is the key passage in *Sefer ha-Hokhmah* that, as I noted above, Scholem himself had cited. The fuller text reads as follows:

Thus [the word *bere'shit* can be read as] *ro'sh bat*, for the *Shekhinah* of the Creator is called daughter (*bat*), as it says, "I was with Him" (Prov. 8:30),²⁶⁹ [this refers to the *Shekhinah*. [The Aramaic] *mitravyah* has the letters of *bartheih*²⁷⁰ and she is called the tenth *sefirah* and *malkhut*, for the crown of royalty (*keter malkhut*) is upon His head. So too [the word *bere'shit* can be read as] *yir'at shav*, this is the Torah, as it says, "The fear of the Lord is pure" (Ps. 119:10), and it is written, "I was with Him a confidant"

(Prov. 8:30). She was moving about in the heights, and she rose and sat upon His lap like a daughter . . . [the word] *'ehyeh* through a "t ba"sh is TSMS that numerically equals *keter* (crown)"²⁷¹ . . . This is the import of the verse, "His head is finest gold," *ro'sho ketem paz* (Song of Songs 5:11) . . . the word *ketem* is an acrostic for *keter* (crown), *torah* (teaching), *malkhut* (kingship). The Holy One, blessed be He, is glorified by His people, Israel . . . and when they answer [in the *qaddish*], "Amen, let Your great name [be blessed]," then the prayer rises to be a crown on the head of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the Holy One, blessed be He, says to her: Sit at My right side, and for her sake the world was created."²⁷²

A similar sequence of images is repeated in a second passage in *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*, again from the part of the text written by Eleazar himself: "[The word] *bere'shit* [the first and last] letters [*bet* and *taw*] spell *bat* (daughter), and she is the community of Israel (*keneset yisra'el*) who is called daughter (*bat*) . . . as well as *bat qol* (daughter of the voice) for the voice of the prayer of the daughter of Israel (*qol tefillat bat yisra'el*) ascends to the head of the Creator and sits next to Him like a daughter that is called the *Shekhinah*. This is the import of the verse, 'O you who dwell in the shelter of the Most High,' *yoshev be-seter'elyon* (Ps. 91:1), [the word] *be-seter* has the letters *bat sar*, for he is the archon (*sar*) who receives the daughter (*bat*)."²⁷³ In another Ashkenazi text, already discussed by Idel,²⁷⁴ the protokabbalistic motifs are equally salient:

The prayer ascends to the firmament that is upon their heads"²⁷⁵ and goes and sits upon the head of the Holy One, blessed be He, and becomes a crown for Him . . . for the prayer sits as a crown . . . The crown of the Holy One, blessed be He, is 600,000 parasangs, corresponding to the 600,000 Israelites, and the name of the crown is "Sariel" (the letters *yisra'el*, Israel) and its numerical value is that [of the expression] *tefillah'av'ehad*,"²⁷⁶ for one father arranges a crown out of the prayers. When the crown ascends they run and bow down, and rush to place their crowns on [the firmament of]'Aravot, and offer Him kingship. "Above the expanse over their heads was the semblance of a throne, in appearance like sapphire; and on top, upon this semblance of a throne, there was the semblance of a human form" (Ezek. 1:26). Thus the prayers [that are] crowns that ascend to the throne are like a throne, and the throne is made out of sapphire stone."²⁷⁷

The content of this passage is based on ancient traditions regarding the crown of glory whose name is Israel insofar as it is made of the prayers of Israel. The name given to the crown according to the Ashkenazi tradition cited above is Sariel, which is composed of the same letters as the name Israel.²⁷⁸ We have already seen that in several places in his writings Eleazar identifies the crown made from the prayers of Israel as the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne. It may be surmised that the crown is called Jacob inasmuch as the latter is another name for Israel, the accepted name for the crown in the older sources. It is noteworthy as well that in the anonymous Ashkenazi text cited above, the crown itself is described as a throne in a way that parallels the description in Eleazar's writings of Jacob's image as a throne.²⁷⁹ Insofar as the crown and the throne are characterized respectively as feminine, and the image of Jacob is the crown and/or the throne, it follows that the image of Jacob assumes a feminine personality in the esoteric doctrine espoused by Eleazar of Worms. Confirmation of my interpretation is found in a second motif that Eleazar employs to describe the image of Jacob. I am referring to the identification of Jacob's image as the cherub, alluded to particularly by the expression '*appe zutre*, as noted above. It is clear from a careful reading of Eleazar's compositions that the relationship between the supernal glory and the image of Jacob, which is the cherub, is instructive of the relationship between the upper and the lower glories. Can it be concluded, therefore, that according to the esoteric teaching of Eleazar the relation of the two glories should be explained as the union of male and female? In

my opinion, it is indeed possible that this is the esoteric doctrine to which Eleazar alludes on several occasions, but always in language that is sufficiently concealing.

Before I offer proof for my reading of the Ashkenazi sources, it is important to bear in mind the talmudic tradition attributed to R. Qatina regarding the masculine and feminine natures of the cherubim.²⁸⁰ One of the key passages in which Eleazar utilizes this imagery is his commentary on the expression *u-khe-milat ma'or*, "like the circumcision of the foreskin," in *Sefer Yesirah* 1:3: "The foreskin, as it is written, 'In order to gaze upon their nakedness,' *lema'an habit'al me orehem* (Hab. 2:15), 'as the clear space on each allowed with spirals roundabout,' *ke-ma'ar'ish we-loyot saviv* (1 Kings 7:36), for [the cherubim] were in the Temple to increase the procreation of Israel."²⁸¹ There is no doubt that behind the words of Eleazar stands the talmudic tradition according to which the cherubim were both masculine and feminine. However, according to Eleazar, the formulation regarding the cherubim that is more appropriate to commit to writing is the passage in *Midrash Tadshe* that establishes the correlation between the cherubim

and the two names of God, YHWH and Elohim.²⁸² Thus, for example, in the conclusion of his commentary on *Sefer Yesirah* he writes: "The two cherubim correspond to YHWH and Elohim."²⁸³ Similarly, in a passage from *Hilkhot Hasidut*, published in the beginning of *Sefer haRoqeah*, Eleazar mentions the text from *Midrash Tadshe*, but he adds the connection between the cherubim and the divine names and attributes:

"I make Myself known to him in a vision" (Num. 12:6). [The word] *keruvim* ("cherubim") has the numerical value of *mar'eh kavod* ("appearance of the glory"). In *Midrash Tadshe* [it says] the two cherubim correspond to YHWH Elohim, the unity of His name (*yihud shemo*) .. YHWH through a't ba"sh is MSP"S. MSP"S has the numerical value of *be-rahamim* ("with mercy"). This unity is the attribute of mercy (*yihud zo middat ha-rahamim*) . . . YW"D H"Y W"W H"Y AL"F DL"T NW"N YW"D"²⁸⁴ has the numerical value of [the expression] *zeh hu' ha-rahamanut* ("this is mercifulness")²⁸⁵ . . . Elohim has the numerical value of *zeh dayyan* ("this is the judge").²⁸⁶ Elohehu ("our God") has the numerical value of *ha-dan yehidi* ("the one who judges alone").²⁸⁷ Know that the Lord (YHWH) is God (Elohim).²⁸⁸

It appears from this that the cherubim correspond to the two divine names, the Tetragrammaton and Elohim, and they symbolize the attributes of mercy and judgment. The unity of the two names and presumably the unity of the two cherubim-symbolizes the unity of the two attributes. Furthermore, Eleazar maintains that within this unity the attribute of judgment is itself changed into mercy.²⁸⁹ Eleazar alludes to this in his statement that the *shem ha-meforash* (Tetragrammaton) and the *kinnuy* (Adonai) both refer to mercy. Complete and perfect unity is alluded to as well in the last comment that YHWH is Elohim: the attribute of mercy is the attribute of judgment. It is appropriate to note that Eleazar understood the function and being of the cherubim in light of the numerical equivalence of the word *keruvim* and the expression *mar'eh kavod*, the appearance of the glory, a numerology whose source is in the writings attributed to Judah the Pious;²⁹⁰ the implication of this numerology is that the glory is revealed through the cherubim. The unity of the divine names-and one may suppose that alluded to here as

well is the unity of the two cherubim signifies the unity of the attributes of mercy and judgment. In this unity the attribute of judgment is transformed into mercy. Eleazar alludes to this notion as well in *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*: "YHWH

in a "t ba"sh is MSP"S whose numerical value is *be-rahamim*,²⁹¹ so too Elohim written out in full is AL"F LM"D H"Y YW"D M"M whose numerical value is *be-rahamim*.²⁹² Thus the name is one."²⁹³ A careful examination indicates that Eleazar has combined the tradition that appears in *Midrash Tadshe*, based on a correlation between the cherubim and the names YHWH and Elohim, with another tradition according to which the cherubim correspond to the name YHWH repeated twice or to the name YHWH and the appellation Adonai. Eleazar, like his earlier Ashkenazi sources, expressed this correlation as well in terms of the image of the name being engraved on the forehead of each cherub. Sometimes this is expressed in terms of the Tetragrammaton being engraved on the forehead of both cherubim; other times it is stated that one cherub corresponds to the Tetragrammaton and the other to Adonai. The tradition that I have unfolded is attested in one of the extensive theosophic compositions that Dan²⁹⁴ attributes to Judah the Pious:

Moreover, the appellation of the name YHWH is Adonai [spelled in the plene form: ADWNY] on account of the name YW"D H"E, for all the commandments come forth out of the specified letters, such as YW"D H"E WA"W [of the name YHWH] DL"T NW"N YW"D [of the name] Adonai [written out in full]. The only [letters] to be counted are L"F L"T W"N W"D"²⁹⁵ [= 606] If you place the '*alef*' [= 1] from H"E [of the name YHWH] upon them [together with the *waw* of W"W which = 6] then the sum equals 613 corresponding to all the commandments, the 365 negative commandments and the 248 positive commandments [The name] is written YW"D H"E [YHWH] and pronounced AL"F DL"T [Adonai] AL"F DL"T NW"N YW"D H"E This is [the import of the verse] "The Lord God gave me a skilled tongue" (Isa. 50:4)."²⁹⁶ Therefore this name [Adonai YHWH] was mentioned, for all the commandments are alluded to in the explicit name [YHWH] and in the appellation [Adonai] to indicate that His name and the appellation are resting in the ark, and the cherubim are above [it], one corresponding to the name and the other to the appellation, and the commandments are in the ark and the Torah scroll is there. It is written, "the Ark of God to which the Name was attached, the name Lord of Hosts Enthroned on the Cherubim" (2 Sam. 6:2). Therefore, one who studies all the commandments and fulfills them, his soul is bound under the throne of glory,"²⁹⁷ as it is written, "the life of my lord

will be bound up in the bundle of life" (1 Sam. 25:29)." . . . Therefore, [the expression] *yhwh'elohe yisra'el* ("Lord, God of Israel"), has the numerical value of 613. [This signifies that] He is the God of those who receive the entire Torah.²⁹⁸

What is most intriguing about this passage is that the two cherubim correspond to the explicit name and its appellation, respectively the graphic and aural form of the name, and in them are comprised all the 613 traditional commandments. From other passages in the same text, the numerology by means of which this is established is set out more clearly: the hidden letters (*ne elam*) of the word Adonai (the L" F of *alef*, L" T of *dalet*, W" N of *nun*, and W" D of *yod*) equal 606. To this sum are added the *ne'elam* of two letters of the Tetragrammaton,²⁹⁹ the *alef* from the *he'* and *waw* from the *waw*, that equal 7. Hence, the sum of the two names equals 613, the number of the commandments. From this numerical play it may be deduced that all the commandments are dependent upon the two names that correspond further to the two cherubim. According to another passage of the same work this is the significance of the esoteric tradition that the Torah is entirely the name of God³⁰⁰:

With regard to AL" F DL" T NW" N YW" D, take the hidden letters L" F L" T W" N W" D and you get a sum of 606. Take from the name as it is written [YHWH] the *alef* from *he'* and the *waw* from *waw* [1 + 6] and place them upon the others and the result is 613 . . . Why is the number 613 alluded to in the name? On account of the fact that it is written, "If you fail to observe faithfully all the terms of this teaching (*torah*) that are written in this book, to reverence this honored and awesome Name, the Lord your God" (Deut. 28:58). Thus the entire Torah is dependent upon the glorious name. . . and the entire Torah is weighed in the name . . . and this is [the import of the verse] "[the Ark of God] to which the Name was attached, the name Lord of Hosts Enthroned on the Cherubim" (2 Sam. 6:2). The explicit name was written on the forehead of the cherubim,³⁰¹ and this is [the meaning of] "the name Lord of Hosts Enthroned on the Cherubim."³⁰² According to this Ashkenazi tradition, the 613 commandments contained in the explicit name and the appellation that correspond to the cherubim are also alluded to in the expression "Lord, God of Israel," *yhwh'elohe yisra'el*, whose numerical value is 613.³⁰³ As may

be gathered from other passages in the same text, this expression is a technical term that refers to the divine glory when it is visually manifest to human beings. For example, one passage says: "The angel who receives the prayers says a name on the crown and it rises of itself to the head of the glory that appears to the prophets of Israel, 'And they saw the God of Israel' (Exod. 24:10)." ³⁰⁴ It follows that within the glory itself the two cherubim or names are unified, and the unity of the latter comprises the 613 commandments, or the entire Torah. This matter is alluded to in yet another passage where theurgical significance is imparted to human action:

"Thus says the Lord, the God of Israel:³⁰⁵ this name "God of Israel," *yhwh'elohe yisra'el*, has the numerical value of 613, [the term "God" appears] together with "Israel" for [God] is not called by this name except when they fulfill the 613 commandments. When there is this name, "God of Israel," He would speak from the glory, for in Ezekiel the glory is united with the God of Israel, even though in one place he mentions this name "God of Israel" corresponding to the glory."³⁰⁶

When the glory is in a state of fullness in the language of Eleazar the "glory that is augmented," *kavod ha-mitrabbeh*³⁰⁷ it comprises the two names, YHWH and Adonai, that correspond to the cherubim. The relationship between the glory and the name "God of Israel," on the one hand, and with the cherubim on the other, is established in the following Pietistic commentary on the theophany described in Exod. 24:9-10:

"Then Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy elders of Israel ascended; and they saw the God of Israel." The explanation of this whole matter is that the cherubim were below and the God of Israel above them, for it is written, "Then the glory of the Lord left the platform of the House" (Ezek. 10:18), for without cherubim it is written the "glory of the Lord" (*kevod yhwh*) but afterwards "the glory of the God of Israel above them, that was the creature that I had seen below the God of Israel" (ibid., 19-20). It is written, "And the glory of the God of Israel appeared there, like the vision that I had seen in the valley" (ibid., 8:4). The cherub lifted [its wing] (cf. ibid., 10:19) until [the point that] "the glory of the God of Israel had moved from the cherub on which it had rested" (ibid., 9:3). "And there, coming from the east with a roar like the roar of mighty waters,

was the glory of the God of Israel" (ibid. 43:2). It is written, "The sound of the cherub's³⁰⁸ wings could be heard" (ibid., 10:5), "I could hear the sound of their wings like the sound of mighty waters" (ibid., 1:24). Thus [the title] the "glory of the God of Israel" (*kevod'elohe yisra'el*) [is used] when He is upon the cherubim, but when He is not upon the cherubim it is written the "glory of the Lord" (*kevod yhwh*). Therefore, "under the feet" of the God of Israel "was the likeness of a pavement of sapphire" (Exod. 24:10). And it is written "in appearance like sapphire" (Ezek. 1:26), for such were the cherubim and the creatures.³⁰⁹

The mounting of the glory upon the cherub (called as well by the plural form cherubim or by an alternative designation the creature) transposes the status of the glory from the "glory of the Lord" to the "glory of the God of Israel."³¹⁰ In my opinion there is an allusion here to a sexual mythologization of the divine powers³¹¹: the glory is joined with the cherub upon which he rides.³¹² As will be seen below, the sexual connotation of this image is more clearly expressed in the writings of Eleazar. In any event, the number 613, which corresponds to the traditional number of commandments, is alluded to in the Tetragrammaton and its appellation, YHWH and Adonai, associated with the cherubim, and they assume the name "Lord, God of Israel," a special designation of the enthroned glory. Indeed, the glory receives the name "Lord, God of Israel" only when Israel fulfills the commandments. In other words, the unity of the names within the glory symbolized by the title "Lord, God of Israel" is dependent upon the actions of Israel below. Even though the author of the above text has not elaborated on the matter, it is entirely clear that operative here is a definite theurgic element: imparted to the Jewish people is the task of influencing the image of the glory. The notion that through the performance of the commandments the Jew unites the two divine names, which correspond to the two cherubim, is alluded to in another passage in the same composition:

The hidden letters [in the names "YHWH" and "Adonai"] equal 613 corresponding to the positive and negative commandments, for whoever keeps the commandments has a God, and the names [are united] through his assistance, "[the Ark of God] to which the Name was attached, the name Lord of Hosts Enthroned on the Cherubim" (2 Sam. 6:2). The name is found there for the commandments are in the ark, for whoever establishes [the unity of] Adonai [and] YHWH, one name is upon him from the right and one

name from the left . . . for one of these two names was on the forehead of one cherub and the other on the second cherub. Since they correspond to the commandments it is said, "The Lord God ³¹³ gave me a skilled tongue" (Isa. 50:4).³¹⁴

The containment of the 613 commandments (the representation of the Torah in its entirety from a ritualistic perspective) in the title "Lord, God of Israel" and in the two names, Adonai and YHWH, which correspond to the cherubim, is found as well in the writings of Eleazar. Thus, for example, we read in *Hokhmat ha-Nefesh*: "[The expression]'Lord, God of Israel' (*yhwh'elohe yisra'el*) has the numerical value of 613 for all the commandments should be interpreted in relation to the image (*demut*) above."³¹⁵ From the continuation of this text, it is clear that the subject of the discussion is the primordial supernal image that stands before the throne of glory. The correlation between the 613 commandments and the two divine names appears in a passage in Eleazar's *Sefer ha-Shem* that is essentially a reworking of the numerology discussed above as it is found in the text attributed to Judah the Pious:

AL"FDL"TNW"NW"WWYW"D Adonai [spelled ADWNY]. One should not consider the principal but rather that which derives from it. L"FL"TW"WN"WD [30+80+30+400+6+6+50+6+4= 612] If one places the *alef* from the *he'* [of YHWH] upon them then the sum amounts to 613 corresponding to 613 commandments, 365 prohibitions and 248 proscriptions. Why [is the divine name] written *yod-he'* [YHWH] and called *alef-dalet* [Adonai]? For they [the two names together] bear the 613 commandments Therefore all the commandments are alluded to in the explicit name [YHWH] and the appellation [Adonai] to indicate that His name and His appellation were placed in the ark and the cherubim were above, one corresponding to the name and the other to the appellation, and the commandments were in the ark as was the Torah scroll, as it is written, "[the Ark of God] to which the Name was attached, the name Lord of Hosts Enthroned on the Cherubim" (2 Sam. 6:2). Therefore, he who studies all the commandments and fulfills them, his soul is bound in the bundle of life beneath the throne of glory.³¹⁶ As I indicated above, the words of Eleazar are based on the passage that I cited from the anonymous Pietistic text, but his calculation is somewhat different: he counts the full spelling of the word

ADWNY instead of ADNY and thus he needs to add only an *'alef* from the letter *he'* of the Tetragrammaton in order to get the desired sum of 613.³¹⁷ In another context Eleazar reiterates this whole theme but cites scriptural verses that in other places he cites in conjunction with the motif of the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne:

"Do not dishonor Your glorious throne" (Jer. 14:21); the throne of judgment and the throne of mercy for the throne was divided into two . . . Upon the throne of judgment was inscribed the explicit name and so too upon the throne of mercy as well as upon the foreheads of the cherubim, as it says, "[the Ark of God] to which the Name was attached, the name Lord of Hosts Enthroned on the Cherubim" (2 Sam. 6:2). And corresponding to it are the two names . . . for the name is upon the throne of judgment and the throne of mercy, and corresponding to them [the names are] upon the cherubim. This is [the import of the verse] "He has cast down from heaven to earth the majesty of Israel, He did not remember His footstool" (Lam. 2:1). And this "For Your name's sake, do not dishonor us; Do not dishonor Your glorious throne" (Jer. 14:21).³¹⁸

The fact that, exegetically, Eleazar cites in this passage in relation to the throne the very verses that he often cites when discussing the motif of the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne is not a coincidental or insignificant point. On the contrary, implicit here, as I have suggested in a number of other texts, is the identification of Jacob's image as the throne. Moreover, as I have also noted above, the image of Jacob engraved on the throne is utilized by Eleazar as a symbol for the union of the two divine names or attributes, both of which are correlated with the cherubim. This motif is also expressed by Eleazar in terms of the throne itself being split into two, one of judgment, and the other of mercy.³¹⁹

In other words, according to Eleazar, the image of Jacob is the cherub that comprises two cherubim,³²⁰ the two attributes symbolized by the two names (either YHWH Elohim or YHWH Adonai). Support for my reconstruction may be found in the following comment in *Sefer ha-Shem*: "YHWH has the numerical value of 26 and it is called Adonai, which has the numerical value of 65. Thus the sum is 91. Hence, the two names [i.e., 2 x the 2 names] equals Jacob [*ya'aqov* = 182]."³²¹

The numerology of the name *ya'aqov* is 182, which is the numerical value of the two names (YHWH and Adonai) multiplied by two (26 and 65 = 91 x 2 = 182). What Eleazar expressed in this rather simple numerology is that within Jacob the two names, which corre-

spond to the two attributes and the cherubim, are united. This is an alternative way of saying that Jacob is the cherub that comprises the two cherubim or the one throne that is divided into a throne of mercy and a throne of judgment. Eleazar alludes to this matter in his *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, although without any connection to the motif of the image of Jacob:

Three times [in the qedushah prayer is mentioned the word] barukh (blessed): le-umotam barukh is one. Barkuh kevod yhwh is two. Barukh'atah yhwh is three. These correspond to the three verses wherein the glory is mentioned in close proximity to the cherubim, and they are: (1) "Then the glory of the Lord left the platform of the House and stopped above the cherubim" (Ezek. 10:18). (2) "And I saw the cherubim lift

their wings and rise from the earth, with the wheels beside them as they departed . . . with the glory of the God of Israel above them" (ibid., 19). (3) "Then the cherubim, with the wheels beside them, lifted their wings, while the glory of the God of Israel rested above them" (ibid., 11:22) The two [references in the *qedushah* to] the glory (*kavod*) are (1) "His glory fills all the earth"³²² and (2) "Blessed be the glory of the Lord." These correspond to two visions, [that of] *Elohim* [and that of] *YHWH*, the face of mercy (*panim rahamanut*) and the face of anger (*panim ze umot*).³²³ Two times [the word] glory (*kavod*) is near [the word] cherub (*keruv*),³²⁴ and it is not written cherubim (*keruvim*): (1) "Now the glory of the God of Israel had moved from the cherub" (ibid., 9:8), and (2) "the glory of the Lord moved from the cherub" (ibid., 10:4)."³²⁵

In another passage Eleazar expresses the same idea but compares Jacob to the *hashmal*, the latter also symbolizing the appearance of the glory³²⁶ and the cherubim: "'When the Ark was to set out,' *wayehi bi-neso a ha-'aron* (Num. 10:35). [The word] *bi-neso'a* has the numerical value of *ya'aqov*.³²⁷ 'They had the figures of human beings' (Ezek. 1:5) . . . and thus [the word] *bi-neso'a* through [the linguistic device of] a "t ba"sh is *hashmal*, for everyone follows him and the depth of the *hashmal* . . . and the appearance of His glory is in the likeness of the *hashmal*, half of him fire and the other half hail."³²⁸ It may be concluded, therefore, that according to the esoteric teaching of Eleazar, the image of Jacob has a masculine and a feminine aspect.³²⁹ As we have seen, the androgynous quality of that image is expressed in terms of the two cherubim and the split throne. Nonetheless, in relation to the supernal glory, the image of Jacob is described in

feminine characteristics, and the relationship between the image and the glory is like that of a female to a male.

In the following key passage from Eleazar's commentary on the liturgy, there is, in my opinion, an allusion to the sexual dynamic between the two glories. The relevant comment is an interpretation of the verses, "Blow the horn on the new moon, on the full moon for our feast day. For it is law for Israel, a ruling of the God of Jacob" (Ps. 81:4-5), recited as part of the additional service (*musaf*) on Rosh ha-Shanah:

"Blow the horn on the new moon" [comprises] thirteen words corresponding to the thirteen attributes . . . for the Holy One, blessed be He, is filled with mercy on account of the ram's horn (*shofar*), through the merit of the thirteen letters in [the names of] the patriarchs of the world [The] ten commandments [comprise] 172 words, and the ten [verses included in the section known as the] *shoferot* are mentioned in order to recall the merit of Jacob³³⁰ . . . on account of the fact that He kisses the image of Jacob by means of the sound of the ram's horn. Thus did R. Eleazar Qallir compose in the poem in the *qedushah* of Rosh haShanah³³¹ from the words *we-qara' zeh'el zeh we-'amar* until *le-'umat kisse' le-'umatam barukh yo meru* 182 [spelled out as *ya'aqov*] words, for Jacob is in it [the throne] This is [the allusion of the verse] "His left hand" (Song of Songs 2:6) Israel.³³² . . . Since the image of Jacob is upon the throne, as it is written, "They saw the God of Israel and under His feet" (Exod. 24:10), "like the appearance" (*ke-mar'eh*),³³³ i.e., Israel. "Under His feet," this is "He did not remember His footstool on His day of wrath" (Lam. 2:1). Therefore, by means of the blowing of the ram's horn He sees the image of Jacob and changes into His mercy. The divine king sits upon the throne of

mercy.³³⁴ "He mounted a cherub" (2 Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:11), from Jacob (*mi-ya'aqov*).³³⁵ "A ruling of the God of Jacob" (Ps. 81:5). The glory above the glory. This cannot be explained further.³³⁶

Again, we see that Eleazar identifies the image of Jacob with the God of Israel and the cherub, but here he adds the motif that this image is the personification of the attribute of mercy. Specifically, when Israel blows the ram's horn below, the divine glory looks upon the image of Jacob and is filled with mercy. The idea that the blowing of the ram's horn effects a transformation of God's attribute of judgment to mercy is a standard rabbinic theme expressed in classical midrashic

sources.³³⁷ On the other hand, the connection between the image of Jacob and the attribute of mercy or compassion is a well-known motif in Palestinian-Ashkenazi *piyyut* literature. Thus, for example, the Ashkenazi *payyetan*, Simeon bar Isaac wrote in one of his penitential poems (*selihot*):

melekh'al kisse'
le-'amo yehi mahseh
*we-yabit be-surat tam haquqah va-kisse'.*³³⁸

King upon the throne,
be compassionate toward Your people,
and look upon the form of the mild one³³⁹ engraved on the
throne.

In a similiar vein we read in a *silluq* for the morning prayer of the first day of Rosh ha-Shanah:

'im yas'ah gezerah dehuqah
lehabelyoshve'arqa'
be-vuqah u-mevuqah u-mevullaqah
*histakkel ba-ta vnit'asher be-kisse' haquqah.*³⁴⁰

If a pressing decree goes forth,
to destroy the inhabitants of the earth,
in desolation, devastation, and destruction,"³⁴¹
He looks upon the form that is engraved on the throne.

In the poem of Eleazar Qallir incorporated in the additional service (*musaf*) for Rosh ha-Shanah, to which Eleazar of Worms himself referred in the aforesaid passage, there is established a precise connection between the image of Jacob and the transformation of God's judgment into mercy by means of the blowing of the ram's horn:

*qol shofar le-'et ya'al me'ahez pene kisse'
rahamim yalis be-'ad reshumim ba-kisse'
shofet'im yirseh shevet be-'ulam ha-kisse'
tavnit tam yifen haquqah ba-kisse'.*³⁴²

The sound of the ram's horn rises and it holds on to the
face of the throne,
It advocates for mercy on behalf of those inscribed on the
throne,
If the Judge wishes to sit in the throne portico,³⁴³
Let Him look at the form of the mild one engraved upon
the throne.

There is no doubt that these sources and others influenced Eleazar.³⁴⁴ However, in Eleazar's writings the image of Jacob is transformed into a mythical depiction of the attribute of mercy. Eleazar returns to this image frequently in his compositions, in some cases without any connection to the issue of blowing the ram's horn on Rosh ha-Shanah. Thus, for example, he writes in *Sefer ha-Shem*: "He sees the face of Jacob opposite Him upon the throne and He is merciful. This is [the import of the verse]'Do not dishonor Your glorious throne' (Jer. 14:21)."³⁴⁵ Similarly, he writes in *Sefer ha-Roqeah*: "When Israel pray, the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne advocates [before God on their behalf], 'But You are holy, enthroned upon the praises of Israel' (Ps. 22:4), Israel the elder."³⁴⁶ And in somewhat different language in his commentary on the chariot: "The [image of the] eagle seeing [indicates] that the glory will be merciful, [as it is written]'Like an eagle who rouses his nestlings, gliding down to his young' (Deut. 32:11). The glory immediately looks at the face of the human, the image of Jacob, and has mercy on them."³⁴⁷

What is important to note for our deliberation is that Eleazar describes the act of God's looking upon the image of Jacob as equivalent to the process of the glory sitting upon the throne of mercy, here expressed in terms of the liturgical formula: '*el melekh yoshev'al kisse' rahamim*."³⁴⁸ This matter is alluded to as well in the verse, "He rode upon a cherub," which means, according to Eleazar, "He rode upon Jacob." That is to say, sitting upon the throne and riding upon the cherub signify the same phenomenon, also characterized as God looking upon the image of Jacob. All of these metaphorical expressions poetically describe a propitious time when the attribute of mercy is aroused before the throne. The full mythos of these poetic images is laid bare in a passage in another anonymous Pietistic work, *Sefer haQolot*,³⁴⁹ in which the removal of the glory from the cherub is described as the nullification of divine mercy: "'Now the glory of the God of Israel had moved from the cherub on which it had rested' (Ezek. 9:3) when it was [in the state of being]'enthroned upon the cherub.' It is written'had moved' so that He would not have mercy."³⁵⁰ The erotic relationship between God (or the glory) and Jacob's image upon the throne is alluded to in the verse, "a ruling of the God of Jacob," as well as in Nathan ben Yehiel's famous statement concerning the "glory above the glory."³⁵¹ The upper glory is

the king designated as *mishpat*, and the lower glory is the throne or cherub called *'elohe ya'aqov*, "the God of Jacob." It seems to me that the king's sitting upon the throne and the riding upon the cherub are euphemistic depictions of the sexual union between the masculine and the feminine potencies within the divine pleroma.³⁵² That something secretive is

being transmitted in the case of Eleazar is obvious from the concluding remark of the passage, "This cannot be explained further." This formula is highly unusual for Eleazar who, as we know, wrote extensive treatises that run hundreds of folios in manuscript.³⁵³ Eleazar uses this language here because of the highly sensitive matter that he is divulging. I would like to suggest, moreover, that this matter involves the union between the upper and the lower glories (or the glory and the throne or cherub) that may be characterized as the union between male and female. It is appropriate to cite here the other passage of Eleazar to which I referred at the outset of this study, for in that context too the esotericism connected to the motif of the image of Jacob engraved on the throne is emphasized, although without any allusion to a sexual component: "In the Trisagion are nine words corresponding to the nine appearances (*mar'ot*) before the great glory [alluded to] in nine places in Scripture,³⁵⁴ for the image of Jacob is engraved upon the throne. Everything should not be explained except orally to the man who fears his Creator at all times."³⁵⁵

It may be concluded, therefore, that Eleazar utilized the image of God riding upon the cherub or that of the king sitting upon the throne to hint at the most subtle and sensitive theosophical secret that involved the erotic union in the realm of the chariot. This secret is intimated in the following passage in *Sefer ha-Shem*:

"God's chariots are myriads upon myriads, thousands upon thousands" (Ps. 68:18). "[The Lord] mounted on a swift cloud" (Isa. 19:1). "He mounted a cherub and flew" (2 Sam. 22:11), for he flew by the spirit through 18,000 worlds."³⁵⁶ [The angels] ask that cherub, "Where is the place of His glory?" He rides upon the cherub until the extremity of the worlds, beyond the universe. The cherub flies to those 18,000 worlds. "No eye has seen [them], O God, but You" (Isa. 64:3). [The angels] ask the cherub to which world he has turned for the praises are in accordance with the worlds. [The cherub] shows the prophets the mounting [of the glory] (*we-hu' mar'eh la-nevi'im rekhivah*). When the high priest enters the innermost [Holy of Holies] his face changes in the manner of "And God created man in His image, in the image of God" (Gen. 1:27). "The Lord, our God, the Lord is one" (Deut. 6:4) it is not possible for there to be two images (*temunot*) with the glory. "As face answers to face in water so does one man's heart to another" (Prov. 27:19). "I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine" (Song of Songs 6:3). "My beloved is mine and I am his" (ibid., 2:16). "The

Lord would speak to Moses face to face" (Exod. 33:11), when he was in the innermost [chamber] his face changed. Similarly with respect to the prophets it is written, "Haggai, the angel of the Lord" (Hag. 1:13), and it is written, "But they mocked the angels of God" (2 Chron. 36:16), and it is written, "for he is an angel of the Lord of Hosts" (Mal. 2:7)."³⁵⁷

In this extraordinary web of exegesis Eleazar expresses both the dynamic relationship of the glory and the cherub and the ontic transformation of the high priest and prophet into an angel.³⁵⁸ The cherub is the vehicle of the glory's transport through the spiritual realms designated as the eighteen thousand worlds. Accordingly, the cherub alone possesses knowledge of the place of the glory, and only the cherub can show the prophets the secret of *rekhivah*, the mounting of the glory upon the cherub, which I interpret as a symbolic reference to enthronement. Most significant is Eleazar's reflection on the transformation of the face of the high priest that occurs when he enters the *sanctum sanctorum*: at that moment (which takes place only on Yom Kippur³⁵⁹) the face of the high priest changes into the angelic form, the image of God with which Adam was created (cf. Gen. 1:27). Although not stated explicitly in this context, one may assume on the basis of other passages in Eleazar's corpus that this transformation ensues as a result of the theurgical impact of the pronunciation of the divine name by the priest.³⁶⁰ This metamorphosis, which signifies the ontic assimilation of the high priest to the enthroned glory, also is instructive about the unity of God (cf. Deut. 6:4) represented by the pairing of the names YHWH and Elohim. That the reflection of the face of the glory in the face of the high priest (cf. Prov. 27:19) is a form of mystical union is attested by the citation of the relevant verses from Song of Songs, which clearly describe the erotic union between the male lover and the female beloved.³⁶¹ The unity of the (female) high priest and the (male) glory is a reflection of the union of the glory and the cherub that the high priest experiences the moment he enters the Holy of Holies.

In my opinion Eleazar alludes to the secret of the sacred union in his commentary on Ezekiel's chariot (according to the version in MS Mussajoff) and in the parallel in *Sod Ma'aseh Bereshit* cited above: "Thus Jacob receives the splendor (*hod*) when the prayer ascends." It can be demonstrated that the word "splendor" is a technical term in Eleazar (to be sure, based on earlier sources) that refers to the upper, invisible glory.³⁶² Hence, when the prayer ascends, the image of Jacob, the lower glory, receives the splendor, that is, the upper glory. From another perspective, this reception of the splendor from above, which

marks the union of the two glories, may be described by the motif of the crown another symbol for the image of Jacob ascending to the head of the glory.³⁶³ The unification of the upper male and the lower female is depicted simultaneously by opposite movements, the downward flow of the glorious splendor and the upward ascent of the luminous crown. The union of the two glories is also alluded to in the words of Eleazar in various sources that I have mentioned above: "Therefore it says in Song of Songs, 'His left hand

was under my head' (2:6), transpose [the letters of "under my head," *le-ro'shi* and read Israel (*yisra'el*)." The sexual implication of this exegetical gloss is most striking in a commentary on the relevant verse in Song of Songs attributed to Eleazar: "His left hand was under my head . . . for the glory embraces the image of Jacob on the throne of glory."³⁶⁴ This comment is obviously based on the passage from *Hekhalot Rabbati* mentioned above.³⁶⁵ In the authentic writings of Eleazar this passage is often cited or paraphrased.³⁶⁶ In almost all the relevant cases it seems that Eleazar understood the text from *Hekhalot Rabbati* in terms of the union of the upper masculine glory and the lower feminine glory called the "image of Jacob." On occasion Eleazar combines the passage from *Hekhalot Rabbati* with the verses that he ordinarily cites when discussing the union of the glory and the image of Jacob. To cite one example: "The image of Jacob is on the throne . . . 'And the Lord was standing above him' (Gen. 28:13) . . . Therefore, He kisses Jacob when [one says]'Holy, Holy, Holy,' as it is said in the *Hekhalot* . . . 'He mounts a cherub' (2 Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:11), i.e., Israel the elder."³⁶⁷ Another text from *Hokhmat ha-Nefesh* is particularly illuminating, for Eleazar combines the motif from *Hekhalot Rabbati* with the talmudic tradition concerning the male and the female cherubim: "He turns to the image and embraces the image of Jacob. And then the two cherubim were turned toward one another,'they faced each other' (Exod. 25:20, 37:9)."³⁶⁸ When the supernal glory turns in an erotic embrace toward the lower glory, the image of Jacob engraved on the throne, then the cherubim face one another, and just as the glory and the image of Jacob are male and female above, so too the cherubim below. An allusion to the sexual dynamic between the glory and Jacob's image is also found in two sources of Eleazar cited above in another context. The first is his poetic utterance *ga'awati le-tif'arti yisra'el menashsheq be-'orah/ demut pene'adam mehabbeq le-to'arah*,³⁶⁹ and the second is his exegetical gloss on "I am my beloved's, and his desire is for me" (Song of Songs 7:11): "This is to teach that the desire of the chariot (*ma'aseh merkavah*) is upon the image of Israel (*demut yisra'el*), and this is what is written upon Israel is His majesty,' *Cal yisra'el ga'awato* (Ps. 68:35)."³⁷⁰ Underlying both of these texts, as I

have noted above, is the relationship between the glory and the image of Jacob informed by the passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati*. Support for my interpretation can be gathered from another passage in Eleazar's commentary on the liturgy in which he expounds at length on the motif of the image of Jacob, but he again emphasizes that it alludes to a sublime secret that must be concealed. It is noteworthy that in this citation Eleazar relates to the text from *Hekhalot Rabbati* in two ways. On the one hand, he transfers the motif of the image of Jacob from the world of the chariot to the mundane community of Israel, yet, on the other hand, he reads the text in accordance with its contextual sense, that is, as a description of the supernal image of Jacob engraved upon the throne. After enumerating several additional issues pertaining to this motif, he emphasizes the essential secrecy of the matter:

"Let us stand in awe of You and sanctify You" as [it is written] "Men will hallow the Holy One of Jacob and stand in awe of the God of Israel" (Isa. 29:23). Why does it say the Holy One of Jacob and not the Holy One of Abraham or the Holy One of Isaac? Because Jacob is engraved on His throne of glory . . . When Israel sanctify their Creator with the intention of their hearts and their eyes are toward Him, He descends from His glorious chariot and kisses the [face of the] human on his mouth. Therefore, joy falls into the heart of the one who fears God during the *qedushah* and prayer, as it says in the *Hekhalot*.³⁷¹ . . . Whenever Israel says before Me "Holy," teach them and say to them: Lift your eyes to heaven, corresponding to your houses of worship, when you say before Me "Holy," for there is no other pleasure in all the world that I created like at that time . . . Bear witness to them regarding what I do to the visage of Jacob, their patriarch, engraved upon My throne of glory, for when they say before Me, "Holy," I bend down over it, embrace it, fondle it, and kiss it, and My hands are on My arms,³⁷² thrice daily, when you say before Me "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts." "Oh, give me of the kisses of your mouth" (Song of Songs 1:2). "His left hand was under my head, His right arm embraced me" (ibid., 2:6) . . . "God, who is in the power of Your strength, we will sanctify You" regarding the splendor below on the face of Jacob. I will write an example for you: "They saw the God of Israel" (Exod. 24:10), above as, for instance, "stand in awe of the God of Israel" (Isa. 29:23), the head of the crown that is Israel. "And under His feet" (Exod. 24:10), the Holy One of

Jacob. "I saw something like a *hashmaf*" (Ezek. 1:27), which the Targum renders, "I saw the likeness of the *hashmal*, like the appearance of fire from the midst of it round about, the appearance of the glory that no eye can see and upon which it is impossible to gaze, and below I saw the appearance of fire and a splendor surrounding it." "For man may not see Me and live" (Exod. 33:20). "And you will see My back" (ibid., 23). "And the skirts of His robe filled the Temple" (Isa. 6:1). Blessed be He and blessed be His glory who reveals His secret to those who fear Him, "to conceal a matter" (Prov. 25:2)."³⁷³

There are, finally, several passages where Eleazar alludes to the relationship between the image of Jacob and the upper glory in a definite theurgical context. Thus, for example, in his *Sod ha-Merkavah* he writes: "When Israel fulfill His will He adds splendor and glory upon the image of Jacob above, and when they do not fulfill His will, He cast down from heaven to earth the majesty of Israel" (Lam. 2:1).³⁷⁴ An exact parallel to this is found in Eleazar's *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, where he alludes as well to the sexual relation between the glory and the image of Jacob: "Thus the final [letters of the words] *kisse kha vod marom* (Jer. 17:12) spell Adam, to notify you that the glory is in the appearance of a human. When He is together with Israel in love, then the face of Jacob is shining in the majesty of the splendor of His glory, but when they do not perform according to His will, He cast down from heaven to earth the majesty of Israel" (Lam. 2:1).³⁷⁵ The glory appears as a human form when it is together with Israel in love, that is, when Israel fulfills the will of God through the proper performance of the commandments. In that moment the cherub or the lower glory symbolized by the face of Jacob unites with the upper glory. Eleazar alludes to this in the words: "shining in the majesty of the splendor of His glory." However, when Israel does not fulfill the will of God, then the lower glory the "majesty of Israel" is cast down from heaven to earth.

The following conclusions can be drawn from my analysis:

1. The motif in *Hekhalot Rabbati* of the image of Jacob engraved on the throne receives in Eleazar's writings a definite feminine characterization.³⁷⁶ In an earlier stage, it seems the image of

Jacob symbolized a masculine potency, either the supreme angel or the Logos second only to God. It is possible that already in *Hekhalot Rabbati* the image of Jacob assumes the new signification as a symbol for the feminine hypostasis in the world of the chariot. In any event, it appears that only in the esoteric teaching of the German Pietists, and principally in the writings of Eleazar, does the image of Jacob evolve into a symbol for the lower glory or the cherub.

2. In the esoteric theosophy of Eleazar the image of Jacob is called by various technical terms, including, *tiferet yisra'el* (majesty of Israel), *yisra'el sabba'* (Israel the elder), *'elohe yisra'el* (God of Israel), *catarah* (diadem), *'ahor shel ha-'el* (the back of God), or *temunat yhwah* (image of the Lord). Hence, the image of Jacob is the focal point of religious observance and this includes a theurgical element and of visionary experience (for prophet and Pietist alike). With respect to the theurgical orientation, I have shown that, according to the esoteric teaching of the German Pietists, the lower glory comprises the 613 commandments, and the task of the religious life is to aggrandize that glory by means of the fulfillment of the commandments. This expansion is also depicted as the unity of the two attributes, mercy and judgment, or the two names, YHWH and Adonai. It follows that, according to the esoteric teaching of the German Pietists, the secret of divine unity is the secret of the commandments: the ultimate purpose of religious ritual is to unify the two names of God that correspond to the two attributes contained in the glory designated as "Lord, the God of Israel."

3. The relation between the upper glory and the image of Jacob is depicted by Eleazar as the relation between male and female. Although he does not elaborate upon this in great detail, there are sufficient allusions in his writings to prove that in his theosophical worldview the dynamic in the divine realm is sexual in nature. Inasmuch as this is the case it may be concluded that in the Pietistic doctrine of the glory there are precise phenomenological and terminological parallels to the theosophic kabbalah. What is surely lacking in the Pietistic literature is a clear charting of the male and female potencies in terms of the *sefirot*, the hallmark of Provencal-Spanish kabbalah. But this should not mislead one into thinking that the main elements of theosophic kabbalah are not found in the Pietistic theology. I propose that the critical structure, informed by earlier Jewish theosophy, involves the double doctrine of the glory: the upper male and the lower female and the further identification

of these potencies with the divine names and the Torah. This structure is found in Pietistic literature and in the writings of the theosophic kabbalists, although in the case of the latter it is given a new configuration through sefirotic associations. Notwithstanding the affinity of the German Pietists and the theosophic kabbalists, there is a fundamental difference between them: whereas the kabbalists elaborated at great length in their descriptions of the dynamic between the masculine and the feminine hypostases in the divine realm, and occasionally in very bold mythological language, the Pietists intentionally withheld from expanding in writing on the union of the upper glory and the image of Jacob. On the contrary, as I have indicated above, even Eleazar is quick to emphasize the necessity to conceal this matter in the very contexts that he mentions it. The medium of writing can only permit a partial transmission of the secret. The Pietists thus adhered faithfully to a code of esotericism.

4. Even though the members of the circle of Judah the Pious did not utilize the term "special cherub," *keruv ha-meyuhad* terminology that characterizes a distinct circle as Dan has shown the fact is that in the writings produced by the Kalonymide Pietists the cherub assumes an ontic role that well accords with that of the Special Cherub. As we have seen in the texts of Eleazar, the cherub, also called the "image of Jacob," is the divine power revealed to prophets, and it is the glory that sits upon the throne. By contrast, the upper glory, called occasionally by the names "splendor" or "Presence," is not disclosed to human beings. This upper glory sits upon the cherub, itself called for that reason a "throne." I do not wish to challenge the view that from a historical and literary (as well as geographic³⁷⁷) perspective in the development of the German Pietists there were distinct and autonomous circles. The important distinction of Dan still stands: the main circle of Judah the Pious is not one with the circle of the Special Cherub.³⁷⁸ Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that one can find in the compositions of the Kalonymide circle descriptions of the cherub that parallel descriptions in the writings of the circle of the Special Cherub. Indeed, in the theosophy of the circle of Judah the Pious the cherub occupied a prominent position as the enthroned form described in terms of enormous physical measurements as they are transmitted in the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition. It is impossible to enter into the depths of the esoteric teaching of the German Pietists without turning an attentive ear to the matter of the cherub.

It is possible that the shared emphasis on the enthroned cherub in the different Pietistic circles points to a common motif whose origin is in ancient Jewish esotericism. It is of interest to note in this connection that in his discussion of the doctrine of the cherub in Pietistic literature Scholem suggested that this conception "figures in certain Merkabah tracts which were known to the Hasidim."³⁷⁹ The implication, then, is that the notion of the enthroned cherub is a much older doctrine that informed the Pietistic theosophy.³⁸⁰ Scholem did not, however, distinguish between the different circles of Pietists. More recently, the conjecture of Scholem has been affirmed by Farber with respect to the teaching of the cherub in the writings of the circle of the Special Cherub: "It is not impossible that the Ashkenazi doctrine of the cherub derives from some ancient development of the *Shi'ur Qomah* doctrine that sought to place at the head of the theophanic order an angelic anthropomorphic image that is the manifest aspect of the divine anthropos (connected to the notion of the supernal cherub, or Keruviel, derived from Ezekiel's vision and its development in Hekhalot literature)."³⁸¹ In my view, her words may be applied as well to the doctrine of the cherub that emerges from the writings of Eleazar of Worms. It is significant to note that in the conclusion of the aforementioned discussion, Farber herself cites a critical passage from Eleazar wherein the image of Jacob is identified explicitly with the cherub.³⁸² Hence, even though Farber did not elaborate upon the matter, it is evident that she sensed with respect to this issue (as in the case of other subjects³⁸³) some intrinsic connection between the doctrine of the cherub in the circle of the Special Cherub and the motif of the image of Jacob in the writings of Eleazar. Indeed, the shared descriptions may furnish us with knowledge about the possible existence of an early development in Jewish esotericism: the cherub is the divine or angelic power that is revealed upon the throne in an anthropomorphic image.³⁸⁴ An ancient tradition such as this, as Farber has shown,³⁸⁵ is reflected as well in later thirteenth-century mystical literature, for example, the writings of the Iyyun circle and the *Sefer ha-Qomah* of Moses ben Eleazar ha-Darshan.³⁸⁶ These examples, in my opinion, lend considerable support to the assumption that the Pietists, from the main circle of Judah the Pious and the circle of the Special Cherub, either found the images describing the cherub in ancient written texts or they received them orally from some common source.

Notes

1. The Image of Jacob Engraved upon the Throne: Further Reflection on the Esoteric Doctrine of the German Pietists.

1. An exception is A. Farber, "The Concept of the Merkabah in Thirteenth Century Jewish Esotericism-'Sod ha-'Egoz' and Its Development" (Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, 1986), pp. 312-13, 406, 412, 420 (in Hebrew). While it is certainly the case that Farber recognized the significance of the image of Jacob in the writings of Eleazar, she expressed doubt regarding the identification of that image with the glory itself (see p. 406), the position that I have enunciated in this study. According to Farber, the image of Jacob is the reflection of the anthropomorphic form in the chariot by means of which the upper glory is visually apprehended (see esp. pp. 412, 420).

2. MS Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale heb. 772, fol. 159b. See now the printed version of Eleazar's commentary, *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah: A Commentary on the Jewish Prayer Book*, ed. M. and Y. A. Hershler (Jerusalem, 1992), p. 680. The editors of this edition reported having consulted several manuscripts and utilized MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1204 (all references to Oxford manuscripts correspond to the numbers in Neubauer's catalog) as the base text with variants inserted in brackets or in the notes on the basis of MS Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale heb. 778. See p. 14 of the editor's introduction.

3. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 232, fol. 7b. The name of the author, Eleazar, is mentioned on fol. 8b. The linkage of transmission of esoteric lore to God-fearers, exegetically related to Ps. 25:14, is a recurring theme in Pietistic literature. See I. G. Marcus, *Piety and Society: The Jewish Pietists of Medieval Germany* (Leiden, 1981), pp. 66, 105.

4. A. Altmann, "Eleazar of Worms' Hokhmah Ha-'Egoz," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 11 (1960): 105-6, 109-10.

5. J. Dan, "Hokhmah Ha-'Egoz: Its Origins and Development," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 17 (1966): 77; idem, *The Esoteric Theology of German Pietism* (Jerusalem, 1968), p. 209 (in Hebrew).
6. Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 101-23.
7. Ibid., pp. 112-15.
8. Ibid., pp. 108, 113-14, 115, 611-14, 615.
9. See Dan, "Hokhmah Ha-'Egoz," p. 77; idem, *Esoteric Theology*, pp. 118, 128-29; and idem, "A Re-evaluation of the 'Ashkenazi Kabbalah,'" *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 6, 3-4 (1987): 137-38 (in Hebrew). The point is stated emphatically once again by Dan in "The Emergence of Jewish Mysticism in Medieval Germany," in *Mystics of the Book: Themes, Topics and Typologies*, ed. R. A. Herrera (New York, 1993), p. 81: "We do not find in Ashkenazi Hasidism any parallel to the new kabbalistic idea of the bisexuality of the divine pleroma, of the existence of a divine feminine counterpart to the masculine system of the divine powers." Curiously, Dan does not make mention of the alternative approach taken by other scholars, including Scholem, Idel, and, most important, Farber (see below, n. 12) whose dissertation was written under Dan's supervision. Dan mentions her work (see p. 94 n. 84), but demonstrates no attempt whatsoever to respond to the fundamental challenge to his views that her scholarship raises (see, e.g., p. 237, one of the very pages in Farber's dissertation to which Dan refers in his note). My approach, needless to say, is much more in line with hers.
10. Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 126; see also p. 613.
11. Ibid., p. 115.
12. Ibid., pp. 117, 126, 237, 254, 621, 628, 629-30. See also E. Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah* (Albany, 1989), p. 176 n. 231.
13. These motifs are developed further in E. R. Wolfson, "The Mystical Significance of Torah Study in German Pietism," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 84 (1993): 43-78.
14. These are precisely the two motifs that Dan, "A Re-evaluation of the 'Ashkenazi Kabbalah,'" pp. 137-39, singles out as those that clearly differentiate German Pietism and Provençal-Spanish kabbalah.
15. I would thus take issue with the following statement of Marcus, *Piety and Society*, p. 23: "Instead of continuing to think of German-Jewish pietism as part of the traditions of Jewish mysticism, it is better to consider the sources in their own terms. When we do, we find that the ideal of the German *hasid is* derived not from assumptions about God's being or other theosophical categories. Rather, it rests on a new perception of the divine will." In my opinion, the Pietistic conception of the will is itself rooted in a specific theosophic outlook that, in turn, generates intense religious experiences that should properly be termed "mystical." See Marcus's own statement that the "esoteric lore of the Lord" for

the Pietists included secrets "about the liturgy and theosophy, on the one hand, or about the will of the Creator, on the other" (p. 66). It should be noted, moreover, that Marcus himself concludes that "in some of Eleazar's writings, pietism is a preparation for a mystical experience during prayer" (p. 118). See also p. 16. My approach to the issue of the relationship between the Pietistic ideal and theosophic speculations basically follows that of Scholem. See the review of the latter's position in Marcus, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23.

16. See G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York, 1956), pp. 95-96; G. Vajda, *L'Amour de dieu dans la théologie juive du moyen age* (Paris, 1957), pp. 149-62; M. Harris, "The Concept of Love in Sepher Hassidim," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 50 (1959): 13-44; and Marcus, *Piety and Society*, pp. 28-36.

17. See Dan, "A Re-evaluation of the Ashkenazi Kabbalah," pp. 136-37, who notes the fundamental similarity between the Pietistic and the kabbalistic sources with respect to the themes of love of God and of communion. See especially the text from Eleazar of Worms cited by Dan, *op. cit.*, n. 29, which describes the love of the adept for God in highly erotic terms. Although Dan clearly recognized the erotic nature of this fundamental aspect of the Pietistic mentality, he does not relate it to any mythical element in the divine realm.

18. On the centrality of *ta'ame miswot*, "reasons for the commandments," in the theosophy of the German Pietists, see comments of Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 90, and *idem*, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 41-42. See also my study referred to above in n. 13.

19. The function of mystical intention of prayer in the theosophy of the German Pietists has been discussed by a number of scholars. See Scholem, *Major Trends*, pp. 100-3; Vajda, *L'Amour de dieu*, pp. 154-55; Marcus, *Piety and Society*, pp. 117-18; J. Dan, "The Emergence of Mystical Prayer," in *Studies in Jewish Mysticism*, ed. J. Dan and F. Talmage (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 85-120; *idem*, "Pesaq ha-Yirah veva-Emunah and the Intention of Prayer in Ashkenazi Hasidic Esotericism," *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 19 (1991/92): 185-215; *idem*, "Prayer as Text and Prayer as Mystical Experience," in *Torah and Wisdom: Essays in Honor of Arthur Hyman*, ed. R. Link-Salinger (New York, 1992), pp. 334-7; and M. Idel, "Intention in Prayer in the Beginning of Kabbalah: Between Germany and Provence," in *Ben Porat Yosef: Studies Presented to Rabbi Dr. Joseph Safran*, ed. B. and E. Safran (Hoboken, 1992), pp. 5-14 (in Hebrew).

20. In this regard it is of interest to consider the following remark in the Pietistic work in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1566, fol. 38a: "This is [the meaning of the verse] *shemi le-'olam*, 'This shall be My name forever' (Exod. 3:15), [the word *shemi* signifies] *shem yod* [i.e., the name that begins with *yod*, the Tetragrammaton], it is written *le-'olam*, i.e., [the name is transmitted] to the one who in the world (*olam*) is pure of all transgression. . . . *Shemi le-'olam*, the unique name (*shem ha-meyuhad*) is only revealed to one who has abrogated the desire for women from his heart." The second interpretation is based on the fact that the word *le-'olam*, written in the defective, can be read as *le'alem*, to

conceal. (Cf. B. Pesah.im 50a; Qiddushin 71a.) According to the Pietistic source, transmission of the Tetragrammaton is linked to nullification of sexual desire. Cf. Eleazar's *Seferha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 213a: "The unique name is only revealed to one who has nullified the desire for women and to one whose heart is anxious." Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 279b: "The name is not revealed except to the righteous (*Saddiq*)." And *ibid.*, fol. 307a: "The name is not to be transmitted except to one who has children." Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 321b. On the causal link between libidinal control and the indwelling of the *Shekhinah*, cf. *ibid.*, 310b. For a convenient review of the German Pietists' attitude toward sexuality, see D. Biale, *Eros and the Jews: From Biblical Israel to Contemporary America* (New York, 1992), pp. 72-82.

21. See Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 117; *idem*, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, trans. A. Arkush and ed. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (Princeton, 1987), pp. 41-42, 97123,180-98,215-16,325 n. 261; M. Idel, "The Sefirot above the Sefirot," *Tarbiz* 51 (1982): 274-77 (in Hebrew); *idem*, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 98-102, 130-31; and *idem*, "In the Light of Life: An Examination of Kabbalistic Eschatology," in *Sanctity of Life and Martyrdom: Studies in Memory of Amir Yequtiel*, ed. I. Gafni and A. Ravitsky (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 191-211, esp. 205-7 (in Hebrew). See also study of Idel cited in n. 19. The work of Farber (cited in full in n. 1) shares this orientation and is replete with interesting textual and conceptual parallels. See also H. Pedaya, "'Flaw' and 'Correction' in the Concept of the Godhead in the Teachings of Rabbi Isaac the Blind," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 6, 3-4 (1987): 251-71, esp. 269ff. (in Hebrew). Also relevant are the studies of I. Ta-Shema, "Ashkenazi Hasidism in Spain: R. Jonah Gerondithe Man and His Work," in *Exile and Diaspora: Studies in the History of the Jewish People Presented to Professor Haim Beinart on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, and Y. Kaplan (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 165-94 (in Hebrew); E. Kanarfogel, "Rabbinic Figures in Castilian Kabbalistic Pseudepigraphy: R. Yehudah He-Hasid and R. Elhanan of Corbeil," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 3 (1993): 77-109. For a different approach to the relationship of German Pietism and the Provençal-Spanish kabbalah, see Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, pp. 116-29, and *idem*, "A Re-evaluation of the 'Ashkenazi Kabbalah,'" pp. 125-40. Other studies in Dan's *oeuvre* could be cited, but the two examples I have noted are sufficient as there is little change in his position as it is stated in his various publications.

22. M. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch* (Rome, 1980), p. 57; see *ibid.*, p. 144 for an alternative version. It is worthwhile to compare the targumic and midrashic explanation of Gen. 28:12 to the words of the apocryphal text *The Ladder of Jacob*, translated in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York, 1985), 2: 407: "And the top of the ladder was the face as of a man, carved out of fire."

23. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch*, ed. E. G. Clarke with collaboration by W. E. Aufrecht, J. C. Hurd, and F. Spitzer (Hoboken, 1984), p. 33.

24. *Genesis Rabbah* 68:12, ed. J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 787-88; see *ibid.*, 82:2, p. 978.

25. See P. Schafer, *Rivalitat zwischen Engeln und Menschen* (Berlin, 1975), pp. 204-7.
26. Cf. *Midrash'Aggadah*, ed. S. Buber (Vienna, 1894), p. 73, and *Midrash ha-Gadol on Genesis*, ed. R. Margaliot (Jerusalem, 1975), p. 504.
27. Two of the more recent discussions of this aggadic motif can be found in J. L. Kugel, *In Potiphar's House: The Interpretive Life of Biblical Texts* (San Francisco, 1990), pp. 112-20, and D. M. Stern, *Parables in Midrash: Narrative and Exegesis in Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge and London, 1991), pp. 110-13.
28. See L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1968), 5:290 n. 134, and A. Altmann, "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends," in *Essays in Jewish Intellectual History* (Hanover, 1981), p. 13. Mention should be made in this context of the aggadic tradition that the beauty of Jacob was like that of Adam. See B. Baba Mesi'a 84a. This Jewish conception of Jacob's image engraved on the throne of glory had a decisive influence on the Isma'ili tradition concerning the image of Muhammed qua primordial anthropos engraved upon the throne of Allah. See I. Goldziher, "Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Hadit," *Gesammelte Schriften* (Hildesheim, 1970), 5:327-28. Compare the latter development of this motif in *Zohar* 1:23a (this section belongs to stratum of the *Tiqqunim*), 253a. See also Joseph Gikatilla, *Sha'are'Orah*, ed. J. Ben-Shlomo (Jerusalem, 1981), 1: 275.
29. See J. Drummond, *Philo Judaeus; or, the Jewish-Alexandrian Philosophy in Its Development and Completion* (London, 1888), 2: 206-7. See below, n. 34.
30. J. Z. Smith, "The Prayer of Joseph," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden, 1970), pp. 254-94, esp. 284-86. See also J. E. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord* (Tübingen, 1985), pp. 188, 314-15, and J. H. Charlesworth, "The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms*, ed. J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg (Chico, 1980), pp. 135-51, esp. 140. I. Gruenwald, "The Poetry of Yannai and the Literature of the Yorde Merkavah," *Tarbiz* 36 (1967): 271 (in Hebrew), suggests that the source of the aggadic motif of the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne is in the mystical idealization of the patriarchs. Gruenwald mentions in support of his explanation the oft-cited saying attributed to Resh Laqish in *Genesis Rabbah* 82:6, p. 983: "the Patriarchs are the chariot" (*ha'avot hen hen ha-merkavah*). On the general phenomenon of righteous individuals becoming angelic hypostases of God, see P. W. van der Horst, "Some Notes on the Exagoge of Ezekiel," in *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity* (Göttingen, 1990), p. 82.
31. See J. Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1991), pp. 218-20.
32. See J. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (New York, 1960), p. 167. See also H. C. Youtie, "A Gnostic Amulet with an Aramaic Inscription," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 50 (1930): 214-20, and

Smith, "Prayer of Joseph," pp. 261-62 n. 2. Mention should also be made of the fact that in *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, xxxvi: 68-101, one of the names of the God, Typhon-Seth, is Iakoumbiai, a title that is no doubt related to the biblical Jacob. See D. F. Moke, "Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri: Selected Studies" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1975), p. 97. That there are Jewish elements in this papyrus, dated to the fourth century, is evident from the appearance of the Tetragrammaton, Iaeo, in the top left corner of a diagram used as a love charm (xxxvi, 102-34). See Moke, op. cit., p. 110. Interestingly enough, the figure of this diagram has six protuberances coming out from between the legs. There is thus an intrinsic connection between the number six and the phallus. On this connection see sources discussed in E. R. Wolfson, "Anthropomorphic Imagery and Letter Symbolism in the Zohar," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 8 (1989): 172 n. 112 (in Hebrew).

33. See A. Böhlig, "Jakob als Engel in Gnostizismus und Manichäismus," *Erkenntnisse und Meinungen*, ed. G. Wiessner (Wiesbaden, 1978), pp. 1-14 (English translation in *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis*, ed. R. Mcl. Wilson [Leiden, 1978], pp. 122-30).

34. See, e.g., Hippolytus, *Against the Heresy of One Noetus*, trans. S. D. F. Salmond in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (Grand Rapids, 1981), 5:225: "For who is Jacob His servant, Israel His beloved, but He of whom He crieth, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him?" (Mat. 17:5). Having received, then, all knowledge from the Father, the perfect Israel, the true Jacob, afterward did show Himself upon earth, and conversed with men. And who, again, is meant by Israel but a man who sees God? and there is no one who sees God except the Son alone [cf. John 1:18,6:46], the perfect man who alone declares the will of the Father." On the etymology of Israel as "one who sees God," see Smith, "Prayer of Joseph," p. 266 n. 2. Particularly relevant for the passage from Hippolytus is Philo who identifies the Logos as the divine image, God's firstborn, also named Israel, for it is he who sees God; cf. *De Confusione Linguarum*, 146. See the comprehensive study of G. Delling, "The 'One Who Sees God' in Philo," in *Nourished with Peace: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel*, ed. F. E. Greenspahn, E. Hilgert, and B. L. Mack (Chico, Ca., 1984), pp. 2742. See also C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 70-72. Mention should be made of some scholars' observation that John 1:50-52 may already presuppose a transference of a midrashic reading of Gen. 28:12 from Jacob to Jesus. See Kugel, *In Potiphar's House*, p. 115, and other references given on p. 124 n. 39. The resemblance of the motif of the angelic Jacob to traditions about the incarnation of Jesus in Christian sources has been noted by M. Smith, "The Account of Simon Magus in Acts 8," in *Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem, 1965), 2:748-49. Finally, it is worth considering the possible influence of Jewish esotericism on the identification of Jesus as the "face of the God of Jacob" (perhaps based on Ps. 24:6) that one finds in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 7:58. The motif of Jesus as the hypostatic face of God in Gnostic sources and its possible relationship to *merka vah* mysticism has been discussed by N. Deutsch, "Gnosticism and Merkabah Mysticism: A Programmatic Study," to appear in a forthcoming volume of *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*.

35. *Genesis Rabbah* 98:3, p. 1252 (in the original Hebrew version of this chapter, I neglected to mention this very important source as well as the one cited

in the following note). See parallel sources cited in n. 30 ad locum, especially *Midrash Tanhuma*, ed. S. Buber (Vilna, 1885), Toledot, § 11, p. 132: "Jacob was a partner with his Creator in everything. R. Pinehas ha-Kohen bar Hamma said in the name of R. Reuben: See what is written, 'Not like these is the Portion of Jacob; For it is He who formed all things' (Jer. 10:16)." As Albeck correctly points out, according to this midrashic reading, the pronoun "he" in the latter part of the verse refers to Jacob, that is, it is Jacob who is the demiurge that forms all things. Cf. the Ashkenazi source cited below in n. 203.

36. *Leviticus Rabbah* 36:4, ed. M. Margulies (Jerusalem, 1933-34), p. 846. For parallel sources cf. the note ad locum, and see especially *Bereshit Rabbati*, ed. Ch. Albeck (Jerusalem, 1940), pp. 254-55. It is of interest to note that the passage from *Leviticus Rabbah* and the passage from B. Megillah 18a noted below are cited by the fourteenth-century apostate Abner of Burgos in his *Sefer Teshuvot la-Meharef* (The Book of Responses to the Blasphemer) as proof that the rabbis affirmed the notion of an incarnate God. See J. Hecht, "The Polemical Exchange between Isaac Pollegar and Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid According to Parma MS 2440: *Iggeret Teshuvot Apikoros* and *Teshuvat la-Meharef*" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1993), pp. 183-84, 371-72. Remarkably, the apostate Jew was able to uncover what appears to me to be the underlying significance of the aggadic traditions regarding the demirugic and angelic status of Jacob. The rabbinic sources betray an affinity with the idea of a glorified demiurgic angel cultivated by Judeo-Christians for whom the figure of Jacob blends together with that of Jesus. See n. 347.

37. *Genesis Rabbah* 78:13, p. 921 n. 4. In light of the probability that underlying the aggadic motif of the icon of Jacob engraved upon the throne is the divinization of Jacob, it is of interest to consider the following comment from a medieval source cited in *Tosafot ha-Shalem: Commentary on the Bible*, ed. J. Gellis (Jerusalem, 1984), 3:107 (in Hebrew) from MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 45: "'And the Lord was standing above him' (Gen. 28:13), to protect him [cf. *Genesis Rabbah* 69:3, p. 792]. What forced Rashi to explain this in terms of God's protecting him? When the angels came to accompany [Jacob] they saw that his face was like the appearance of the face engraved on the throne of glory. They said, 'Perhaps, God forbid, there are two [divine] powers?' They desired to kill him, but the Holy One, blessed be He, protected him. This is why he explained [the verse] to protect him, for they harmed him and the Holy One, blessed be He, extended His finger and burned them."

38. Jerome, *Liber Hebraicarum Quasetionum in Genesim*, in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latinae* 23:1038. This passage is mentioned by Smith, "Prayer of Joseph," p. 264 n. 3.

39. *Lamentations Rabbah* 2:2, ed. S. Buber (Vilna, 1899), p. 96. Cf. Todros Abulafia, *Sha'ar ha-Razim*, ed. M. Kushnir-Oron (Jerusalem, 1989), p. 129, and the passage from Nathan Nata ben Solomon Spira cited below in n. 175.

40. The connection between *tiferet yisra'el* (on the basis of Lam. 2:1) and the crown (*'atarah*) is made in *Sefer ha-Bahir*, ed. R. Margalot (Jerusalem, 1978), § 33, without any allusion to the motif of the image of Jacob engraved on the

throne. On the metaphorical connection between Israel and the crown, compare the passage from *Midrash Tanhuma* referred to by Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, p. 373 n. 168. On the motif of the divine crown that is called "Israel," see M. S. Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions* (Tübingen, 1985), pp. 36 n. 38, 128, 149. On the association of the crown and the image of Jacob, however, without any connection to the motif of the crown made from the prayers of Israel, see the poem, *Aderet Tilboshet*, in the *Poems of Shlomo ha-Bavli*, ed. E. Fleischer (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 168 (in Hebrew). See also the formulation in Salmon ben Yeruhim, *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*, ed. I. Davidson (New York, 1934), p. 110. Cf. the passage from Eleazar of Worms' *Sode Razayya'* in *Sefer Razi'el* (Amsterdam, 1701), 16d: "It is written in the *Sefer Hekhalot* that the Holy One, blessed be He, embraces and kisses the name of the image of Jacob." For another version of this text cf. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. S. Weiss (Jerusalem, 1988), p. 43.

41. *Genesis Rabbah* 77:1, p. 910.

42. *Sifre on Deuteronomy*, ed. L. Finkelstein (Berlin, 1939; 2nd ed., New York, 1969), p. 422. The English rendering follows the translation of R. Hammer, *Sifre: A Tannaitic Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy* (New Haven, 1986), p. 376.

43. M. Fishbane, "The 'Measures' of God's Glory in the Ancient Midrash," in *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. I. Gruenwald, Sh. Shaked, and G. G. Stroumsa (Tübingen, 1992), pp. 55-56.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

45. *Genesis Rabbah* 79:8, pp. 949-50.

46. Cf. *Perush ha-Ramban'al ha-Torah*, ed. C. D. Chavel (Jerusalem, 1978), 1:189, ad Gen. 33:20; Todros Abulafia, *Oar ha-Kavod ha-Shalem* (Warsaw, 1879), 20d; *Rabbenu Bahya'al ha-Torah*, ed. C. D. Chavel (Jerusalem, 1981), 1:288-89, ad Gen. 33:20; and Menahem Recanati, *Perush'alha-Torah* (Jerusalem, 1961), 31b-32a, ad Gen. 33:20. See also *Commentary on Talmudic Aggadah* by R. Azriel of Gerona, ed. I. Tishby (Jerusalem, 1948), pp. 56-57 (in Hebrew).

47. Echoes of this motif can be found as well in Josephus. See M. Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (Tübingen, 1992), p. 324 nn. 123-24.

48. See *Midrash Kohen* in A. Jellinek, *Bet Midrash* (3rd ed., Jerusalem, 1967), 2:39, 6:49; *Synopsezur Hekhalot Literatur*, ed. P. Schäfer, et al. (Tübingen, 1981), § 406; and Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 62.

49. *The Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Yannai according to the Triennial Cycle of the Pentateuch and the Holidays*, ed. Z. M. Rabinovitz, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1985-87), 1:168-69 (in Hebrew). See *ibid.*, p. 171; Z. M. Rabinovitz, *Halakhah and Aggadah in the Liturgical Poems of Yannai: The Sources of the Poet, His Language and His Period* (Tel-Aviv, 1965), p. 104 (in Hebrew); and Gruenwald, "The Poetry of Yannai" (cited above in n. 30).

50. Compare the words of Judah Halevi in *Kuzari* 4:3 and the *piyyut* of Benjamin bar Zerah, *beriyot'esh*, in *Mahzorle-Hag Sukkot*, ed. D. S. Goldschmidt (Jerusalem, 1981), p. 88. See L. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichtedersynagogalen Poesie* (Berlin, 1865), p. 501.
51. *Batte Midrashot*, ed. S. Wertheimer (Jerusalem, 1980), 1:156.
52. *Numbers Rabbah* 84:1; see also *Midrash Tanhuma'*, Bemidbar, 8.
53. *Mahzor* (Venice, 1559), 242b, 243b. Cf. the commentary on this *piyyut* from the school of Rashi in S. J. Schachter, "The Liturgical Commentary of Mahzor Ashkenazi (JTSA MS # 4466)," (DHL., Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1986), p. 95.
54. *Mahzorla-Yamim Nora'im*, ed. D. S. Goldschmidt (Jerusalem, 1970), 2:608 (Yom Kippur). See *Seder'Avodat Yisra'el*, ed. I. Baer (Berlin, 1937), p. 776, and the poetic passage of Joseph ben Nissan cited in E. Fleischer, *The Yozer: Its Emergence and Development* (Jerusalem, 1984), p. 727 (in Hebrew). The aggadic image of Jacob engraved upon the throne figures prominently as well in one of the old Aramaic *piyyutim* for Shavuot. For the Aramaic text and Hebrew translation, see A. Tal (Rosenthal), "The Aramaic Piyyutim for Shavuot: Their Dialectal Aspect and Their Contribution to an Aramaic Lexicon" (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University, 1966), pp. 86-93 (in Hebrew). The text is also conveniently printed in M. H. Schmelzer, "Perush Alfabetin by Rabbi Benjamin ben Abraham min Ha-Anavim," in *Texts and Studies: Analecta Judaica*, ed. H. Z. Dimitrovsky (New York, 1977), 1:260-61 (in Hebrew), and see the relevant commentary on pp. 191-92. This *piyyut* is referred to by the Karaite, Judah Hadassi, *Eshkolha-Kofer* (Eupatoria, 1836), par. 362, 133c-d. My thanks to Dr. Richard White for calling my attention to this source and to Prof. Menahem Schmelzer for helping me identify the reference.
55. D. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot* (Tübingen, 1988), p. 121. Cf. *Zohar* 1:72a, and Hebrew parallel in the untitled fragment of Moses de León extant in MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 47, fol. 338b. Concerning this work, see G. Scholem, "Eine unbekannte mystische Schrift des Mose de Leon," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 71 (1927): 109-23. See also *Zohar Hadash*, ed. R. Margalioth (Jerusalem, 1978), 14b (*Midrash haNe'elam*).
56. *Mahzorla-Yamim Nora'im*, ed. D. S. Goldschmidt (Jerusalem, 1970), 1:217 (Rosh ha-Shanah). This *piyyut* is mentioned in Goldziher, "Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente," p. 328 n. 2.
57. *Pirqa R. 'Eli cezer*, ch. 35.
58. *Midrash Sekhel Toy*, ed. S. Buber (New York, 1959), p. 141.
59. *Perush Sefer Yesirah*, ed. S. J. Halberstam (Berlin, 1885), p. 43. On the motif of the image of Jacob engraved beneath the throne, see n. 199.
60. *Batte Midrashot* 1:383.

61. On the possibility that Rashi utilized the midrashic anthology '*Otiyyot de-R. 'Aqiva*', see I. Ta-Shema, "The Library of the Ashkenazi Sages of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Tarbiz* 40 (1985): 307 (in Hebrew).

62. Cf. Abraham Abulafia, '*Orha-Sekhel*', MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 233, fol. 100a: "Thus the *hashmal* comprises five vowels as one, for below it are the four beasts called by the name of an anthropos according to the forms of their faces, as it says, 'and the image of their faces was the face of a human' (Ezek. 1:10)." Is Abulafia alluding here to a doctrine that affirms that the glory itself, represented as the *hashmal*, is constituted by the four beasts below it that make up the anthropomorphic form? Confirmation of this interpretation is found in another work of Abulafia, '*Hayye ha-Nefesh*', MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 408, fol. 6a:

Whatever he comprehends with his intellect is closer to his truth, and that is the anthropos in truth, and its gradations are below the throne and above the throne, and he is the category of the beasts (*hayyot*) who bear the throne and in the category of the one who sits upon the throne. And this is the likeness (*demut*) with which he was created, the likeness of the four beasts and "the likeness of a human form upon the throne from above" (Ezek. 1:26). This is the divine image (*eelem'elohim*), and in its likeness and the true matter is this living being that speaks who is called *hashmal*, *hai she-mal*, i.e., the living being (*hai*) that speaks and converses (*shememal el u-medabber*)."

See *ibid.*, 15b. See also Judah ben Solomon Campanton, '*Arbach Qinyyanim*', MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2532, fol. 77a: "This is the image of a human by way of truth and this is the image that the prophet saw upon the throne that was above the firmament on top of the heads of the creatures that were contained in one, as it says, 'this was the creature (*hayyah*) that I had seen by the Chebar Canal' (Ezek. 10:15)." See *ibid.*, fol. 1a. Concerning this work and partial transcription thereof, see E. H. Golomb, "Judah ben Solomon Campanton and His Arba'ah Kinyanim" (Ph.D. dissertation, Dropsie College, 1930). I am presently preparing a comprehensive study of the kabbalistic and mystical elements in the two major works of this figure, '*Arba Cah Qinyyanim* and *Leqah Tov*. On the containment of the whole structure of the chariot in the form of an anthropos, see the formulation of Abraham Lask, '*Ayin Panim ba-Torah*' (Warsaw, 1797), 31a.

63. Cf. B. Hagigah 13b.

64. '*Sode Razayya*', ed. I. Kamelhar (Bilgoraj, 1936), p. 33. Cf. Eleazar's '*Seferha-Shem*', MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 232a. And cf. *ibid.*, fol. 256a, where a similar exegesis of Ezek. 10:14, focusing on the use of the word "face" (*panim*) with respect to the human and the cherub, is placed in a decidedly ethical context, that is, the face of the cherub is said to refer to the youthful image of one who sins and repents, whereas the face of the anthropos is the elderly image of one who is pure and sinless.

65. See Farber, "Concept of the Merkavah," pp. 348,421-24. It is worthwhile to note that in several places Eleazar remarks that in addition to the four beasts, there is one beast that rises above the throne of glory. See, e.g., *Perush ha-Merkavah*, MS Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale heb. 850, fols. 58a, 72b-73a, 79b and *Hokhmat ha-Nefesh* (Bene-Beraq, 1987), § 41, p. 69: "All the beasts are joined together like a big nut that is divided into sections, below there are four and a middle one. All the beasts are called the beast,'this is the same creature that I saw' (Ezek. 10:20), all of them were one body." See A. Farber, "The Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot by R. Jacob ben Jacob ha-Kohen of Castile" (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University, 1978), p. 115 n. 8 (in Hebrew). The image of the four beasts plus the one beast above them appears as well in several recensions of the "Secret of the Nut," *sod ha-'egoz*. See Altmann, "Eleazar of Worms' Hokhmah ha-'Egoz," p. 112 and Farber, "Concept of the Merkavah," pp. 102-3, 536-37, 590-91. See *Perush Rabbenu'Efrayim'al ha-Torah*, ed. E. Korach, Z. Leitner with Ch. Konyevsky (Jerusalem, 1992), 2:163, ad Deut. 6:4: "'Hear O Israel,' there are four creatures in the chariot and a fifth creature that is called Israel. No angel has permission to utter a song until that creature begins first and afterwards all the hosts above." Compare the words of Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn cited in the *Siddur of R. Solomon ben Samson of Garmaise Including the Siddur of the HasideAshkenas*, ed. M. Hershler (Jerusalem, 1971), p. 70 (in Hebrew): "The four beasts that are seen as bearing the throne are circular, i.e., they make themselves into a circle, for they join one to another in a kiss, for the throne of glory is circular and they had to arrange their bodies so that they would be the same as the throne." On the circular shape of the throne see MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 29b; *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 23; *Perush ha-Merkavah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale heb. 850, fol. 67a; *A Commentary on the Passover Haggadah by Eleazar of Worms*, ed. M. Hershler (Jerusalem, 1984), p. 176 (in Hebrew); and *Merkavah Shelemah*, ed. S. Mussajoff (Jerusalem, 1921), 26b. It is evident that the circular shape of the throne, or the semi-circle connected more specifically to the letter *kaf*, conveys the image of the throne being feminine. See nn. 209 and 353.

66. The comparison of the cherub and the human form emerges from the statement attributed to R. Papa in B. Hagigah 13b that the face of the cherub is identical to the face of a human, the only difference being that the former is characterized as a "small face," *appe zutre*, and the latter as a "great face," *apperavreve*. Compare the formulation from a manuscript of the commentary on the Torah by Eleazar of Worms cited by M. M. Kasher, *Torah Shelemah* (New York, 1948), 6:1391 n. 25: "The face of this one [Jacob] upon the throne was the human countenance,'Am I under God,' *ha-tahat'elohim'anokhi* (Gen. 30:2) [the word *'anokhi* numerically equals *kisse'*, i.e., throne], and the face of this one [Joseph] upon the throne was an ox that was replaced by a cherub [cf. B. Hagigah 13b], [as it says]'Am I under God,' *ha-tahat'elohim'ani* (ibid., 50:19)." Cf. *Commentary on the Passover Haggadah by Eleazar of Worms*, p. 109: "Moreover, the image of Jacob is engraved upon the throne. Therefore it says,'Am I under God,' *ha-tahat'elohim'anokhi* (Gen. 30:2), *'anokhi* numerically equals *kisse'*. But Joseph had no throne, as it is written,'only with respect to the throne, will I be superior to you' (ibid., 41:40). Therefore it says,'Am I

under God,' *ha-tahat'elohim'anokhi*. But Joseph resembled Jacob . . . thus it says by both of them,'Am I under God,' *ha-tahat'elohim'anokhi*." See commentary on Torah by Eleazar ben Moses ha-Darshan, *Sefer ha-Gimatri'ot*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 221, fol. 136a: "Jacob said,'Am I under God,' *ha-tahat'elohim'anokhi* (Gen. 30:2), Joseph said,'Am I under God,' *hatahat'elohim'ani* (ibid., 50:19) . . . This alludes to [the fact that] Joseph is in the chariot like Jacob." Cf. "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 29: "This is to teach that the faces of Jacob and Joseph are engraved upon the throne, for the face of an anthropos resembles the face of Jacob and the face of a cherub is like the face of Joseph. Just as the face of Joseph resembles the face of Jacob so too the face of the cherub resembles the face of an anthropos. The face of an anthropos is large like the face of Jacob and the face of the cherub is small like the face of Joseph, may peace be upon him." See *Sha'ar ha-Razim*, p. 82, where Todros Abulafia reports as follows: "I have received a bold matter concerning the inwardness of this secret, for there is small and great there, according to what the sages, blessed be their memory, said, the image of Joseph resembled the image of Jacob [cf. *Genesis Rabbah* 84:8, p. 1010]. 'Now Israel loved Joseph' (Gen. 37:3) . . . for the splendor of his image resembled his own." See also Todros Abulafia, *Oarha-Kavod*, 23b and *Rabbenu Bahya'al ha-Torah*, 1:306, ad Gen. 37:2: "By way of kabbalah [the meaning of the expression] Jacob Joseph [in the verse,'*eleh toledot ya'aqov yoset*'These are the generations of Jacob: Joseph]: Jacob is the cherub and so too is Joseph. This is what has been said concerning the great face and the small face. Each of them is called *na'ar* [youth or servant], as it is written,'I fell in love with Israel when he was still a child (*na'ar*)' (Hosea 11:1), and it is written with respect to Joseph that he was a helper (*na'ar*) [to the sons of his father's wives]' (Gen. 37:2)." In this context it is evident that Jacob symbolizes the sixth of the ten divine attributes, *Tiferet*, and Joseph the ninth, *Yesod*. I have found a similar formulation to this in a Genizah fragment in MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America ENA 3174, 16: "Moreover, we have a matter alluded to by the true sages regarding why he is called Joseph the righteous (*yosef ha-saddiq*). It is because his attribute is close to the attribute of his father, and this is [the meaning of]'for he was the child of his old age' (Gen. 37:3), as the rabbis, may their memory be for blessing, explained that the splendor of his image resembled that of his father, as it is said, truth [the attribute of Jacob] and peace [the attribute of Joseph] are one." Cf. *Zohar* 1:176b, 180a and Moses de Le6n, *Sha'ar Yesod ha-Merkavah*, MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 283, fol. 167b, and printed version in Meir ibn Gabbai, *Avodat ha-Qodesh* (Jerusalem, 1973), Site Torah, ch. 19, 127b. Cf. Joseph Angelet, *Quppat Rochlin*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1618, fol. 138a, and Judah ben Solomon Campanton, *Arba'ah Qinyyanim*, MSS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2532, fols. 44b-45a and Trinity F. 12, 153, fols. 48b-49a. 67. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Weiss, p. 141. See Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 424, 553. 68. *Perush ha-Merkavah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fol. 52a, cited by Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 424. See idem, "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 103 n. 10.

69. *Perush ha-Merkabah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fol. 61a, also cited by Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 424.

70. Concerning this autonomous circle of Pietists see Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, pp. 52-53, 156-64, and idem, *Studies in Ashkenazi Hasidic Literature* (Ramat-Gan, 1978), pp. 89-111 (in Hebrew). On the similarity between texts from the circle of the Special Cherub and passages in Eleazar's corpus regarding the description of all the creatures being contained in the one creature that is the anthropomorphic cherub, see Farber, "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 115 n. 8, and idem, "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 423-24. Farber's approach represents a significant departure from that of Dan who, in his effort to establish the autonomy of the different Pietistic circles, tends to ignore common sources and/or shared structures of thought and religious symbols. On the central role of the enthroned cherub in the mystical theosophy of the German Pietists, see Scholem, *Major Trends*, pp. 113-14, and idem, *Origins*, pp. 211, 215-16, 345-46. See also Altmann, "Eleazar of Worms' Hokmath ha- Egoz," p. 107 n. 28. At the time of writing the aforementioned studies, Scholem did not distinguish the Kalonymide circle of Pietists from other competing groups, including most importantly the group identified by Dan as the circle of the Special Cherub. See, by contrast, Scholem, *Kabbalah*, pp. 40-41.

71. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 770, fol. 33a. See J. Dan, *Hugge ha-Mequbbalim ha-Rishonim*, ed. I. Aggasi (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 99-106. Compare text of Elhanan ben Yaqar cited below in n. 73.

72. Based on Ezekiel 9:3 and 10:4.

73. *Theological Texts of German Pietism*, ed. J. Dan (Jerusalem, 1977), p. 19 (in Hebrew). See *ibid.*, p. 16:

"The glory of the Lord left the platform of the House and stopped above the cherubs" (Ezek. 10:18). The glory of the Lord is the holy cherub and the cherubs are the creatures. "They were the same creature that I had seen below the God of Israel" (*ibid.*, 20), i.e., beneath the cherub that is a tabernacle for the God of Israel. The cherub and the Presence are not separated, and they are like the soul and body of a person that go together. But the glory and the chariot are separated when they shine in the Sanctuary alone only in the time of need . . . The cherubs and the wheels and all the work of the chariot are called one creature for they all go together. And all of them had one spirit and one life force, as it says, "for the spirit of the creatures was in the wheels" (*ibid.*, 1:20).

Both of these sources are cited by Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 424. This passage should be compared to *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fols. 227a-b. On the relationship of the *Shekhinah* and the cherubim see also *ibid.*, fol. 259b.

74. See Scholem, *Origins*, pp. 108-9.

75. MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 46, fol. 1 lb.
76. In a similar vein in other passages in this text Moses ha-Darshan distinguishes the Presence and Metatron, clearly polemicizing against those who identified the two. Cf. MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 46, fols. 2a, 8a, 1 lb, (partially transcribed in G. Scholem, *Reshit ha-Qabbalah* [Tel-Aviv, 1948], pp. 201-2). I have discussed these passages in "Metatron and Shi'ur Qomah in the Writings of Haside Ashkenaz," to be published in the proceedings of the conference "Mystik, Magie und Kabbala im Aschkenasischen Judentum," Dec. 9-11, 1991, Frankfurt am Main, Germany, ed. K. E. Grözinger.
77. Text published in *Reshit ha-Qabbalah*, p. 213.
78. As Scholem points out, *Reshitha-Qabbalah*, p. 217 n. 12, the numerical equivalence here is not precise inasmuch as the a"t ba"sh of the expression *damtah le-tamarequals* 235 and the word *ha-keruv* 233. A"t ba"sh is an ancient technique whereby the letters of the alphabet are exchanged such that the first letter is replaced with the last and so on in sequential order.
79. That is, the expression "the one," *ehad*, rather than simply a characteristic of the deity, is understood as a designation of the cherub who complements the deity. Scholem, *Reshit ha-Qabbalah*, p. 218 n. 9, relates this to the technical term *keruv ha-meyuhad*.
80. Scholem, *Reshitha-Qabbalah*, p. 218 n. 13, already remarked that this numerology is not precise, for the word *nir'ah* equals 256 and the expression *zeh ha-keruv* is 245.
81. Scholem, op. cit., pp. 217-19.
82. MSS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 46, fol. 7b, and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana 70, fol. 214b.
83. Cf. Genesis 32:25-26.
84. There is a slight discrepancy here, for the expression *u-demutpenehem pene'adam* equals 826, while *u-vi-demutpeneya'aqovhem* is 825. In Ashkenazi numerologies, however, a discrepancy of one is quite common and functionally negligible.
85. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fol. 57a. Cf. *Perush Rabbenu'Efrayim'al ha-Torah* 1:272, ad Exod. 24:11: "'Each of them had a human face,' *u-demutpenehem pene'adam* (Ezek. 1:10), the final letters spell *tamim*. And this is 'you will see My back,' *we-ra'ita'et'ahorai* (Exod. 33:23), which is numerically equal to *bi-demut ya 'aqov she-haquqah bakisse*.'" Concerning this numerology, see n. 171. On the ontic transformation of Jacob into an angel, cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 362a.
86. *Sode Razzaya'*, ed. Weiss, p. 148, partially corrected according to MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1638, fol. 56a. Cf. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 61, fol. 65b; and see Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 611.

87. *Shirat ha-Roke'ah: The Poems of Rabbi Eleazar ben Yehudah of Worms*, ed. I. Meiseles (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 27 (in Hebrew).
88. See M. Idel, "The Concept of Torah in the Hekhalot and Its Metamorphosis in the Kabbalah," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 1 (1981): 31 n. 30 (in Hebrew); Fishbane, "'Measures' of God's Glory," pp. 62-63, and relevant notes.
89. This is precisely the intent of another poem wherein this terminology is employed. See *Shirat ha-Roke'ah*, p. 31: *ga'awat kevodi le-yisra'el*.
90. See n. 139.
91. *Synopse*, § 164.
92. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 18. Eleazar's text is copied in "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 48.
93. See N. A. Van Uchelen, "*Ma'aseh Merkabah* in *Sefer Hasidim*," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 6:3-4 (1987): 45-46 (English section). A similar usage is evident in *Zohar Hadash*, ed. R. Margalioth (Jerusalem, 1978), 31b, where the *Shekhinah* is called "*ma'aseh merkavah* when she rides upon that creature that is an eagle, an ox, a lion, or a human." See also *Zohar* 3:223b (*Ra'aya' Mehemna'*) cited below in n. 121. It seems to me that the term *ma'aseh merkavah* is employed as a technical designation of the *Shekhinah* in *Zohar* 3:95a: "R. Abba said, This is what R. Simeon used to do. When the time to partake of the [third Sabbath] meal arrived he would set the table and occupy himself in the work of the chariot (*ma'aseh merkavah*) and he would say, 'This is the meal of the King who has come to eat with me.' " In this context the expression "to be occupied with the work of the chariot" signifies mystical communion with the divine Presence. See *Sod ha-Shabbat (The Mystery of the Sabbath) from the Tola at Ya'akov of R. Meir ibn Cabbai*, translated with a critical commentary by E. K. Ginsburg (Albany, 1989), p. 207.
94. Van Uchelen, "*Ma'aseh Merkabah* in *Sefer Hasidim*," p. 45 n. 13, remarks that the words *demutyisra'el* in Eleazar's comment seemingly refer to one of the angelic creatures that surround the throne. He does not, however, specifically mention the motif of the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne.
95. See Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, p. 49 n. 11 (in that context mention is made of the text but not the author's name); idem, "The Vicissitudes of the Esoterism of the German Hasidim," in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem* (Jerusalem, 1967), pp. 96-97 (Hebrew section); and discussion of Farber, "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," pp. 9-14 of the Introduction; idem, "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 68, 214, 217, 400, 468, 525, 612, passim. On the more general influence of German Pietism on Jacob ha-Kohen, see comments of G. Scholem, *The Kabbalah of Sefer Temunah and R. Abraham Abulafia*, ed. J. Ben-Shlomo (Jerusalem, 1987), pp. 88-89 (in Hebrew); A. Farber, "On the Sources of Rabbi Moses de Leon's Early Kabbalistic System," in *Studies in Jewish Mysticism, Philosophy and Ethical Literature Presented to Isaiah Tishby on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J. Dan and J. Hacker (Jerusalem, 1986), pp. 94-96 (in

Hebrew); idem, "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 400, 410, 468, 598, 612, 626-27; and D. Abrams, "'The Book of Illumination' of R. Jacob ben Jacob ha-Kohen: A Synoptic Edition from Various Manuscripts" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1993), pp. 42-43.

96. "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 42. See, however, p. 46, where the author apparently distinguishes between the image of Jacob and the beast whose name is Israel: "This is 'He issued His commands to Jacob' (Ps. 147:19), the one who is engraved on the chariot, 'His statutes and rules to Israel' (ibid.), this is the creature whose name is Israel, which is underneath the firmament. This is a great secret from the secrets of the verses of Scripture." A similar distinction is discernible in Eleazar ben Moses ha-Darshan's commentary on the Torah, *Sefer ha-'imatri'ot*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 221, fol. 133a:

"Then Israel bowed at the head of the bed" (Gen. 47:31). The crownlets (tagin) on [the words] "Israel" and "the bed" transform the plain meaning of the verses and take them out of their literal sense. This is how they should be interpreted: the crownlets on "Israel" and "the bed" allude to that which is above. This is an allusion that above there is a countenance with the form of Jacob (parsufya'aqov mesuyyar) and [the word "Israel"] alludes to this. Further, there is an angel above and its name is Israel and it stands in the middle of the firmament and says, "Bless the Lord who is blessed," and the supernal beings respond, "Blessed is the Lord who is blessed forever," as it is the Book of the Chariot (sefer hamerkavah) [cf. Synopse, §§ 296, 406]. This is [the import of] "Then Israel bowed," that angel who is in heaven. "At the head of the bed": the bed is the supernal chariot for the Presence, as it were, rests on it and the angel bows down to there. This is "at the head of the bed."

According to this author, then, the word Israel refers to either the image of Jacob or the angel named Israel who leads the other angels in praising the glory. Obviously, the two must be distinguished.

97. G. Scholem, "The Traditions of R. Jacob and R. Isaac, sons of R. Jacob ha-Kohen," *Madda'e ha-Yahadut* 2 (1927): 208 (in Hebrew). See Farber, "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 98 n. 7, and idem, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 546. For a later reverberation of the identification of the living creature named Israel and the heavenly image of Jacob engraved upon the moon (see n. 190), see Judah ben Solomon Campanton, *Arba'ah Qinyyanim*, MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2532, fol. 23a; see *ibid.*, fol. 76a. See also the tradition of R. Yom Tov Ishbili (Ritba), the teacher of Judah Campanton, cited in *ibid.*, fol. 22a: "The soul of Israel emanates from the form of the creature whose face is that of a human face." Underlying this passage is clearly the identification of the creature named Israel and the human face of the living creatures of the chariot.

98. Scholem, "Traditions of R. Jacob and R. Isaac," p. 210.

99. MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1806, fol. 18b.
100. See Farber, "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 6 n. 6 of the introduction. In that context Farber mentions the commentary on the chariot extant in MS Jerusalem, Mussajoff 145, fols. 48a-52a, and notes the similarities between it and the compositions of Todros Abulafia. See, however, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 560, where Farber asserts that this commentary originated from the "circle of the Kohen brothers," without attributing it specifically to Todros Abulafia. See, *op. cit.*, pp. 626,631. The matter requires a closer examination.
101. MS Jerusalem, Mussajoff 145, fol. 48b. Cf. Todros Abulafia, *'Osar ha-Kavod*, 3c: "The face of the anthropos [in the celestial creatures] corresponds to the merit of Jacob, peace be upon him, for the image of his icon was engraved on the throne of glory."
102. Cf. MS Jerusalem, Mussajoff 145, fol. 50a: "All of this vision is also said in reference to the four holy creatures, concerning the image of Jacob that is a head for these four."
103. See above n. 63.
104. MS Jerusalem, Mussajoff 145, fol. 51b. Cf. *Zohar* 1:18b and parallel in 3:274a.
105. Regarding the *Hug ha-Iyyun*, see Scholem *Origins*, pp. 309-62, and M. Verman, *The Books of Contemplation: Medieval Jewish Mystical Sources* (Albany, 1992).
106. On the description of the four creatures (*hayyot*) seen by Ezekiel as the primal elements (*yesodot*), cf. also the Iyyun text (see Scholem, *Reshit haQabbalah*, p. 256 n. 5), *Sod Yedi'at ha-Mesi'ut*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 83, fol. 165b: "They had the figures of human beings' (Ezek. 1:5): here is an allusion to the Primal Ether together with the four elements and their decomposition, for their goal is to return to the earth, which is the fourth element, and all of the elements are equalized within it, and it is in the elements, and the Ether mediates between them." As Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 474, has noted, the correlation between the four creatures of the divine chariot and the four primal elements is made already in formative Christian exegesis on the chariot and from there influenced Islamic exegesis.
107. Verman, *Books of Contemplation*, p. 105; Hebrew text on p. 93.
108. "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 96 n. 11.
109. See Hebrew text in Verman, *Books of Contemplation*, p. 92, and English translation on p. 104.
110. M. Idel, "The World of Angels in Human Form," in *Studies in Jewish Mysticism, Philosophy and Ethical Literature Presented to Isaiah Tishby on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, p. 30 (in Hebrew).

111. See Verman, *Books of Contemplation*, p. 227.
112. Hebrew text in Verman, *Books of Contemplation*, p. 230. See Idel, "World of Angels," p. 24, and especially the text of Meir ibn Sahula cited in n. 87 ad locum.
113. Farber, "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 96n. 11; Idel, "World of Angels," p. 24.
114. G. Scholem, "R. Moses of Burgos, Disciple of R. Isaac," *Tarbiz* 5 (1934): 189 (in Hebrew).
115. That is, the last of the gradations or the *Shekhinah*, which is depicted as the lower point that is parallel to the upper point, the beginning of emanation, *Hokhmah*.
116. *Zohar Hadash*, ed. R. Margaliot (Jerusalem, 1978), 38c. The matter of the containment of all the forms of the chariot in the form of an anthropos is reiterated many times in zoharic literature. Cf. *Zohar* 1:18b-19a, 71b; 2:80b, 211b; 3:48a, 118b, 240b, 274a; and see Y. Liebes, *Sections of a Zohar Lexicon* (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 50-51 n. 123; 53-54 n. 141 (in Hebrew). In the relevant zoharic texts the four celestial creatures are forms engraved on the throne; see, e.g., *Zohar* 3:240b. Needless to say, this notion is much older. See, e.g., *Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Yannai*, p. 217.
117. The description of Metatron as the body of the Presence and as an anthropomorphic image corresponds to the view of Joseph of Hamadan who, it seems, influenced the author of *Tiqqune Zohar*. See Idel, "World of Angels," p. 57, and Farber, "On the Sources," p. 83 n. 35. On the kabbalist Joseph of Hamadan and his relationship to zoharic literature, see Y. Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, trans. A. Schwartz, S. Nakache, and P. Pelli (Albany, 1993), pp. 103-26.
118. The consonants of the word *mah* are *mem* and *he'*, which equal fortyfive, the numerical value of the Tetragrammaton when spelled out in full as YWD HA WAW HA, 10 + 6 + 4 + 5 + 1 + 1 + 6 + 5 + 1.
119. Cf. *Zohar* 1:18b, 149b (*Sitre Torah*); 2:118a (*Racaya' Mehemna'*); 3:274a; and *Zohar Hadash* 38c.
120. That is, Metatron is the secret of the chariot of the Presence designated as *mah*, the numerical equivalent of the Tetragrammaton.
121. *Tiqqune Zohar*, ed. R. Margaliot (Jerusalem, 1978), Introduction, 14b. In this passage it is said of Metatron that he is the "work of the chariot" (*ma'aseh merkavah*). See, however, *Zohar* 3:223b (*Ra'aya' Mehemna'*): "The work of the chariot (*ma'aseh merkavah*) is *Malkhut* . . . and there is a chariot below *Ze'eir'Anpin* that is Metatron." See above n. 93. On Metatron as a chariot for *Tiferet*, compare *Tiqqune Zohar*, Introduction, 4a: "Metatron is in the image of the Righteous, Foundation of the World [cf. *ibid.*, 7a] . . . and he is the one 'by the Chebar Canal' (Ezek. 1:1, 3). What is [the meaning of] Chebar? This is Metatron, a chariot (*rekhev*, the same consonants as the word *kevar*] for the Middle Pillar. 'He mounted a cherub and flew' (2 Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:11)." In this text there is a

link made between the chariot (*rekhev*), the canal Chebar (*kevar*) alongside of which Ezekiel had his chariot vision, and the cherub (*keruv*); all of these terms refer to Metatron who is also depicted in the image of *Yesod*, the divine phallus. Cf. the German Pietistic text, *Perush Haftarah*, MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Or. 942, fol. 154a, cited in my "Metatron and Shi'ur Qomah in the Writings of Haside Ashkenaz," n. 90. The phallic position accorded Metatron may be implied in *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 290b. Immediately after a discussion on several facets of the angel Metatron derived from *Hekhalot* literature, there appears the following statement: "'Who measured the waters with the hollow of His hand' (Isa. 40:12): this is the balance (*mo'znayim*), one scale from one side, another scale from the other side, and the tongue in the middle." (See n. 296.) The text is accompanied by a drawing of the scales. Although it is not stated explicitly that the scales are attributed to Metatron, the fact that this discussion follows the description of Metatron at least suggests this possibility. The suggestion is strengthened by the fact that the biblical verse that introduces the discussion of the scales has obvious demiurgic connotations. On the phallic status of Metatron, cf. Joseph Gikatilla, *Ginnat'Egoz* (Hanau, 1615), 44d: "Understand what they have said regarding the soul of Moses that is placed between the throne of glory and Metatron. This matter is very deep, and it is the Righteous, foundation of the world. We do not say this for everyone, and the enlightened will understand." See Farber, "On the Sources," p. 94 n. 61, who suggests that the text of Gikatilla resembles the "secret of the moon" found in Jacob ha-Kohen's *Sefer ha-'Orah*; see n. 190. Cf. *Zohar* 3:230b (*Ra'aya' Mehemna'*): "The angel Metatron is a chariot for the Presence . . . the Middle Pillar is a chariot for the Cause of Causes and His Presence is a chariot for the Middle Pillar." Cf. MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2430, fol. 70a, where Eleazar's disciple, Shem Tov ben Simhah reports a tradition that he received from his teacher according to which Metatron is referred to as the unique chariot, *rekhevmevuhad*. (On this collection of German Pietistic secrets and its editor, see Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 376 n. 122; Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, pp. 48,255; idem, "The Vicissitudes," p. 91; and idem, "The Intention of Prayer from the Tradition of R. Judah the Pious," *Da'at* 10 (1983): 47-56 [in Hebrew].) Dan, "The Vicissitudes," p. 91 n. 17, suggests to emend the text from *rkvto krv*, thereby seeing here a reference to the *keruv ha-meyuhad*, the special cherub. However, if one were to accept this textual emendation, it would stand as a proof against Dan's own repeated insistence that the term *keruv ha-meyuhad* does not appear in the writings of the Pietists from the Kalonymide circle. In "Metatron and Shi'ur Qomah," I have suggested that the text should be left intact, the expression *rekhev mevuhad* signifying that Metatron is a chariot upon which the divine glory dwells. See also the reference to the *keruvyahid* in a text of Eleazar cited below in n. 324. On the identification of the Active Intellect, also designated as the something (*yesh*) created out of nothing (*'ayin*) and the seventh heaven,' Aravot, as the special cherub (*keruv ha-meyuhad*), see Judah Campanton, *Arba'ah Qinyanim*, MSS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2532, fol. 11a, Trinity College F.12.153, fol. 13b. On Metatron as the throne of glory, see Farber, "On the Sources," p. 83 n. 35, and M. Idel, "Additional Fragments from the Writings of R. Joseph of Hamadan," *Da'at* 21 (1988): 49, n. 16 (in Hebrew).

The critical text cited by Idel from MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1884, fol. 18a, is also transcribed in Verman, *Books of Contemplation*, p. 94, in the critical apparatus to lines 97-99. A trace of this motif is discernible in the Pietistic commentary on the different names of Metatron where one of the names of the latter, נְעִישִׁיהַ, is said to "numerically equal כִּסֵּא יְהוָה (throne of the Lord) for he is engraved and standing near the throne and the throne is engraved from him, and he himself is hewn within it." Cf. MSS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1804, fol. 9b, 2026, fol. 5a; Cambridge, University Library Add. 405, fol. 313a; Moscow-Guenzberg, Russian State Library 90, fol. 132a; and Oxford, Bodleian Library 2286, fol. 164a. Cf. also the passage cited below in n. 140. Concerning this text, see Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, pp. 220-23; idem, "The Seventy Names of Metatron," *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies-Division C* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 19-23; Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 237, 300, 423; and Y. Liebes, "The Angels of the Shofar and Yeshua Sar ha-Panim," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 6,1-2 (1987): 171-98 (in Hebrew), esp. nn. 7,9, 10, 13,20,21, 22, 33,42.

122. On the connection between Jacob's dream and the vision of the chariot in medieval Jewish philosophical literature, see A. Altmann, "The Ladder of Ascension," in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem on his Seventieth Birthday* (Jerusalem, 1967), pp. 1-32, esp. 19-26. According to another midrashic tradition, Jacob's dream of the ladder is connected with the Sinaitic theophany, based on the numerical equivalence of the words *sullam* and *sinai*, i.e., both are 130. Cf. *Genesis Rabbah* 68:12, p. 786. For a later development of this numerology in the literature of the German Pietists, cf. *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1812, fol. 77b; *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 35; and *Sefer ha-Roqeah* (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 106.

123. *Synopse*, § 199; see also § 237. On the use of the ladder as a symbol for the *via mystica* in this context, see P. Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God: Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Albany, 1992), p. 146, and J. Dan, "The Beginnings of Ancient Jewish Mysticism," *Da'at* 29 (1992): 5-25 (in Hebrew), esp. 20-21. Dan likewise surmises that the archetype for the ladder of ascent in the passage from *Hekhalot Rabbati* was the ladder of Jacob.

124. *Synopse*, §§ 181-82.

125. MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1806, fol. 20b.

126. *Studies in Ashkenazi Hasidic Literature*, pp. 134-87.

127. Literally, the Tigris, *hiddeqel*; cf. Gen. 2:14.

128. *Studies in Ashkenazi Hasidic Literature*, p. 172, corrected slightly according to MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1567, fol. 10a.

129. See M. Idel, "On the Metamorphosis of an Ancient Technique of Prophetic Vision in the Middle Ages," *Sinai* 86 (1979): 1-7 (in Hebrew). The text under discussion is cited by Idel, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

130. *Megalleh'Amuqot*, ed. S. Weiss (New York, 1982), p. 75.

131. *Midrash Leqah Toy*, ed. S. Buber (Vilna, 1888), 71a.

132. The connection between Metatron and the Logos was already noted by D. Neumark, *Toledot ha-Pilosofiyah be-Yisra'el* (New York, 1921), 1:74. On the identification of Metatron as the Demiurge, see J. Dan, "Anafiel, Metatron, and the Creator," *Tarbiz* 52 (1983): 447-57 (in Hebrew). It is relevant in this context to note that in one passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati* (cf. *Synopse*, § 190) the expressions "mighty one of Jacob" (*'avirya 'aqov*), "holy one of Israel" (*qedosh yisra'e*), and "creator" (*yoser bere'shit*) are synonymous: *haterhater yoser bere'shitzelah selah'avirya'aqov mehal mehal qedosh yisra'el ki'adir melakhim'atah*. The use of this passage is discernible in the poem *etpene mevin we-yode'a din dal*, by Meir bar Isaac, in *Mahzor la-Yamim Nora'im*, ed. Goldschmidt, 2:673: *selah'avir ya'aqovyoserbere shithater*. Eleazar of Worms cites this passage from *Hekhalot Rabbati* in his writings, but it seems that in his case the "mighty one of Jacob" is connected to the icon of Jacob engraved upon the throne of glory. Cf. *Perush haMerkavah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fol. 59a; "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 31; and *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 49. On the expression *'avirya'aqovas* a designation for the enthroned glory, see the version of *Sod ha-'Egoz* in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1960, fols. 129b-131b published by Dan, "Hokhmah ha-'Egoz," p. 80. However, *'avirya'aqov* is one of the names of Metatron according to the Pietistic commentary on the different names of this angel (see above n. 121). Cf. MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2026, fols. 8a-b.

133. See G. Scholem, "The Secret of the Tree of Emanation by R. Isaac: A Treatise from the Kabbalistic Tradition of *Sefer ha-Temunah*," *Qoves'al Yad* 5 (1951): 67 n. 2 (in Hebrew). I would like to take this opportunity to correct my description of this work in "Letter Symbolism and Merkavah Imagery in the Zohar," in *Alei Shefer: Studies in the Literature of Jewish Thought Presented to Rabbi Dr. Alexandre Safran*, ed. M. Hallamish (Bar-Ilan, 1990), p. 100 (English section), where I neglected to mention Scholem's attribution of the text to the circle of *Sefer ha-Temunah*.

134. See, e.g., MSS Cambridge, University Library Add. 671, fols. 84b-89b; Oxford, Bodleian Library 1557, fols. 12a-26b; New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1990, fols. 49a-63b, 8115, fols. 76b-81a; and Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 194, fols. 2a-28b. Regarding this commentary, see also G. Scholem, *Kitve Yad ba-Qabbalah* (Jerusalem, 1930), p. 7, and references supplied there. In that context Scholem concluded that the commentaries on the seventytwo-letter name derived from the school of Abraham Abulafia, even though he acknowledged as well the influence of the doctrine of cosmic cycles (*shemittot*) of *Sefer ha-Temunah*.

135. *Sefer Razi'el*, 33b; MSS Cambridge, University Library Add. 671, fol. 89a; New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 8115, fol. 79b; Oxford, Bodleian Library 1557, fol. 26b.

136. For example, Abraham Abulafia, Moses de León, Joseph Gikatilla, Moses Narboni, Levi ben Gershom, and Isaac Albalag, to name a few of the better known authors.

137. This, of course, reflects the oft-cited tradition in medieval sources to the effect that the name "Metatron" has the same numerical value as the name "Shaddai," i.e., 314.
138. *Sefer Razi'el*, 33b; MSS Cambridge, University Library Add. 671, fol. 89a; New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 8115, fol. 79b; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 194, fol. 28b.
139. See *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. E. E. Urbach (Jerusalem, 1963), 4:36-38, and esp. 38 n. 81.
140. See *Mahzor min Rosh ha-Shanah we-Yom ha-Kippurim'im Perush Qorban'Aharon* (Lemberg, 1766), 13a, cited in *Mahzor la-Yamin ha-Nora'im*, ed. Goldschmidt, 1:84 n. 44 (Rosh ha-Shanah).
141. See above n. 121.
142. MSS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2026, fol. 20a, Cambridge, University Library Heb. Add. 405, fol. 307b, MoscowGuenzberg, Russian State Library 90, fol. 129a, Oxford, Bodleian Library 2256, fol. 160a. In this connection it is also of interest to note the following remark of Eleazar ben Moses ha-Darshan in his commentary on the Torah, *Sefer ha Gimatri'ot*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 221, fol. 148a: "'And the angel of God now moved' (Exod. 14:19), ['angel of God,' *mal'akh ha-'elohim*] is numerically equal to Jacob [i.e., *ya'aqov* = 182 = *mal'akh ha-'elohim*]. This alludes to the fact that Jacob was like an angel." Cf. Isaac bar Judah ha-Levi, *Sefer Pa'neah Raza'* (Jerusalem, 1984), Toledot, 30b:

"[The name] *ya'aqov* is numerically equal to *mal'akh ha-'elohim*. This alludes to the fact that his image is engraved on the throne. And thus [with respect to] what is written, "O throne of glory, exalted from of old," *kisse' khavod marom me-ri'shon* (Jer. 17:12), the final letters [of the first three words] are *adam*, as it is written, "Each of them had a human face" (Ezek. 1:10). It is alluded to there that the human face was the form of the *tam* [i.e., Jacob], for the final letters of *u-demut penehem* spell *tam*. Thus it says the face of an anthropos (*pene'adam*), i.e., the image of the *tam* that is the human face upon the throne."

If one is to surmise that the angel of God mentioned in Exod. 14:19 refers to Metatron, then the tacit assumption of this comment is that Metatron is identical with the angelic Jacob. The likelihood that this explanation is implied is strengthened by a comment on Exod. 14:19 extant in a manuscript collection of Ashkenazi comments on the Torah cited in *Tosafot ha-Shalem: Commentary on the Bible*, ed. J. Gellis (Jerusalem, 1987), 7:198 (in Hebrew): "The angel of God (*mal'akh ha-'elohim*) numerically equals Jacob (*ya'aqov*), i.e., Jacob is considered an angel for he wrestled with him (cf. Gen. 32:25), and the two of them were high priests before the Holy One, blessed be He." It is also possible that reflected here is the notion that the angel with whom Jacob struggled was Michael. See *Midrash Tanhuma'*, ed. Buber, Vayishlah § 7, 83a, and the passage from *Midrash A vkirin Yalqut Shim'oni* to Gen. 32:25, § 132, cited as well in S. Buber, *Liqqutim*

mi-Midrash'Avkir (Vienna, 1883), pp. 7-8. See also the pseudo-Eleazar *Perush ha-Roqeah'alha-Torah*, ed. Ch. Konyevsky (Bene-Beraq, 1986), 1:249. Concerning the unreliability of this attribution, see J. Dan, "The Commentary on the Torah of Eleazar of Worms," *Kiryat Sefer* 59 (1984): 644 (in Hebrew), and idem, "The Ashkenazi Hasidic 'Gates of Wisdom,'" in *Hommage a Georges Vajda*, ed. G. Nahon and Ch. Touati (Louvain, 1980), pp. 183-89. On the tradition of Metatron (or Michael) as celestial high priest, see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York, 1965), p. 49. On the application of this title to Jesus in Christian exegesis, see, e.g., Origen, *Horn. in Num.* 11:9, cited in *The Teaching of Sylvanus (Nag Hammadi Codex VII, 4)*, text, trans., and commentary by J. Zandee (Leiden, 1991), p. 157. For the interpretation of the angel of God mentioned in Exod. 14:19 as a probable reference to Metatron, see Joseph Bekhor Shor, *Perush'al ha-Torah* (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 81.

143. Cf. *Synopse*, § 398. It should be noted as well that in these older sources, the crown upon the head of the divine glory is likewise given the name "Israel." See above, n. 40. On the association of the name "Israel" with Metatron, see Jacob ben Jacob ha-Kohen, *Seferha-'Orah*, MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana 62, fol. 108b [see the printed version of this text in Abrams, "Book of Illumination," p. 274] and the passage from the same composition published by Scholem, "Traditions of R. Jacob and R. Isaac," p. 242. On the relationship of the fragmentary secrets published by Scholem and the anthology of the *Sefer ha'Orah*, see Farber, "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 125 n. 16. On various aspects of Metatron in the writings of Jacob ha-Kohen, see my study, "Metatron and Shi'ur Qomah in the Writings of Haside Ashkenaz," nn. 36, 73, 86, 87, 116, 118, and see now the discussion in Abrams, op. cit., pp. 65-89.

144. *Perush'al ha-Torah*, ed. A. Weiser (Jerusalem, 1977), 3:309, ad Deut. 32:8.

145. Cf., e.g., the commentary of Abraham ibn Ezra to Isa. 66:1; the introduction to the commentary on Daniel; *The Religious Poems of Abraham Ibn Ezra*, ed. I. Levin (Jerusalem, 1975; in Hebrew), 1:160 (poem no. 86); 288 (poem no. 154); 431 (poem no. 225); and 438 (poem no. 228).

146. Cf., e.g., *Perush'al ha-Torah*, ed. Weiser, 2:27, ad Exod. 3:15; commentary to Ps. 8:4; *Religious Poems of Abraham Ibn Ezra 1*: 164 (poem no. 89); 515 (poem no. 258); and D. Rosin, "Die Religionsphilosophie Abraham Ibn Esra's," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 42 (1898): 243-54.

147. Cf. Farber, "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 31: "Concerning that which is written, 'He cast down from heaven to earth the majesty of Israel' (Lam. 2:1), i.e., the level of the four supernal creatures, who are fixed in the supernal, encompassing sphere and in whom the image of Jacob is engraved, was cast down to the floor of the lowest sphere of the moon that is called earth."

148. E. R. Wolfson, "God, the Demiurge, and the Intellect: On the Usage of the Word *Kol* in Abraham ibn Ezra," *Revue des études juives* 149 (1990): 77-111.

See also relevant discussion in Rosin, "Die Religionsphilosophie," p. 202; A. Altmann, "Moses Narboni's Epistle on Shi' ur Qomah," in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. A. Altmann (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 267 n. 21; G. Vajda, *Juda ben Nissim ibn Malka: Philosophe Juif Marocain* (Paris, 1954), p. 79; and idem, "Pour le Dossier de Metatron," in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History Presented to Alexander Altmann on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. S. Stein and R. Loewe (University, Alabama, 1979), pp. 345-54.

149. The interpretation of ibn Ezra's secret that I have offered is confirmed in several supercommentaries on his commentary. See, e.g., Joseph ben Eliezer Tov Elem, *Sofnat Pa'neah* (Berlin, 1930), 2:88-89:

The explanation of "[He fixed the boundaries of peoples] in relation to Israel's numbers" (Deut. 32:8): the sages, blessed be their memory, said that the form of Jacob, our patriarch, is engraved on the throne of glory, and this is a great secret . . . Understand that when it is the proper noun it alludes to the awesome and glorious name and when it is an adjective, i.e., a name of an attribute, it alludes to the Active Intellect [needless to say, here the Active Intellect is the first or universal intellect and not the tenth of the separate intellects as we find, e.g., in the case of Maimonides] and this is the angel that advises and guides Israel . . . and Israel is the lot of this holy angel just as the nations are all the lot of the stars that guide them Since the universal form of each and every nation, i.e., the name of every nation, is engraved upon its star so that its group would be guarded, they thus said that the form of Jacob is engraved upon the throne of glory for he is the one that guards the class of Israelites and guides them All of this is in order to remove them from under the dominion of the stars so that there is no archon over them except for the archon of the world who is Michael, the angel of the countenance who is the Active Intellect.

Cf. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 188, fol. 128a. See also Samuel ibn Motot, *Megillat Setarim* (Venice, 1554), 51b: "This is the reason that the sages, blessed be their memory, said that the form of Jacob, our patriarch, is engraved on the throne of glory, and this is a great secret. The explanation refers to the order of Jacob, our patriarch, peace be upon him, and the matter of this image and this number is that the ninth [sphere] is the throne Remember the view of the sage, may his memory be for a blessing, with respect to the matter of the throne and the glorious name that sits upon it." It may be inferred from this that the image of Jacob is the glorious name that sits upon the throne, a symbolic depiction of the intellect that moves the ninth sphere. Cf. the words of ibn Motot, *ibid.*, 11a: "The explanation for what they said, 'He rides upon His swift cherub' (*keruv qal*), is in accordance with the view of those who say that He is the one who moves the ninth [sphere], the one who moves everything, for he is in truth His swift cherub." From here it follows that the swift cherub is the intellect that moves the ninth sphere. The manner in which the cherub is

described in this second passage is identical with the manner in which the image of Jacob is described in the first passage. Can one conclude that implied here is some older esoteric tradition according to which the image of Jacob engraved on the throne was identified as a cherub? See my comments in "God, the Demiurge, and the Intellect," pp. 92-93 n. 61. A tradition such as this does appear in the literature of the German Pietists, as will be made clear. On the identification of the Active Intellect as Metatron designated by the names "angel," "cherub," and "Elohim," see Abraham Abulafia, *Sitre Torah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale heb. 774, fol. 129b.

150. The reference is to the *sheti wa-cerev*, the warp and woof, an expression employed on any number of occasions in Abulafia's extensive corpus to refer to opposites or polarities. See, e.g., *Perush Sefer Yesirah'Almoni mi-Yesodo shel Rabbi'Avraham'Abul afiya*, ed. I Weinstock (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 28 n. 12, 29 n. 16. In the second reference the connection to Metatron is obvious. See also M. Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia* (Albany, 1988) p. 217 n. 97; idem, *Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah* (Albany, 1988), p. 41 n. 16.

151. In MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 92 (see following note) the reading is *Caqevo*, "his heel," but I have corrected this obvious scribal error according to MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 233, fol. 97b, for the letters of 'aqevi are those of *ya 'aqov*.

152. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 92, fol. 59b (my thanks to Moshe Idel who discussed this text with me and made some important remarks that helped me decode Abulafia's somewhat obtuse style). Cf. *Sefer haMelammed*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1649, fol. 204b.

153. See Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 140; idem, *Kabbalah of Sefer haTemunah*, pp. 156-57; Idel, *Mystical Experience*, pp. 27, 117-19; and *Perush Sefer Yesirah*, ed. Weinstock, p. 24 n. 27.

154. See Farber, "On the Sources," pp. 84-87, and Idel, *Mystical Experience*, p. 165 n. 208.

155. On Israel as a designation of the Active Intellect in Abulafia, see M. Idel, *Language, Torah, and Hermeneutics in Abraham Abulafia* (Albany, 1989), pp. 36, 38, 40, 109, 119, and Farber, "On the Sources," p. 84 n. 36.

156. It is possible that the twofold aspect of Metatron related to the double image of Jacob, i.e., the earthly patriarch and his celestial icon engraved upon the throne, underlies the complicated exegesis of Jacob's dream in Abulafia's epistle, *Sheva' Netivot Torah*, in A. Jellinek, *Philosophie und Kabbala* (Leipzig, 1854), Erstes Heft, p. 10:

They have alluded to the secret in their saying that the ladder that Jacob saw was Sinai, and this secret was revealed by way of numerology [see above, n. 122] . . . It is known by us that the secret of Sinai is double and that is qof-lamed [i.e., Sinai = 130 = qoflamed] and it emerges from the two holy names, Adonai Adonai

[each name = 65 x 2= 130], and [the sum] emerges from the five occurrences of the unique name [YHWH] for each one of them is the secret of kaf waw [i.e., 26; I have here followed the suggested emendation of Jellinek, p. 38 n. 10], and there are five [times 26] in qof-lamed (130). The five movements [of the voice represented in the letters qof-lamed that spell qol in a defective form] instruct about the first five essences (hawwayot) by way of the right and five by way of the left. This is [alluded to in Sefer YeSirah 1:3] "Ten sefirot belimah, the number of the ten fingers, five corresponding to five." Thus the name of God [YHWH] begins with a Y (yod) in general, and then HWH, the secret of it is he' and the waw connecting it to another he', to divide the [ten] essences into two he'in, five corresponding to five . . . It is known that the attribute of the hands signifies the reality of the attribute of judgment, and the ten toes signifies the attribute of mercy.

Compare this passage to *Hayye Nefesh*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 408, fols. 18b-19a; *Osar'Eden Ganuz*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1580, fol. 10a. See also *Sitre Torah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 774, fols. 148b and 172a. On the notion of *ha wwayot* in Abulafia, see Idel, "Sefirot above the Sefirot," pp. 260-62 and idem, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, p. 147.

157. See Idel, *Mystical Experience*, pp. 117-18, and relevant notes, esp. p. 165 n. 206. The dialectical nature of the Active Intellect as the first and last of the separate intellects is emphasized, for example, by Abulafia in *Or ha-Sekhel*, MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 233, fol. 33a. See also Abulafia's description of the tenth *sefirah* in *an Na ul*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 58, fol. 319b. Cf. the anonymous work influenced by Abulafia, *Ner'Elohim*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 10, fol. 145b. On the dual character of Metatron as the elder and the youth, see the work printed under the name of David ben Aryeh Leib of Lida, *Sefer Migdal David* (Amsterdam, 1680), 60a (according to some scholars this work is a forgery based on the *Torat Hesed* of Hayyim ben Abraham ha-Kohen of Aleppo): "First he was called Jacob and afterwards he was called Israel . . . so too Metatron was a servant in the secret of *na'ar*, and now he is a *zaqen*." See also *Zohar* 3:215a (*Ra'aya' Mehemna'*) where the scriptural expression, "senior servant of his household," *avdo zeqan beito* (Gen. 24:2), is applied to Metatron.

158. Cf. Abulafia, *Sefer ha-Maftehot*, MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1686, fol. 127a; *Gan Na Cul*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 58, fol. 324b; and *Ner'Elohim*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 10, fol. 133b. See also the passage from *Osar'Eden Ganuz* referred to below in n. 167, and the text from *Imre Shefer* cited by Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, p. 206; and *ibid.*, p. 377 n. 18. See as well the passage from Isaiah ben Joseph's *Osar ha-Hokhmah* cited by Idel, *Mystical Experience*, p. 197.

159. On the relationship of this part of the text to the secret of the seventytwo-letter name of the Iyyun corpus, see Scholem, *Reshit ha-Qabbalah*, pp. 256-

57, n. 6, and idem, *Origins*, p. 323 n. 256. On the authorship of the introduction to *Sefer ha-'Orah*, see G. Scholem's review of *Codices hebraici Bybliothecae Ambrosianae descripti a Carolo Bernheimer*, in *Kiryat Sefer* 11 (1934/35):189. Scholem already suggested that it was written either by R. Jacob ha-Kohen himself or by one of his students. See, by contrast, Scholem's description in *Origins*, p. 323 n. 256. The latter possibility has now been argued in more detail by Abrams, "'Book of Illumination,'" pp. 57-61. Unfortunately, in the Hebrew version of this study, I did not take note of Scholem's comment and simply assumed that the introduction was written by Jacob.

160. It is possible that this term, *sekhel ah*, betrays the particular influence of the expression *'or Sah* as it is employed in the literature of the Iyyun circle (see below, n. 165). On this usage, see Verman, *Books of Contemplation*, pp. 59, 118, and 163, where the author suggests that this term reflects the influence of the writings of Eleazar of Worms upon the Iyyun material.

161. On the conjunction of Jacob and the Active Intellect, see Elnathan ben Moses Kalkish, *'Even Sappir*, MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 284, fols. 6b-7a. On the image of the ladder, see *ibid.*, fol. 49b. The influence of Abulafia on this author has been noted by Idel, *Mystical Experience*, pp. 9495, and idem, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, pp. 351-52 n. 358. See also Simeon bar Samuel, *Adam Sikhli* (Thiengen, 1560), 9b-10a (pagination supplied by me), where the aggadic motif of the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne is cited in the context of a discussion about Jacob's conjunction (*devequt*) with the supernal, spiritual world. On the intellectual background of this author, see J. M. Davis, "Philosophy, Dogma, and Exegesis in Medieval Ashkenazic Judaism: The Evidence of *Sefer Hadrat Qodesh*," *AJS Review* 18 (1993): 195222.

162. See midrashic reference cited above in n. 41.

163. I have rendered the verse in accordance with the meaning assumed by the author rather than in line with its plain sense.

164. MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana 62, fol. 86a.

165. *Ibid.* Cf. fol. 105b: "The light of this rainbow (*qeshet*) is great for it derived [from] the light of the intellect and that is the level of Metatron, for the intellect is fixed in him like the holy spirit in the body. Therefore it says, 'That was the appearance of the semblance of the Presence of the Lord' (Ezek. 1:28), i.e., the derived intellect (*sekhelha-nigzar*), for his name is like the name of his Master [cf. B. Sanhedrin 38b], as it says, 'since My name is in him' (Exod. 23:21)." (Cf. *Zohar* 3:215a [*Ra'aya Mehemna'*]: "Certainly this rainbow (*qeshet*) that is revealed in the exile is none other than Metatron who is called Shaddai.") Cf. the language of the standard recension of *Sefer ha-'Iyyun* in Verman, *Books of Contemplation*, p. 106: "The breath is the intellect that is fixed in the heart (*ha-sekhel ha-qavu'a ba-lev*)" (Hebrew text on p. 93). See Verman's suggestion, p. 106 n. 227, that a possible source for this expression may have been the *Mo'zne Sedeq*, the thirteenth-century Hebrew translation of the treatise by al-Ghazali. See also the

language of the long recension of *Sefer ha-Iyyun* in Verman, p. 78: "the Marvellous Light that is fixed in the Unity" (Hebrew text on p. 68). The term *sekhel qavu'a* appears as the name of the first path in the commentary on the thirty-two paths of Wisdom that is also included in the list of works composed by this circle (see Scholem, *Reshit ha-Qabbalah*, p. 257 n. 8). See, e.g., MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 291, fol. 1b, and another Iyyun commentary on the thirty-two paths of Wisdom included in Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi's commentary on *Sefer Yesirah* (falsely attributed to Rabad), in *Sefer Yesirah* (Jerusalem, 1962), 10b, wherein the fourth path is called the "fixed intellect" (*sekhel qavu'a*). The use of this terminology is evident in a third work that belongs to the literature of the Iyyun circle, *Sod wi- Yesod haQadmoni* (see Scholem, *Reshit ha-Qabbalah*, pp. 259-60 n. 19), MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 54, fol. 285b: "The shining light, i.e., the branches of Wisdom increase above until [they reach] *Keter* to the point that it is not recognizable at all except from the intellect that is fixed in the ponderings of a man's heart." Ibid., fol. 288a: "Know that the paths of the intellect are twenty-six corresponding to the numerical value of the name [YHWH]. The first path is called the aspect of the fixed intellect." The last passage is printed with slight variations in *Seferha-Peli'ah* (Przemysl, 1884), pt. 2, 72c. Finally, mention should be made of the commentary on ten *sefirot* from the Iyyun circle published by G. Scholem, *Kitve Yad ba-Qabbalah*, p. 204, where the term *sekhel qavu'a* is applied to the second of the *sefirot*. For discussion of this term in Iyyun material, see M. Kallus, "Two mid-13th Century Kabbalistic Texts from the'Iyun Circle" (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University, 1992), second part, pp. 14-18 n. 3. (The work of Kallus, needless to say, was not available to me when I wrote the Hebrew version of this study in the fall of 1989. The last reference to the commentary on the ten *sefirot* has been added on the basis of Kallus's extensive note.) The influence of the Iyyun material on Jacob haKohen and other members of his circle in Castile has been noted by various scholars. See Scholem, "Traditions of R. Jacob and R. Isaac," pp. 191-92; idem, *Reshit ha-Qabbalah*, pp. 256-57 n. 6; idem, *Origins*, pp. 310, 321, 323 n. 256, 325 n. 261; Farber, "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 14 of the introduction and pp. 77 n. 6, 79 n. 15, 80 n. 4; and Verman, *Books of Contemplation*, pp. 183-84.

166. *Genesis Rabbah* 68:9, p. 778.

167. *Books of Contemplation*, p. 109 (original Hebrew text on pp. 95-96). I have slightly modified Verman's translation. Cf. the anonymous kabbalistic explanation of Prov. 8:30 in MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1855, fol. 3b, and Abulafia, *'Osar'Eden Ganuz*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1580, fol. 11a.

168. Printed in the pseudo-Eleazar *Perush ha-Roqeah'al ha-Torah*, 1:35 (see above, n. 142). This source was already noted by Verman, *Books of Contemplation*, p. 109 n. 249. It is possible that this tradition influenced the view expressed in *Sod wi-Yesodha-Qadmoni*, MS Munich, BayerischeStaatsbibliothek 54, fol. 288b (*Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, pt. 2, 72c) with respect to *Keter* that it is "the first

path in which His splendor is revealed and the glory of the Holy One, blessed be He, is seen . . . and it divides into four squared parts."

169. On the identification in older sources of the image of Jacob and the celestial creature named "Israel," see Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:307n. 253.

170. That is, both expressions equal 1237.

171. "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p.8. The numerical equivalence of the expressions *we-ra'ita'et'ahorai* and *bi-demut ya'aqov she-haquq bakisse'* has its origin in Eleazar of Worms' commentary on the chariot, MS Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale heb. 850, fol. 57a. See also *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1204, fol. 97a, and *SodeRazayya'*, ed. Weiss, p. 148. See also the citation from Ephraim ben Shimshon above in n. 85.

172. See *Aruch Completum*, ed. A. Kohut Jerusalem, 1969), s.v., 1'pc, 6:110.

173. "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 9.

174. *Ibid.*, p. 28. It is of interest to note that in the version of this text extant in MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America 8118, fol. 16b (the manuscript dates from the fourteenth century and is written in an Ashkenazi script) there is a drawing of a human form (head and neck) to accompany the catchword *bi-demut ya'aqov*, "in the image of Jacob." The figure is that of a young male with what appears to me to be a definite effeminate quality, perhaps related to the description of Jacob in Gen. 27:11. This graphic depiction has also been noted by Abrams, "'Book of Illumination,'" p. 83 n. 1, but he did not relate to the issue of the gender of the anthropomorphic form. Cf. Moses of Burgos, *Sefer ha-'Orah*, MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1806, fol. 14a (MS Jerusalem, Mussajoff 145, fol. 60a): "Sandalphon binds [a crown] to the glory that is engraved upon the chariot." And in MS Jerusalem, Mussajoff 145, fol. 71a: "'You cannot see My face' (Exod. 33:20) . . . i.e., the image of the human face engraved upon the chariot." Noteworthy as well is the following passage from the *seder ha-merkavah* attributed to Eliezer (!) of Worms, extant in MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 9005, fol. 182a: "The upper glory [consists of] ten supernal *sefirot* that are in *Tiferet*, the supernal Jacob . . . and underneath him is the throne, and upon the throne is a second glory, and that is the face of the lower Jacob." A different explanation may be found in Isaac ha-Kohen's treatise on the left emanations in Scholem, "Traditions of R. Jacob and R. Isaac," p. 262. According to what is said there, corresponding to the creature in the domain of the chariot whose name is Israel in the sefirotic pleroma is the "crown of royalty whose name is Israel," i.e., the tenth emanation, *Malkhut*, rather than the sixth emanation, *Tiferet*.

175. See Farber, "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," pp. 86 n. 10, and 98 n. 7. The influence of this tradition is discernible in a number of other kabbalistic sources of which I will here mention a small representative sampling. Cf. the passage in the treatise *Or ha-Sekhel*, composed by R. Jonathan (see Scholem, *Kitve Yad ba-Qabbalah*, pp. 52-54), MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary

of America Mic. 1831, fol. 21b: "Thus the sages, blessed be their memory, said that there is one creature in heaven whose name is Israel and engraved on its forehead is [the word] *be-yisra'el*. The secret of Israel is the Active Intellect and it is the tenth angel, for in truth it is Metatron . . . and he is called Israel the Elder (*yisra'el sabba'*)." See Nathan Nata ben Solomon Spira, *Megalleh'Amuqot: Reish-nunbet'Ofanim'al Wa-'ethanan* (Bene-Beraq, 1992), 113, 90b: "At the time of the destruction [it is written]'He cast down from heaven to earth the majesty of Israel' (Lam. 2:1). It is found in the midrash [see above n. 39] that the king said, Are you becoming haughty on account of the diadem that you gave Me? Behold I will cast the diadem below, as it says,'He cast down from heaven to earth the majesty of Israel.' This is the one creature whose name is Israel, for the Holy One, blessed be He, took it and threw it to the earth. The secret of the matter is as it is found in the *Pirqe Hekhalot* concerning the diadem that the Holy One, blessed be He, places on the head of Metatron, which is called Israel. And this is the secret of Israel in whom I glory' (Isa. 49:3)." On the identification of Metatron and the celestial creature whose name is Israel, cf. the text in MS Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale heb. 793, fol. 246b.

176. According to MSS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 228 and BudapestKaufmann, Rabbinerseminar 238. MSS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 40 and Philadelphia, Dropsie University 436 preserve two readings: "Bear witness to him," and "to them." MSS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 8128 and Oxford, Bodleian Library 1531 read: "Bear witness to me." MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 22 has: "Establish for them."

177. Five of the manuscripts here employ the third person feminine pronoun, 'rI. One manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 22) uses the third person masculine, Kn; MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 228 has no pronoun here. The perplexing grammatical point is that the subject of the sentence, *qelaster panav*, requires a masculine form. See the following two notes.

178. Again the feminine form (*haquqah*) is employed.

179. Here too the feminine form is employed, ;7'm., which should be translated "over her."

180. Following the reading of MSS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 228 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 22, presumably referring to the throne upon which is engraved the visage of Jacob. See Schafer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, pp. 46,119. According to MSS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 8128, Oxford, Bodleian Library 1531, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 40, Philadelphia, Dropsie University 436, and Kaufmann-Budapest, Rabbinerseminar 238, the reading is "on My arms," thus conveying the image of God's full embrace of the throne with His hands wrapped around His own arms. This reading is attested in the passage from Judah ben Yaqar cited below in n. 196 and the passage of Eleazar cited below in n. 373.

181. *Synopse*, § 164.

182. Similar imagery is used in another passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati* to describe the relationship of the celestial creatures to the enthroned glory (see *Synopse*, § 189). Parenthetically, it is worth noting that in some talmudic contexts the words *gippeland nishsheq*, to embrace and to kiss, appear together in the context of describing an act of idolatrous worship; see, e.g., B. Yoma 66b and Sanhedrin 60b. My thanks to Prof. David Weiss Halivni for drawing my attention to this fact. See, however, *Seder Eliahu Zuta*, ed. M. Friedmann (Vienna, 1904), 13, pp. 194-95, where a more positive use is attested for the words *megappel*, *mehabbeq*, and *menashsheq*. See also the Ashkenazi commentary on the fortytwo-letter name of God extant in MS Moscow-Guenzberg, Russian State Library 366, fol. 40b, where God is described as fondling (*mehabbeq*) and kissing (*menashsheq*) the feminine Torah.

183. Cf. *Synopse*, §§ 94, 99, 154, 159, 687, and *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literature*, ed. P. Schäfer (Tübingen, 1984), pp. 105, 185. See Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, pp. 25-26; M. Idel, "Metaphores et pratiques sexuelles dans la cabale," in *Lettresurla saintet, le secret de la relation entrel'homme et la femme dans la cabale, étude préliminaire*, traduction de l'hébreu et commentaires par Ch. Mopsik (Paris, 1986), p. 340 n. 35; idem, "Additional Fragments," p. 49 n. 16; and E. R. Wolfson, "Female Imaging of the Torah: From Literary Metaphor to Religious Symbol," in *From Ancient Israel to Modern Judaism Intellect in Quest of Understanding: Essays in Honor of Marvin Fox*, ed. J. Neusner, E. S. Frerichs, and N. M. Sarna (Atlanta, 1989), 2:283 n. 43. On the development of this motif in the writings of the German Pietists, see E. R. Wolfson, "Circumcision and the Divine Name: A Study in the Transmission of Esoteric Doctrine," *Jewish QuarterlyReview* 78 (1987): 95 n. 53; and see especially reference to Farber cited below in n. 209. To the sources that I mentioned there that posit a correlation between circumcision and the Tetragrammaton one should add an important text in a composition that Dan has attributed to Judah the Pious (see above n. 126), MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 113b:

"Who among us can go up to the heavens," *mi ya'aleh lanu ha-shamaymah* (Deut. 30:12). [The word] *milah* [circumcision] is alluded to in the first letters of the words and the name [YHWH] in the last letters . . . for with respect to circumcision it is written "to be God to you" (Gen. 17:7), to indicate that those who are circumcised cleave to the throne of glory. The souls of the Jews who are circumcised ascend for the word of Torah (*millah shel torah*) is on his tongue, as it says, "No, the thing is very close to you, in your mouth and in your heart, to observe it" (Deut. 30:14), and it is written, "The utterance of a man set on high" (2 Sam. 23:1), above everything in the Garden of Eden, and it is written, "His word is on my tongue" (*ibid.*, 2).

This passage is based on *Sefer Yesirah* 1:3, according to which the covenant of the one (*berityahid*) is said to be "set in the middle in the circumcision of the tongue (*milatha-lashon*) and the circumcision of the foreskin (*milatha-ma'or*)." I have followed the version of the text in I. Gruenwald, "A Preliminary Critical Edition of Sefer Yezira," *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971): 141. It should be evident that the cleaving to the throne, awarded to male Jews by virtue of circumcision, entails an erotic element that is based on the feminine nature of the throne. The sweeping generalization of Dan that in the writings of the German Pietists there is no parallel to the kabbalistic literature with respect to the bisexual nature of the divine realm (see above n. 9) totally neglects those passages in the relevant Pietistic material that unambiguously affirm the feminine character of the throne. Even if my conjecture regarding the icon of Jacob is rejected, one would still have to deal with the texts that ascribe feminine images to the throne itself. The feminine nature of the throne of glory (related to the ark of the covenant) is implied in the Pietistic text published by Dan, *Studies in Ashkenazi Hasidic Literature*, pp. 186-87. The mystical secret derived from the correlation of the ark (or the throne) and circumcision is linked to a visionary experience of the divine splendor. On the feminization of the throne as a hypostatic power, see also the passage from the *Sefer ha-Yihud ha-'Amiti* in Kallus, "Two Mid-13th Century Kabbalistic Texts," p. 3: "Throne is called in this way (i.e., *kisse'*) because within her (!) are hidden (*mitkassin*) all the potencies. And she sits and is silent." See *ibid.*, p. 7: "And the Primordial Aether, which is emanated from the Power of the Exalted Cause of all causes, is made into a circle and becomes the Throne of Majesty, which becomes bright and shouts and says: 'Adiriron Yah Lord of Hosts, be glorified, for upon me sits the Magnificent King.'" (This text is copied and elaborated upon in "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 50; and see Farber's remarks on pp. 191-92 nn. 4, 5.) In the second passage the verbs that refer to the throne are all in feminine form. Here the grammar reflects ontology, for the presumption clearly is that the throne is a female potency. This is conveyed as well in the circular shape that is attributed to the throne (see above n. 65). Paraphrasing the text from *Hekhalot Rabbati* (see *Synopse* § 99 [see n. 3521, already noted by Farber, "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 152 n. 6; Kallus, p. 74 n. 159]) the author of the Iyyun text describes the enthronement as a sacred union of the masculine glory and the feminine throne. It is also evident from other works belonging to the Iyyun corpus that the Primordial Ether represents a feminine potency vis-à-vis the masculine Godhead; see discussion in my study, "Erasing the Erasure/Gender and the Writing of God's Body in Kabbalistic Symbolism," in *Circle in the Square: Studies in the Use of Gender in Kabbalistic Symbolism* (Albany, 1995), pp. 64-65. On the circularity and femininity of the throne, see also the Iyyun commentary on the thirty-two paths of Wisdom, MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 291, fol. 12b, transcribed in Kallus, pt. 2, p. 3, and English translation on p. 9. According to that text, the fourteenth of the thirtytwo paths is called the "glorious throne," *kisse' nogah*, because the various powers coalesce to form a circle in the likeness of the throne that constitutes the unification of the Presence (*yihud la-shekhinah*). The latter is described in explicit female imagery.

184. This is precisely how the passage from *Hekhalot Rabbati* was understood by several traditional rabbinic commentators. See, e.g., Sedeqiah

ben Abraham, *Shibbole ha-Leqet ha-Shalem*, ed. S. Buber (Vilna, 1886), § 20, p. 19, cited by Joseph Karo in *Bet Yosef* on Jacob ben Asher, *Tur, 'Orah Hayyim*, 125; and Zevi Hirsch Kaidanover, *Qavha-Yasharha-Shalem* (Jerusalem, 1993), ch. 41, p. 192. Some early critics of my hypothesis concerning the feminization of the image of Jacob called attention to the obvious fact that the biblical persona of Jacob is a male and thus challenged my suggestion that it can symbolically represent a feminine potency. This criticism reflects a very narrow and naive conception of the use of gender symbolism in religious contexts. The issue here is not one of biological sex but rather gender, which is a sociocultural category. One that is biologically male can function as a symbol for the feminine just as a biological woman can be portrayed as masculine. The same reversal of gender symbolism is evident in the theosophic kabbalah where, for instance, the biblical figure of King David became a standard symbol for the feminine divine Presence. See my study, "Crossing Gender Boundaries in Kabbalistic Ritual and Myth," in *Circle in the Square: Studies in the Use of Gender in Kabbalistic Symbolism*. A classical study of such gender reversal is C. Bynum Walker, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982).

185. See, e.g., the description of God's relationship to the letters in *Midrash 'Otiyyot de-R. 'Aqiva*, in *Batte Midrashot* 1:289: "What does the Holy One, blessed be He, do at that time? He takes hold of all the letters on the chariot, embraces and kisses them, and binds crowns on them." Cf. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 25. In this connection it is worthwhile to recall the words of Augustine, *De Trinitate*, Bk. 6, ch. 10, sec. 1: "Illa igitur ineffabilis quidam complexus Patris et imaginis non est sine perfruitione, sine charitate, sine gaudio." Cf. the passage from *Hekhalot Zutarti*, in *Synopse §411*: "R. Akiva said: Thus the light of the face of Jacob, our patriarch, shined before Adiriyon, YHWH, the God of Israel." The connection between this text and the passage from *Hekhalot Rabbati* about the visage of Jacob (*Synopse § 164*) has already been noted by R. Elijior, *Hekhalot Zutarti, Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought*, Supplement 1 (1982): 73 n. 317 (in Hebrew). I contend that the shining of the face has a sexual connotation.

186. Cf. the description of Jacob in the poem *ayom temim de'im*, by Benjamin bar Samuel, in *Mahzor la-Yamim Nora'im*, ed. Goldschmidt, 1:183: *halaq ha-rashum be-khes setarim*. See also the language in *Shir ha-Yihud* from the circle of the Ashkenazi Pietists, in *Shire ha-Yihud we-ha-Kavod*, ed. A. M. Habermann (Jerusalem, 1948), p. 30: *heleqya'aqov yoser ha-kol*, based on Deut. 32:9 and Jer. 51:19. Is there an allusion in the expression *heleq ya'aqov*, the portion of Jacob, to the motif of the image of Jacob, as we have seen in other sources where there is a wordplay between *heleq*, portion, and *halaq*, smoothskinned? If we assume this to be the case, then there is a tacit assertion here that the image of Jacob is the demiurge! The wordplay between *halaq* and *heleq* as applied to Jacob is evident, for example, in the anonymous commentary on the *sefirot* extant in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1943, fol. 48b: "[*Tiferet*] is called Jacob . . . and there are two pipes that overflow to *Tiferet*, one from the right and the other from the left. This is the secret of and I am smooth-skinned (*halaq*)' (Gen. 27:11), for he takes a portion (*heleq*) from one side and the other side."

187. *Batte Midrashot* 2:415. Cf. the version in MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1804, fol. 86a.
188. MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 228, fol. 36b.
189. See, e.g., *Zohar* 1:210b; 2:2b; 3:210b. See esp. *Zohar* 1:266b (*Ra'aya' Mehemna'*) where the formulation reflects the Ashkenazi traditions: "He is called Jacob and he is called Israel. Jacob is the language of heel (*'uqva*) and that is feminine . . . And he is called Israel for there is a head (*ro'sh*), the masculine, the head of the feminine that is the heel." Cf. the fragment from the circle of *Sefer ha-Temunah* in MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 194, fol. 17a: "And Jacob is called small (*qatan*) before Esau because he alludes to *'Atarah* [i.e., the Presence], which is called the lesser light (*ma'or qatan*)." On this codex and the relationship of the material it contains to *Sefer ha-Temunah*, see Scholem, "Secret of the Tree of Emanation," p. 67. See also Isaac of Acre, *Sefer Me'irat Einayim*, ed. A. Goldreich (Jerusalem, 1981), p. 154 (cited already by Scholem, "R. Moses of Burgos, the Disciple of R. Isaac," *Tarbiz* 3 [1932], p. 281 n. 1 [in Hebrew]): "The expression [used in conjunction with Jacob] smooth-skinned, *halaq* (Gen. 27:11) alludes to the fact that he is the place of the middle line that is called the portion of Jacob (*heleq ya'aqov*; cf. Jer. 51:19). The portion of Jacob (*heleq ya'aqov*) is that which is called in most cases *Shekhinah*, for it is the God of Israel." See *ibid.*, p. 155, where Isaac of Acre criticizes this view on the grounds that *heleq ya'aqov* symbolically corresponds to the *Saddiq*, i.e., the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, also called the "God of Israel," whereas the *Shekhinah* is the God of Jacob and the portion of David. The feminine valence of the symbol Jacob may also underlie the philosophical interpretation that associates Jacob with matter and Israel with form. Cf., e.g., Simeon ben Semah Duran, *Tiferet Yisra'el* (Venice, 1600), 37b.
190. This motif is fairly common in theosophic kabbalistic sources. Cf. Todros Abulafia, *'Osar ha-Kavod*, 32a: "Thus they have said that the image of the icon of Jacob is engraved in the sphere of the sun, and there are those who say in the sphere of the moon, and it is all true." (On the significance of the moon in the kabbalistic writings of Todros Abulafia, see the material collected and analyzed by M. Oron in her edition of *Sha'ar ha-Razim*, p. 49 n. 19.) Cf. *Tiqqune Zohar*, 18, 36b: "Because of Jacob whose icon is engraved upon the moon." Cf. the commentary on the ten *sefirot* in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1598 (See G. Scholem, "Index of the Commentaries on the Ten *Sefirot*," *Kiryat Sefer* 10 [1934]: 508 n. 93 [in Hebrew]), fol. 112a: "The sixth is *Tiferet*, the third letter of the letters of the [divine] name, Jacob the mild man . . . and his image is engraved upon the moon." Cf. also the anonymous kabbalistic text in MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 228, fol. 19a:

That which the rabbis, may their memory be for a blessing, said concerning the image of Jacob engraved upon the moon bears two explanations, but it all amounts to one thing. The rabbis, may their memory be for a blessing, suggested to us in this statement that the efflux that comes to the world from *'Atarah* [the Pres-

ence] derives from Tiferet. Therefore they said that the form of Jacob is engraved upon the moon, for Tiferet is called Jacob inasmuch as it took his portion and the moon is called Atarah inasmuch as she is the power of the moon. Or you can say that the light that comes from the moon is from the sun, for the splendor of the sun enters the moon and the moon shines. Therefore they speak of the form of Jacob insofar as it is the power of the moon. Or you can say that the light that comes from the moon is from the sun, for the splendor of the sun enters the moon and the moon shines. Therefore they speak of the form of Jacob insofar as the sun receives from Tiferet who is called Jacob.

Cf. Judah Campanton, *Arba'ah Qinyanim*, MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2532, fols. 22b-23a, where the ophan is described as the ontic source of all souls (hence identified as the *guf* in accordance with the aggadic statement in B. Yevamot 62a) as well as the "creature about whom the sages, may their memory be for a blessing, said that there is one creature suspended in the middle of the firmament and its name is Israel, and it is that of which they said that the form of Jacob is engraved upon the moon." The two traditions-the image of Jacob being engraved on the throne or on the moon-are combined in Abraham Abulafia, *Osar'Eden Ganuz*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1580, fol. 9b: "The secret of His throne (*kiss'o*) is the moon (*levanah*) [i.e., *kiss o* and *levanah* both equal 87]. Thus the sages said that the form of Jacob is engraved on the throne of glory and it is engraved upon the moon." It is likely that underlying Abulafia's remark is the identification of the form of Jacob with the Active intellect and the moon with the human intellect. On the relationship of the moon and the throne of glory, see *Perush Sefer Yesirah'Almoni mi-Yesodo shel Rabbi Avraham'Abul'afiya'*, pp. 30-31. For additional comments of Abulafia regarding the moon, see op. cit., pp. 41-43. For discussion of thirteenth-century kabbalistic texts in which the sun represents the Active Intellect and the moon represents the human intellect, see M. Idel, "Jerusalem in Thirteenth-Century Jewish Thought," in *The History of Jerusalem: Crusades and Ayyubids, 1099-1250* (Jerusalem, 1991), p. 280 n. 87 (in Hebrew). Along similar lines, one finds the following tradition in Jacob ha-Kohen, *Seferha'Orah*, MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana 62, fol. 79b (cf. MSS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 835, fols. 1a-b and Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 428, fols. 28a-b; Scholem, "Traditions of R. Jacob and R. Isaac," p. 240) interpreting the reference to the northern wind (*ruah sefonit*):

This is the holy spirit of Moses our master, may peace be upon him, that is hidden (*sefunah*) and concealed (*genuzah*) underneath the throne of glory. The spirit of Moses our master, may peace be upon him, emanated and the holy spirit of Moses was placed in the moon, for the moon (*levanah*) is derived (*gezurah*) from the white firmament (*ha-raqi'a ha-lavan*) that Ezekiel the prophet saw. And on account of the merit of Moses the light of the intellect of Metatron is in the moon together with Moses . . . and from where (do we know) that the spirit of Moses was placed in the moon? As

it says, "She saw that he was good and hid him" (Exod. 2:2). After his death he was (placed) underneath the throne of glory, the first place whence he was taken. The three months here allude to the moon.

For a published version of the text, see Abrams, "Book of Illumination," pp. 331-32. See esp. the version in MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 428, fol. 28b (and parallels in MSS Jerusalem, Sassoon Collection 396-97; Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 3086, fol. 62b; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 806, fols. 201a-b transcribed in Abrams, op. cit., pp. 335-36): "And from where (do we know) that the spirit of Moses was placed in the moon? As it says, 'She saw that he was good and hid him' (Exod. 2:2). That is, the Presence saw that he was good in order to comprehend the level of the intellect. 'She hid him,' after his death underneath the throne of glory, the first place whence he was taken." Compare the related numerology in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 840, fol. 173b: "*Levanah* is numerically equal to *ba-kisse*" [in fact the former word equals 87 and the latter 83], cited by Abrams, op. cit., p. 330 n. 1. In a similar vein cf. Abraham Saba, *Seror ha-Mor* (Jerusalem, 1985), p. 129: "They said that the form of Jacob is engraved on the throne of glory and it is engraved upon the moon." The last source was already noted by Ginzberg, *Legends* 5:291 n. 134. See also Knorr Von Rosenroth, *Kabbalah Denudata* (Hildesheim, 1974), p. 647: "Facies Jacob est luna." See Naftali Herz Treves, *Siddur Mal'ah ha-'Ares De'ah* (Thiengen, 1560), *yosershel shabbat*, on the hymn '*el'adon'al kol ha-ma'asim*': "The form of the moon is in the throne and that is the form of Jacob . . . 'and He diminished," *we-hiqtin*, the form of Jacob the small one (*ha-qatan*) who is called according to her name." On the attribution of the word *qatan* to Jacob, see n. 192. See *ibid.*, *birkatha-levanah*: "The form of Jacob is in the moon, and it alludes to the Community of Israel [i.e., the *Shekhinah*], which is under the throne of glory." See *Siddur of R. Solomon ben Samson of Garmaise*, p. 196, and the marginal note on the blessing for the new moon in Eleazar's commentary on the secrets of prayer, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 144b: "*Barukh yorekha, barukh'osekha, barukh qonekha, barukh bor'ekha*, and the sign [made of the first letter of these four words] is *ya'aqov*, for his form is engraved upon the throne and the moon." See Jacob ben Asher, *Tur, 'Orah Hayyim*, 426: "There are those who say [the blessing on the new moon] in this order, *Barukh yosrekha, barukh'osekha, barukh qonekha, barukh bor'ekha*, and the sign is *ya'aqov*, for she symbolizes him." On the allusion to the name "Jacob" in the form of the blessing for the moon, see also *Kol Bo*, sec. 43, and *Sefer Abudarham ha-Shalem* (Jerusalem, 1963), p. 344: "*Barukh yosrekha, barukh'osekha, barukh qonekha, barukh bor'ekha*, the first letters are *ya'aqov* for he is compared to the moon." See the remark of Joel Sirkes in his commentary, *Beit Hadash*, to the *Tur, 'Orah Hayyim*, 281, s.v., *qara' la-shemesh*: "It must be explained, moreover, that the form of Jacob is seen in the moon. Therefore, they established in the blessing of the moon, *Barukh yosrekha* [*barukh'osekha, barukh qonekha, barukh bor'ekha*], the first letters are *ya'aqov* Thus, according to this it is said [in the liturgical poem recited on Sabbath, '*el'adon'al kol ha-ma'asim*] *qara' la-shemesh wa-yizrah'or* [He called to the sun and it shone forth in light], for the light of the *Shekhinah* dwells

on the splendor of the icon of Jacob whose name is sun (*shemesh*). *Ra'ah wehitqin surat ha-levanah* [He saw and established the form of the moon] in order that the light of the sun will strike and illuminate the moon, so that by means of this the form of Jacob will take shape in the moon, for the moon receives its light from the sun, which is verily the form of Jacob." See also Jacob Emden, *Siddur'Amude Shamayim* (Altona, 1547), 2:13b-14a: "[In the blessing *Barukh*] *yosrekha* the name *ya'aqovis* alluded to in the first letters, for he was called small (*qatan*) on account of the lesser light (*ha-ma'or ha-qatan*)." It is interesting to note that according to this tradition Jacob is linked to all the epithets that describe God as creator. It is worth noting as well a change in the order of the blessing, attributed to Menahem Siyyoni in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1651, fol. 23a, with the purpose of alluding to the hierarchy of the four worlds from below to above: "*Barukh'osekha* corresponds to *Asiyyah*, *barukh yosrekha* corresponds to *Yesirah*, *barukh bor'ekha* corresponds to *Beri'ah*, *barukh qonekha* corresponds to *Asilut*. One should say this three times and jump each time in order to elevate the three worlds, *Beri'ah*, *Yesirah*, and *Asiyyah*, to [the world of] *Asilut*." In Hayyim Vital, *Peri'Es Hayyim* (Jerusalem, 1980), 19:3, p. 463, this order appears as part of the blessing of the moon attributed to the *haverim*, i.e., the fraternity of Lurianic kabbalists. This change in the version of the prayer is found in several kabbalistic prayerbooks and sometimes in the name of Isaac Luria. Cf. *Siddur ha-'Ari* (Zolkiew, 1781), 136b, and Moses Cordovero, *Tefillah le-Mosheh* (Przemysl, 1892), 285b: "This is the order [*yosrekha*, *'osekha*, *qonekha*, and *bor'ekha*] and it is a sign of *ya'aqov*; however, according to the *Ari*, may his memory be for a blessing, one should say *'osekha*, *yosrekha*, *bor'ekha*, and *qonekha*." Cf. Isaiah Horowitz, *Siddur Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*, 220b-21a:

"Jacob then got fresh shoots of poplar" (Gen. 30:37), [the expression *maqal livneh*] alludes to the moon (*levanah*), for the two faces (*du-parsufin*) are joined as one. Then the face of Jacob is engraved in the moon. Thus [the blessing is fixed] *Barukh yosrekha*, *barukh'osekha*, *barukh qonekha*, *barukh bor'ekha*, according to the first letters, *ya'aqov*. These four allude to the chain of [the four worlds] *Asilut*, *Beri'ah*, *Yesirah*, and *Asiyyah* . . . Thus *'osekha* alludes to the world of *Asiyyah*, *yosrekha* to the world of *Yesirah*, *bor'ekha* to the world of *Beri'ah*, and *qonekha* to the world of *Asilut*. The reason that it is not mentioned according to order is so that it could allude to the name of Jacob.

See Jacob Koppel Lipschitz, *Siddur Qol Ya'aqov* (Slavuta, 1804), *kawwanat hiddush ha-hodesh*, 53b: "One says [the prayer] *Barukh'osekha* corresponding to the four worlds, *'Asilut*, *Beri'ah*, *Yesirah*, and *Asiyyah*, and one jumps three times to elevate *Beri'ah* in *Asilut*, *Yesirah* in *Beri'ah*, and *Asiyyah* in *Yesirah*. *Yosrekha*, *Cosekha*, *qonekha*, and *bor'ekha* contain the initials of *ya'aqov*, since Jacob was small." See also Moses Zacuto, *Iggerot ha-ReMeZ* (Livorno, 1780), 6b-7a; Hayyim Joseph David Azulai, *Mahaziq Berakhah* (Livorno, 1785), 426:3; and Shalom Sharabi, *Sefer'Or Levanah* (Jerusalem, 1925), pp. 33-35.

191. Gen. 1:16.

192. Cf. B. Hullin 60b; *Avot de Rabbi Natan*, ed. S. Schechter (Vienna, 1887), version A, ch. 36, p. 107; and commentary of Rashi to Isa. 44:5. See also the commentary on the forty-two-letter name of God in *Sefer Razi'el*, 45b: "The [holy creatures] mention the merit of Jacob who is called small, as it says, 'How will Jacob survive? He is so small' (Amos 7:2, 5)." On the relationship of this commentary to the literature of the German Pietists, see Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 236.

193. *Synopse*, §§ 296, 406; see above n. 96.

194. Deut. 6:4.

195. That is, in *Hekhalot Rabbati*; for reference see n. 181.

196. *Perush ha-Tefillot we-ha-Berakhot*, ed. S. Yerushalmi, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1979), pt. 1, pp. 97-98. This passage has also been discussed by E. Ginsburg in an unpublished study of the motif of *hieros gamos* in Judah ben Yaqar.

197. See Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, p. 169 n. 189.

198. Cf. commentary of Nahmanides to Gen. 33:20 and Deut. 32:7. See E. R. Wolfson, "By Way of Truth': Aspects of Nahmanides' Kabbalistic Hermeneutics," *AJS Review* 14 (1989): 149-50. A parallel to the words of Nahmanides is found in the *Yalqut Hakham Maskil* extant in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1945, fols. 48b-49a (and cf. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 2456, fol. 8b, as well as the version in Isaac of Acre, *Sefer Me'irat Einayim*, p. 55):

The image of Jacob upon the throne is Tif'eret, a throne for Teshuvah. There are those who say that it is Yesod, and a proof for their words is the word 'truth' that signifies the Covenant, as it is said that his icon is engraved on the throne of glory. It is said that Yesod is the throne for Tif'eret . . . the attribute of mercy, God of Israel . . . Yesod is the attribute of Jacob. To this alludes their statement that the icon of Jacob is engraved on the throne of glory, and the intention is that the Shekhinah dwells in the land of Israel, i.e., the icon of Jacob is engraved upon the throne of glory. The throne of glory is Yesod, which is the throne for the master of mercy The intention [of the claim] that the Shekhinah dwells in the land of Israel is that Yesod dwells in the land of Israel.

See Ezra's commentary on Song of Songs, in *Kitve Ramban*, ed. C. D. Chavel (Jerusalem, 1964), 2:477; *Ma'arekhet ha-'Elohut* (Mantua, 1558; rpt. Jerusalem, 1963), 161a; and MS Jerusalem, Mussajoff 145, fol. 52a: "This is the statement of the [sages], may their memory be for a blessing, that the patriarchs are the chariot, and when they mentioned the face of an anthropos this alludes to all the patriarchs. Jacob is mentioned by the sages, may their memory be for a blessing, in their speaking about the icon of Jacob, for he draws from both of them." On the identification of the image of Jacob as *Yesod*, cf. also the kabbalistic secret on the fingernails (*sod ha-sippornayim*) by Moses de León, extant in MSS

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 428, fol. 44b and Jerusalem, Schocken Library 14, fol. 91a. See E. Ginsburg, "The Havdalah Ceremony in Zoharic Kabbalah," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 8 (1989): 205-7 (in Hebrew).

199. Cf. MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2430, fol. 68b: "Thus the intent of the verse, 'The beginning of Your word is truth' (Ps. 119:160), the 'beginning' refers to *Keter*, and 'Your word is truth' to *Tiferet*, the Written Torah. The rabbis, may their memory be for a blessing, said that the patriarchs are the chariot. Therefore it says 'and the God of Jacob' (cf. Exod. 3:15, 4:5), the [letter] *wa w* [in the expression *we'loheya'aqov*] adds to the first matter, and the form of Jacob is under the throne of glory. The verse, 'Am I under God' (Gen. 30:2), 'is proof of this.' The prooftext is based on the fact that the word *anokhi*, "I," is numerically equal to *kisse*, "throne" (see above n. 66). On the image of the form of Jacob engraved underneath the throne, see the formulation in the commentary attributed to Eleazar of Worms on Song of Songs 2:6 cited in *Tosafot ha-Shalem: Commentary on the Bible*, ed. J. Gellis (Jerusalem, 1989), 8:121 (in Hebrew): "The verse says, 'His left hand was under my head, his right hand embraced me,' for the glory embraced the image of Jacob upon the throne of glory that is engraved beneath the throne of glory. And this is [the import of] 'under my head,' *tahatle-ro'shi* [the word *le-ro'shi*] has the letters *yisra'el*." For another version of this text see *Perush ha-Roqeah'al Hamesh Megillot*, ed. Ch. Konyevsky (Bene-Beraq, 1985), p. 115 (see n. 364). In that version (based on MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1576 with variants from MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 757) the critical words, "that is engraved beneath the throne of glory," are lacking. On the unreliability of the attribution of this text to Eleazar of Worms, see I. G. Marcus, "The Song of Songs in German Hasidism and the School of Rashi: A Preliminary Comparison," in *The Frank Talmage Memorial Volume*, ed. B. Walfish (Haifa, 1993), 1:188 n. 21. Marcus applies the conclusion that Dan reached with respect to the *Perush ha-Roqeah'al ha-Torah* published by Konyevsky (see above n. 142) to this collection of sources. See also the article in the same volume by B. Walfish, "An Annotated Bibliography of Medieval Jewish Commentaries on the Book of Ruth in Print and in Manuscript," p. 262, item B.5. For some later attestations to the tradition that the form of Jacob was engraved underneath the throne of glory, see Abraham Lask, *Ayin Panim ba-Torah*, 13a, and Levi Yishaq of Berdichev, *Qedushat Levi* (Brooklyn, 1978), 15a.

200. Cf. *Keter Shem Tov* (Amsterdam, 1593), 5b: "*Tiferet* is the attribute of Jacob . . . and he is called the throne of glory . . . so too Jacob chose truth, which is called the throne of glory. Thus they said that the form of Jacob, our patriarch, is engraved on the throne of glory."

201. See *Studies in Ashkenazi Hasidic Literature*, p. 138.

202. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 31a. Cf. the passage in the poem *azkir gevurot'eloha* in *Piyyute Yosse ben Yosse*, ed. A. Mirsky, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1991), p. 144: *yordim we-'olim qedoshim la-ma anehu le-hakir to'aro haquq ba-meromim*. Cf. the formulation in the *qerovah* for Rosh

ha-Shanah, 'adon'im ma'asim'ei banu, in *Piyyute R. Shim'on bar Yih.aq*, ed. A. M. Habermann (Berlin and Jerusalem, 1938), p. 117 (cf. *Mahzor laYamim Nora'im*, ed. Goldschmidt, 1:102): *na'im'asher tovu'ohalav/ weto'aro haquq be-khes zevulav we-hinneh yhwh nifav'alav*. On the divine status of Jacob, cf. the passage in an anonymous Ashkenazi commentary on Psalms in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1551, fol. 204a: "[The expression] *watehasserehu me'at me-'elohim*, 'You have made me a little less than divine' (Ps. 8:6) is numerically equal to *ya'aqov'ish tam*, 'Jacob was a mild man' (Gen. 25:27) with a deficiency of three [i.e., the former expression has a numerical sum of 930 and the latter 933] in the merit of the [three parts of Scripture] Pentateuch, Prophets, and Writings."

203. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 87a. See the passage from *Tanhuma'* cited above, n. 35. Cf. the Ashkenazi text in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 767, fol. 31b, that begins with citations from Jer. 51:19 and Deut. 6:4. In this connection it is worthwhile to mention a passage in an Ashkenazi commentary on the forty-two-letter name of God (see above n. 192), in *Sefer Razi'el*, 45b: "Then [the angels] receive permission from Jacob, our patriarch, may peace be upon him, and they utter a song, as it says, 'no one can find a trace of it,' *we-lo' ye'aqqevem* (Job. 37:4) . . . *ye'aqqevem* has the letters *mi-ya'aqov*, from Jacob." In my opinion, in this case too there is an allusion that Jacob symbolizes a divine power in the world of the chariot. See the poem of Simeon bar Isaac Abun, *'aluf mesubbal be-hod'efodim*, in *Mahzor* (Venice, 1599), 272a.

204. Cf. Eleazar of Worms, *Perush Sodotha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 156a: "Jacob is [written] in the plene form with a *waw* in five places [in Scripture], for it says with respect to Jacob, 'I will go down with you to Egypt and I will go up with you,' to include all the other exiles. He thus went down from the land of Israel to the exile in Egypt and the four other exiles, making a total of five." (For the printed version of this text, see *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 669.) It appears that in this context the name "Jacob" written in the plene form alludes to the condition of the Presence in exile. The plene form of "Jacob" is interpreted in many kabbalistic sources as a symbolic reference to *Tif'eret*, for that emanation is said to comprise within itself the six central emanations. Cf., e.g., *Zohar* 1:168a: "'Then I will remember My covenant with Jacob' (Lev. 26:42). Jacob [*ya'aqov*] is here written with a *waw*. Why with a *waw*? For he is verily the icon of Jacob." See Abraham ben Solomon Adrutiel, *Sefer Avne Zikkaron*, MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2089, fol. 180a: "Jacob is written in the plene form with a *waw* to indicate that he bears the six extremities." Needless to say, the textual examples could be greatly multiplied. Another tradition, which may also be related to German Pietistic sources, is found in Jacob ha-Kohen's *Sefer ha-'Orah*, wherein the letter *waw* is associated with Metatron. On the simplest level this association is linked to the fact that the name "Metatron" itself, in one of its spellings, consists of six letters. Thus see *Sefer ha-'Orah*, MSS Bar-Ilan, University Library 747, fol. 15b, Jerusalem, Schocken Library 14, fol. 54b [see also Abrams,

"Book of Illumination,' " p. 259, who utilized the aforementioned manuscripts as well as MS Guenzberg-Moscow, Russian State Library 302, fol. 136a, which was not available to me]. The letter *waw* may also have phallic connotations in this context.

205. Cf. the pseudo-Eleazar commentary on the Torah (see above n. 142), 3:184: "*Shema yisra'el* teaches [cf. B. Pesahim 56a] that when Jacob was dying he said, Perhaps defilement came out from me, and the tribes responded, *Shema yisra'el*, which consists of six words, and Jacob replied silently the six words, *barukh shem kevod malkhuto le-'olam va ted*. Thus there were twelve words corresponding to the twelve tribes that parallel the twelve zodiac signs and the twelve months."

206. On the literary structure of *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*, see Dan, *Studies in Ashkenazi Hasidic Literature*, pp. 44-57. I do not accept the view of Dan (see *Esoteric Theology*, pp. 122-27) that Eleazar of Worms copied the pseudo-Hai commentary without understanding its protokabbalistic intent and never used it in his own works. See idem, *Hugge ha-Mequbbalim ha-Rishonim*, p. 161, and, most recently, "Jewish Mysticism in Medieval Germany," p. 79, where the same view is categorically repeated: "Rabbi Eleazar, however, copied this commentary, but never used its symbols or ideas in any way in his extensive works." The tenability of this position is hardly defensible in light of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary: Eleazar's own writings are saturated with the protokabbalistic symbols and ideas expressed in the pseudo-Hai material incorporated in the introduction to his first work. I am in agreement, therefore, with the assumption of Farber that the commentary reflects an authentic Ashkenazi orientation that influenced Eleazar in his own writings, including the parts of *Seferha-Hokhmah* authentically written by him. See "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 236-37 [see n. 268], 256-57, 627; see also p. 142 where Farber rejects Dan's view that Eleazar is the author of the commentary to the pseudo-Hai text called *Sefer Yirqah*. See also Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, p. 195. To be sure, Eleazar did not commit to writing in his other works these esoteric matters except by means of limited and concealed allusions. Scholem, *Origins*, p. 184 n. 206, suggests that the pseudo-Hai text included in *Sefer ha-Hokhmah* "may have been composed by an earlier mystic of the Hasidic group—certainly earlier than Eleazar." But see *ibid.*, p. 311 n. 229, where Scholem surmises that the mystical interpretations of the divine names attributed to Hai Gaon in *Seferha-Hokhmah* and *Seferha-Shem* "probably reached the German Hasidim via Italy."

207. Cf. Moses Zacuto, *Sefer ha-Shemot* (Jerusalem, 1987), 12b: "*PZQ* is numerically equal to *'alkiss'o*, and he is engraved upon the throne of glory." See the commentary of Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi to *Sefer Yesirah*, attributed to Rabad in the standard editions of the work, 1:12, 34a.

208. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1812, fol. 59a. The passage is cited in *Merkavah Shelemah* (Jerusalem, 1971), 30a. See Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 406.

209. See above n. 190. Cf. *'Or ha-Sekhel* (concerning this text and its author, see above n. 175), MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1831, fol. 15a: "This is what [the sages], may their memory be for a blessing, said concerning [the biblical expression]'[angels of God] were going up and down on it' (Gen. 28:12). They ascended and gazed upon his icon above for his form was engraved upon the moon." See *ibid.*, fols. 22a-b, and the passage from Judah Campanton referred to in n. 97. On the connection between the divine Presence, the moon, and the image of the throne, cf. *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah* of Eleazar of Worms, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 144b (as my colleague and friend, Elliot Ginsburg, reminded me): "It is said in Sanhedrin [42a]: He who sanctifies the moon it is as if he received the face of the Presence. Therefore we dance as [it is written]'the creatures ran to and fro like the appearance of lightning' (Ezek. 1:14). Therefore we bless the moon until midnight when her blemish is filled [cf. B. Sanhedrin 41b] and the rainbow is formed. The throne is [in the form of the letter] *kaf*, thus is 'the appearance of the splendor like the appearance of the image of the throne,' 'the secret of the Lord is with those who fear Him' (Ps. 25:14)." For a slightly different, and in my opinion inferior, version of this text, see *Perushe Siddurha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 605. See also *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Weiss, p. 68. On the connection of the throne and the image of the *kaf*, cf. *Midrash'Otiyyot de-R. 'Aqiva'*, version B, in *Batte Midrashot*, 2:406; Eleazar's *Perush ha-Merkavah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fol. 67a; *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 23; and *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fols. 90b (see n. 353), 123a. On the reworking of this aggadic tradition in the Pietistic sources, see Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 116, 581, 618-19. As Farber suggests, the symbolization of the throne by the letter *kaf* assumes a decidedly gender character in the Pietistic sources, i.e., the throne is treated as a feminine entity. See *op. cit.*, pp. 571-74, 620-27; and see above n. 183. See especially the diagram of the throne in "Commentary on the Chariot," p. 53. The Pietistic elaboration of the aggadic tradition influenced as well Bahya ben Asher. Cf. *Rabbenu Bahya'al ha-Torah*, ed. Chavel, 2:274, ad Exod. 25:18: "The reason for the addition is that the letter *kaf* signifies the throne (*kisse'*), for the throne is established on the letter *kaf* [which alludes] to a hidden matter, and it also signifies the glory (*kavod*)." Cf. *Rabbenu Bahya'al ha-Torah*, ed. Chavel, 2:583, ad Lev. 27:2. I intend to elaborate on the influence of the Ashkenazi esoteric traditions upon Bahya in a separate study, focusing particularly on how these traditions shaped his conception of kabbalah. In the meantime, see Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, p. 261; Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, p. 162; *idem*, *Language, Torah, and Hermeneutics*, p. 168 n. 77; *idem*, "Defining Kabbalah: The Kabbalah of the Divine Names," in *Mystics of the Book*, pp. 102-4, 118 n. 62; and Wolfson, "Circumcision and the Divine Name," pp. 106-7. See below, nn. 224 and 353. See also *Zohar* 3:248b (*Ra'aya' Mehemna'*) where the form of the moon is described as a letter *kaf*. In light of the text of Eleazar cited above, as well as the other Ashkenazi material discussed in the body of this study, I cannot agree with the conclusion of Y. Liebes, *Studies in Jewish Myth and Jewish Messianism*, trans. B. Stein (Albany, 1992), p. 51, that a major difference between the symbolism of the moon in a passage from the German Pietistic

work *Sefer Hasidim* and the sefirotic kabbalah is that only in the latter case does the moon symbolize the *Shekhinah* as a divine entity. The evidence of my research suggests quite convincingly that some such theosophic implication underlies the use of the symbol of the moon in the German Pietistic source.

210. See R. Elijor, "The Concept of God in Hekhalot Mysticism," in *Binah: Studies in Jewish Thought*, ed. J. Dan (New York, 1989), pp. 106-8. See also S. Leiter, "Worthiness, Acclamation and Appointment: Some Rabbinic Terms," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research* 41-42 (1973-74): 13768, esp. 143-45.

211. The text actually paraphrases two passages from *Hekhalot Rabbati*; cf. *Synopse* §§ 163-64.

212. For this rendering of the technical term, *yorde merkavah*, see E. R. Wolfson, "Yeridah la-Merkavah: Typology of Ecstasy and Enthronement in Ancient Jewish Mysticism," in *Mystics of the Book*, pp. 13-44.

213. Concerning this parenthetical notation in the introduction to Eleazar's *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*, see Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, pp. 126-28.

214. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1812, fol. 59b (corrected according to MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1568, fol. 4b).

215. The actual numerology is slightly off here insofar as the expression *we-ra'ita'et'ahoraiequals* 1243 and the expression *ki-demutya'aqovhaquqah ba-kisse'* equals 1254.

216. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fols. 56b-57a. Cf. "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 25.

217. Cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 208a.

218. MS Jerusalem, Mussajoff 145, fol. 35b. Cf. *Perush Rabbenu'Efrayim'al ha-Torah*, 1:272: "'And under His feet,' this indicates that the image of Jacob is engraved on the throne. Therefore Jacob said to Rachel, 'Am I under God?' (Gen. 30:2), [the word '*anokhi*'] numerically equals *kisse'*."

219. See, however, the interpretation of Exod. 33:23 attributed to Eleazar in *Arugat ha-Bosem*, 1:198, that parallels MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2430, fol. 74a: "'You will see My back,' the angels that are behind Me [reading in MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America: those angels of My back], as it is rendered in the Targum, 'that which is behind Me,' the angels, i.e., the images (*demuyot*) that are behind Me." It is possible that there is an allusion here to a motif that Eleazar mentions in other places in his writings: the glory is revealed through nine images or appearances (*mahazot*) that are above the image of Jacob. Cf. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 29: "The image of Jacob is on the throne. Therefore in Scripture there are nine occurrences of [the expression] '*avdiya'aqov*'

(My servant, Jacob) that correspond to the nine kinds of splendor Thus there are nine images (*mahazot*) of the glory and they appear upon the image of Jacob." See parallel to this passage in Eleazar's commentary on the liturgy, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 134a (and printed version in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 540). Interestingly, in that context the passage ends with the warning, "It is the glory of God to conceal a matter" (Prov. 25:2), suggesting that the subject of the image of Jacob visualized through the nine appearances is an esoteric matter that needs to be hidden. See also MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 76a (printed text in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, pp. 325-26) where mention is made as well of the nine theophanic appearances (*mar'ot*) connected with the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne. Cf. the passage from MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 232, fol. 7b cited below at n. 355, and *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 361a. An allusion to this matter is found in the "Secret of the Nut"; see, e.g., the version of the text cited by Altmann, "Eleazar of Worms' Hokhmah Ha-'Egoz," p. 113: "Nine images (*mar'ot*) of the glory, nine leaves for every branch of the nut." See Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 412. It seems to me that there is an allusion to this matter as well in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 37b:

"The name of Your splendor" (le-shem tif'artekha) is numerically equivalent to [the expression] "the four-letter name" (le-shem ben ha-'arba"otiyot) [the two phrases as they appear in the manuscripts are not equivalent, for the former equals 1471 and the latter 1523. The obvious correction consists of erasing the word ben in the second phrase (thus rendering it as le-shem ha-'arba"otiyot) which equals 52; if that sum is removed from 1523 one gets the desired 1471]. The nine times [in Scripture] that [the expressions] "to place His name," *lasum shemo*, and "to cause His name to dwell," *leshaken shemo*, correspond to the nine visions (*mar'ot*) that He skips over the righteous.

See *ibid.*, fol. 41b: "Therefore Ezekiel saw nine visions (*mar'ot*) of the Presence. Hence, it is written nine times in the Torah, 'to place His name,' *lasum shemo*, and 'to cause His name to dwell,' *leshaken shemo*." See Eleazar of Worms, *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 48b: "Nine times [it is written in the Torah] 'to place His name,' *lasum shemo*, and 'to cause His name to dwell,' *leshaken shemo*" (see printed text in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 193). Cf. *Sefer Tagi*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 226b; Eleazar ben Moses ha-Darshan, *Sefer ha-Gimatri ot*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 221, fol. 161b; Scholem, "Traditions of R. Jacob and R. Isaac," p. 211; and Abraham Abulafia, *Sefer ha-Melammed*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1649, fol. 206a: "It is appropriate to complete everything with a *yod* for everything is in it. From *yod* and above is the '*alef*' [that corresponds to the] throne of glory. The ones who comprehend the cause are the prophets, for they see from behind the nine images that are the truth; the '*alef*' rises upward for the effect is from the cause

and so the cause is from the effect." See idem, *Sheva' Netivtha-Torah*, p. 20. The source for this notion of the nine visions (*mahazot*) or images (*mar'ot*) of the glory is in the words attributed to R. Judah in *Leviticus Rabbah* 1:14, p. 31: "all the prophets saw through nine images (*'ispaqlariyot*)." Cf. the Ashkenazi text extant in MS London, British Museum Or. 10855 printed in *Perush Rabbenu'Efrayim'alha-Torah*, 1:22.

220. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fols. 103a-b (printed text in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 432).

221. See S. Lieberman, *Shkiin* (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 13-14 (in Hebrew), and Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah*, pp. 36 n. 38, 128, 149.

222. See above n. 40.

223. Cf. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fols. 37b, 58a-b, 118a.

224. Cf. MS Jerusalem, Mussajoff 145, fol. 50a: "'And a cherub stretched out his hand' (Ezek. 10:7), this is the cherub about whom we said that it emanated from the Splendor,'among the cherubs,' these are the eight cherubim and their troops that surround the face of Jacob." It should be noted that on occasion Eleazar designates all the patriarchs, not just Jacob, by the name "cherub." Cf. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Weiss, p. 121, and parallel in the *Perush ha-Merkavah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fol. 59b. This matter is obviously related to the aggadic notion that the patriarchs were the chariot (cf. *Genesis Rabbah* 47:8). Cf. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 13. The influence of the German Pietists is clearly discernible in *Rabbenu Bahya'al ha-Torah*, ed. Chavel, 1:24546, ad Gen. 28:13:

"And behold the Lord stood above him" By way of tradition (qabalah) the expression "upon him" refers to Jacob. Scripture compares him to a cherub concerning which it is written, "He rode upon a cherub and flew" (2 Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:11), for the patriarchs are verily the chariot in the pattern of the cherubim above. You already know that Jacob is called small, and the masters of truth have said with respect to the matter of the cherubim, large faces and small faces I am illuminating the eyes of your heart with respect to the fact that the form of Jacob is engraved upon the throne of glory. Thus, the verse said, "a dweller of tents" (Gen. 25:27), the tents above and below [cf. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Weiss, p. 147]. This is found explicitly in the revelation of Torah [at Sinai], "They saw the God of Israel and under His feet." This alludes to Israel who is below His feet. This is why it is said in this section, "Am I under God" (Gen. 30:2), which is not to be understood as a question. Understand this.

Cf. also *Rabbenu Bahya'al ha-Torah*, ed. Chavel, 1:260-61, ad Gen. 30:2, and 3:178, ad Num. 24:5. Finally, it is worth mentioning in this context the view

expressed by Idel (*Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, pp. 134-35) and Liebes (*Studies in the Zohar*, pp. 105-7) regarding the interpretation of *appe zutre* (or *ze eir'anpin* following the new locution of the zoharic literature), as a symbol for the feminine potency in thirteenth-century kabbalistic sources. It would be valuable to examine this kabbalistic symbol in light of the Ashkenazi traditions on the cherub that I have discussed in this study, but such a project must await a future publication.

225. See above n. 192. Cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fols. 199a-b; and see also *Piyyute Rashi*, ed. A. M. Habermann (Jerusalem, 1941), p. 8.

226. Cf. Farber, "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 126 n. 8. See especially the formulation in *Hokhmat ha-Nefesh*, § 61, p. 69: "Cherub is numerically like a small child" (the numerology does not work insofar as the word *keruv* is 228 and the expression *ke-yeled qatan* is 223). See also the *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 170b (printed text in *Perushe Siddurha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 708): "The cherubim [consist of] the face of the human, Jacob the small one. This is the appearance of the glory," i.e., the expression *mar eh ha-kavod*, "the appearance of the glory," has the same numerical value, 278, as the word *keruvim*. Cf. the tradition cited by Shem Tov ben Simhah ha-Kohen, MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2430, fol. 66a:

The intention of the [prayer] *barekhu*: the cantor should intend when he says the word *barekhu* that the congregation should intend in their hearts that the cherub, who is called the lesser Lord (*adonai ha-qatan*), is blessed from above, from the Cause of Causes through the attribute of *Tiferet* . . . "above" [according to the wording of the qaddish prayer], i.e., the cherub is above all blessings. The songs, praises, and comforts we expect that the cherub will bring us so that we will be comforted through him. Concerning the exodus from Egypt it is said, "He mounted a cherub etc." (2 Sam. 22:11, Ps. 18:11). The intention of the saying of *barekhu* should be to the cherub so that it will be blessed from the highest level, i.e., the cherub who is called the lesser Lord. See *ibid.*: "I have also received [a tradition regarding] the saying of *Shema'* from the great kabbalist, Rabbi Judah the Pious: one must unify the power of the many in the power of the one. *Shema' yisra'el*, i.e., the name of the diadem is Israel, and this is the cherub that is called the lesser Lord." Underlying the former intention is the fact that the consonants of the word *keruv* are those of the word *barekhu*; cf. *Siddur Mal'ah ha-'Ares De'ah, shaharit*, s.v., *barekhu*; *op. cit.*, *yoser shel shabbat*, s.v., *qedushah*; *'Arugat ha-Bosem*, 4:104, n. 96; and Eleazar's *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 133b: "Know that the letters of *barukh* are those of *keruv*" (see printed version in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 539). See also the Ashkenazi commentary on Psalms in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1551, fol. 209a. On the direction

of intention in prayer to the Special Cherub according to this author, see text cited by Scholem, *Reshit ha-Qabbalah*, p. 78 n. 1 (based on MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2430, fol. 65b); see also discussion of the thematically related *Pesaq ha-Yir'ah we-ha-'Emunah* in Dan, "The Emergence of Mystical Prayer," pp. 93-102, and idem, "Pesaq Ha-Yirahveha-Emunah," pp. 200-2.

227. The identification of the cherubim with the throne is an ancient motif that can be found in Scripture, and especially in the technical epithet for God, *yoshevha-keruvim*, the "one enthroned upon the cherubim." See M. Haran, "The Ark and the Cherubim," *Israel Exploration Journal* 9 (1959): 30-38, 89-94. See also the passage in *Re'uyot Yehezqel*, ed. I. Gruenwald, in *Temirin: Texts and Studies in Kabbala and Hasidism*, ed. I. Weinstock (Jerusalem, 1972), 1:134-35: "And what is the name of the chariot? [It is named] *rekhev*, on account of the cherub that is in it, and it goes down to the [sea]. 'He mounted a cherub and flew' (2 Sam. 22:11, Ps. 18:11)." For a different suggestion regarding the emendation of this text, see Gruenwald, p. 135 n. 92. Cf. passage in *3 Enoch* in *Synopse* § 37: "How many chariots does the Holy One, blessed be He, have? He has chariots of the cherub, as it says, 'He mounted a cherub and flew.'" Cf. *ibid.*, §§ 588, 748. See also the poem *melekh'elyon*, in *Mahzor laYamim Nora'im*, vol. 1: Rosh ha-Shanah, p. 107: *rekhuvo keruvim*. See "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 39: "The cherubim instruct about the upper glory that is above them. Therefore the [word] *keruvim* numerically equals *mar'eh kavod* (the appearance of the glory; the printed text reads *mar'eh'adam*, the appearance of a human, but I have corrected it according to the suggestion of Farber, p. 39 n. 6)." See *ibid.*, p. 54: "The Presence comes . . . and sits upon the throne of glory, on the holy cherubim who are made in the image of the glory that is above. Therefore, [the word] *keruvim* [cherubs] is numerically equal to *mar'eh kavod* [the appearance of the glory]." This numerology already appears in the works of Judah the Pious and recurs in the writings of Eleazar of Worms. See J. Dan, "The Book of Angels of R. Judah the Pious," *Da'at* 2-3 (1978/79): 116 (in Hebrew); *Sefer haRoqeah*, p. 22; *Perush ha-Merkavah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fols. 61b, 76b; MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2430, fol. 71a: "The cherubs are the essence of the appearance of the glory of the Presence; therefore *mar'eh ha-kavod* numerically equals *keruvim*."

228. On the identification of Jacob with the throne, see the passage from *Midrash ha-Ne'elam* in *Zohar* 1:97a-b: "Jacob our patriarch is the throne of glory, and thus it has been taught in the school of Elijah, Jacob our patriarch is a throne in and of himself . . . as it is written, 'granting them seats of honor,' *we-khisse' khavod yanhilem* (1 Sam 2:8). What is [the implication of] 'granting them seats of honor'? This refers to Jacob our patriarch for whom alone a throne of glory was made in order to receive the instructions of the souls of the righteous." Cf. *ibid.*, 173b: "Jacob is the upper holy chariot that exists in order to illuminate the moon, and he alone is the chariot." In the second passage it is obvious that Jacob symbolizes the emanation of *Tiferet* and the moon, the *Shekhinah*. Cf. also *Zohar* 2:242a: "The throne beneath the God of Israel

[*Binah*] is the icon of Jacob [*Tiferet*] and the throne beneath the icon of David [*Shekhinah*] is the fourfold that divides into the four dimensions of the world." J. Wijnhoven, "Sefer ha-Mishkal: Text and Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1964), p. 109: "Jacob is the elite of the patriarchs . . . thus he is the secret of the chariot." *The Book of the Pomegranate: Moses de León's Sefer ha-Rimmon*, ed. E. R. Wolfson (Atlanta, 1988), p. 318 (Hebrew section): "The [sages], may their memory be for a blessing, said, the image of the icon of Jacob [is] the image of the throne of glory and the foundation of the gradations in the upper and lower realms . . . and the essence of the foundation of the patriarchs is the pattern of the icon of the throne of glory." It is clear that in this context as well the aggadic motif of the iconic image of Jacob is explained as a symbol of the sixth emanation, *Tiferet*, that corresponds to Jacob in the sefirotic world. Moses de León has reworked an ancient tradition according to which the image of Jacob was identified as the throne.

229. On the esoteric significance of the foot in the thought of the German Pietists, cf. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 106a, discussed in E. R. Wolfson, "Images of God's Feet: Some Observations on the Divine Body in Judaism," in *People of the Body: Jews and Judaism from an Embodied Perspective*, ed. H. Eilberg-Schwartz (Albany, 1992), pp. 156-57.

230. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1204, fol. 160b; cf. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 134a.

231. D. Castelli, *Il Commento di Sabbatai Donnolo sul Libro Della Creazione* (Firenze, 1880), pp. 7-8. The passage is cited in the compilation of Ashkenazi secrets in MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America 2430, fol. 75a.

232. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Weiss, pp. 147-48 (with slight emendations according to the reading in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1638, fol. 56a). This passage is paraphrased by Nathan Nata ben Solomon Spira, *Megalleh'Amuqot: Reish-nun-bet'Ofanim'al Wa-'ethanan*, 92, 68a. See also *Yalqut Re'uveni* (Warsaw, 1884), 87b, ad Exod. 33:23, in the name of the "one wise in mysteries," *hakham ha-razim*.

233. See *Genesis Rabbah* 68:11, p. 784, and the other sources cited there in n. 3.

234. Cf. the Ashkenazi tradition in *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1812, fol. 60a: "The crown is called Israel [see above n. 40] . . . it rises above . . . numerically it is *'elef* [the Hebrew consonants can also be read *'alef*] for there are one thousand camps of angels who make a crown from prayer, and from the crown phylacteries. There are twelve stones in the crown and upon each crown is engraved the name of a tribe." For the conceptual background of this motif, see M. Bar-Ilan, "The Idea of Crowning God in Hekhalot Mysticism and Karaitic Polemic," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 6, 1-2 (1987): 221-33 (in Hebrew). It should be noted that in *Sefer ha-Bahir* § 37 the throne is identified with the phylacteries. Moreover,

it is clear from that passage that the throne, symbolized by the open *mem* (cf. § 84; on the connection between the letter *mem* and the throne, cf. *Midrash'Otiyyot de.-R.'Aqiva'*, in *Batte Midrashot*, 1:387-89), is described in imagery associated with the female. See Scholem, *Origins*, p. 60, and Stern, *Parables in Midrash*, p. 221. (For a different interpretation of this symbolism, see E. R. Wolfson, "The Tree That Is All: Jewish-Christian Roots of a Kabbalistic Symbol in *Sefer ha-Bahir*," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 3 [1993]: 71-72 [above, pp. 85-86].) On the interchange of the crown and the throne, see also *Sefer ha-Bahir*, § 152. See further discussion in Wolfson, "Images of God's Feet," pp. 161-62. On the feminine character of the throne in Jewish esotericism, see above nn. 65 and 209, and below n. 353. On the correspondence between five occurrences in Scripture where God's sitting on a throne is mentioned and the five compartments of the head and arm phylacteries, cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fols. 362ab. On the symbolic nexus between the throne, the head phylacteries, and Jerusalem-the connecting link being their exalted heightsee Eleazar's commentary on the liturgy, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 126b (printed text in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 512). And see op. cit., fol. 152a (*Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 658), where a connection is made between the throne, the head phylacteries, and the temple. See also op. cit., fol. 170b (*Perushe Siddurha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 708), where a comparison is made between the throne, Jerusalem, and the head of a person, the latter associated especially with the phylacteries:

The throne is one, and concerning what is written, "Thrones were set in place" (Dan. 7:9), one is for judgment and the other for righteousness. The throne is one and it is divided. How [the throne] stands should not be revealed except to the humble of the generation, but in the head of a person, when he binds the phylacteries on his head, they reveal and speak by allusion. "The secret of the Lord is with those who fear Him" (Ps. 25:14). The throne, Jerusalem, and the head of a person are equivalent.

(The phallic position accorded Jerusalem seems to be implied in *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 290b; see above n. 121.) On the divided throne in the theosophy of the Haside Ashkenaz, see nn. 289 and 319. On the symbolic correlation of the throne and the brain, see MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 123a (printed text in *Perush Siddur haTefillah la-Roqeah*, pp. 503-4). On the identification of the head and the throne, see the third explanation of Abraham ibn Ezra on the verse, "His head is finest gold" (Song of Songs 5:11): "This is the throne of glory." The influence of ibn Ezra's comment is discernible in the standard recension of *Seferha-'Iyyun* as noted by Idel, "World of Angels," p. 21. See also Verman, *Books of Contemplation*, p. 110 n. 255. On the nexus of the throne and Jerusalem depicted as a bride, cf. Eleazar ben Moses ha-Darshan's interpretation of Exod. 24:10 in *Sefer ha-Gimatri'ot*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 221, fol. 153b.

235. The full force of Eleazar's rhetoric can only be gathered if one heeds the double signification of the word *pe'er* as "glory" and "diadem" or "head ornament."

236. *Sefer Yesirah* 3:8. See Gruenwald, "Preliminary Critical Edition," p. 155. I have emended the passage according to the received text.

237. That is, the scriptural verses that are written on the pieces of parchment contained in the compartments of the head phylacteries. The four biblical sections include Exod. 13:2 and 5, Deut. 6:4, and 11:13. See *Mekhilta' de-Rabbi Ishmael*, ed. H. S. Horowitz and I. A. Rabin, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1970), Pisha 17, p. 66, and B. Menahot 37b.

238. Compare the passage from *Re'uyot Yehezqel* cited above in n. 227. See also *Mekhilta' de-Rabbi Ishmael*, Shirah 4, p. 129: "He revealed Himself to them [at the sea] like a horseman, as it says, 'He rode upon a cherub and flew.'" See also *Mekhilta' de-Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai*, ed. J. N. Epstein and E. Z. Melamed (Jerusalem, 1955), pp. 68,87. On the female imagery of the cherub, see the exegetical tradition in *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*, version A, ch. 27, p. 83: "R. Joshua ben Qorhah said that when Pharaoh came to the sea he came on a male horse and was revealed upon it, and the Holy One, blessed be He, came upon a female horse, as it says, 'I have likened you, my darling, to a mare in Pharaoh's chariots' (Song of Songs 1:9). Yet, did He not ride only upon a cherub, as it says, 'He rode upon a cherub and flew; he was seen on the wings of the wind' (2 Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:11)? Rather, the cherub resembled the horse of Pharaoh that was female, and all of them entered the sea." Cf. the Ashkenazi commentary on Psalms, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1551, fol. 209a.

239. Cf. *Commentary on the Passover Haggadah by Eleazar of Worms*, p. 94: "'And when Israel saw' (Exod. 14:31), Israel the elder, for he descended to Egypt." See *ibid.*, p. 161: "'He made Israel pass through it' (Ps. 136:14), that refers to Israel the elder. Therefore in the [song] 'Then [Moses and the Israelites] sang [this song to the Lord]' (Exod. 15 :1) there are 182 [the numerical value of the consonants of the name "Jacob"] words, on account of [the verse] 'I Myself will also bring you back' (Gen. 46:4)." See also the pseudo-Eleazar *Perush Roqeah'al ha-Torah* 1:220. Exodus 14:31 is interpreted in a similar manner in the written works of Samuel the Pious and Judah the Pious, but it is clear that for Eleazar this interpretation takes on an entirely different signification. Cf. *Sefer Hasidim*, ed. J. Wistinetzki and J. Freimann (Frankfurt am Main, 1924), 33, p. 34, and the commentary of Samuel the Pious to the prayer, "Rock of Israel" (*sur yisra'el*), cited in Urbach, *Arugat haBosem*, 4:85. See the commentary attributed to Rashi in B. Ta'anit 5b, s.v., *'af hu' ba-hayyim*: "'And when Israel saw' (Exod. 14:31), there are those who interpret this as Israel the elder." Urbach, *op. cit.*, n. 77, calls attention in this context to *Genesis Rabbah* 92:2 as the source of this interpretation: "The Holy One, blessed be He, took the feet of Jacob, our patriarch, and placed them in the sea. He said to him, See the miracles that I perform for your descendants, as it is written, 'When Israel went forth from Egypt' (Ps. 114:1), Israel the elder." Urbach also noted the version of Targum Yerushalmi to Exod. 14:31

cited by M. M. Kasher, *Torah Shelemah* 14:87: "'And when Israel saw,' Israel the elder." Cf. *Zohar* 2:33a.

240. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Weiss, pp. 4-5. Compare the version with slight variants in *Sefer Razi'el*, 8a-b. See also *Hokhmat ha-Nefesh* 46, pp. 76-77, and MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 67b (printed text in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 287). The influence of Eleazar is discernible in a commentary on the name "Shaddai" (in which are mentioned "the sage R. Eliezer of Germaiza" and "R. Jacob ha-Kohen of Segovia") in MS Guenzberg-Moscow, Russian State Library 366, fol. 49b: "The *shin* of Jacob for thus it is written on the head phylacteries, 'Israel in whom I glory' (Isa. 49:3). Moreover, it is written that the icon of Jacob, our patriarch, peace be upon him, is fixed on the throne of glory . . . and this is the *bet* from the name Jacob that interchanges with the *shin* according [to the technique of] a"t ba"sh, and this is the *shin* of Shaddai." See n. 291. Cf. *Megalleh'Amuqot* (Lemberg, 1882), 8d.

241. *Perush ha-Roqeah'al Hamesh ha-Megillot* (Bene-Beraq, 1985), p. 23.

242. See above n. 199.

243. Cf. *Seferha-Hokhmah*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1812, fol. 77b: "Thus is the numerical value of *yhwh ha-'elohim'ehad* [= 130], and this is the numerical value of *zeh yhwh'ehad ha-'el gadol* [= 130] and the numerical value of *hasid ha-gadol* [= 130], and the numerical value of *ani ha-din* [=130] . . .and the numerical value of *u-ve'avim* [=130], for the Holy One, blessed be He, rode upon a swift cherub at the sea, as it says, 'He rode upon a cherub and flew,' when He was revealed upon the sea in His unity and power."

244. MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 100b. Cf. the pseudo-Eleazar commentary on Song of Songs 3:11. It should be noted that in this particular verse there are twelve words corresponding to "twelve angels that surround the glory and the twelve tribes."

245. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 127a (*Perushe Siddurha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 514). Cf. MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2430, fol. 75b in the name of Eleazar as he "received from the Pious one who received from his father, and his teacher from his teacher, a law given to Moses at Sinai": "Outside the throne there are twelve [angels] appointed to every side . . . before Him, blessed be His name . . . who sits in the middle and manifests His glory like a *hashmalah*." See n. 353. The image of the twelve tribes above surrounding the glory appears also in theosophic kabbalistic literature. See, e.g., *Sefer ha-Bahir*, § 113; *Zohar Hadash* on Ruth, 76d (see n. 366); *Zohar* 1:159b; 2:229b; and 3:134b (*Idra' Rabba'*).

246. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1812, fol. 62a. Cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 339a. "The name of the Lord is proclaimed over you" (Deut. 28:10) was interpreted as a reference to phylacteries in much older

sources. See, e.g., Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to the verse and B. Berakhot 6a. What the Ashkenazi source has done is to combine this exegesis with the tradition concerning the *shin* of the phylacteries in such a way that the letter *shin* is derived from the initial letters of the expression *shem yhwh niqra'*, *shin*, *yod*, and *nun* that spells *shin*. This tradition is quoted in the name of Eleazar of Worms by Jacob ben Sheshet, *Sefer ha-'Emunah we-ha-Biffahon*, ch. 22, in *Kitve Ramban* 2:430. Cf. the words of Menahem Siyyoni, *Sefer Siyyoni* (Jerusalem, 1924), 28c, based on *Sode Razayya'* of Eleazar, called by the name *rav sodi*, the master of secrets (see Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, p. 259, and I. J. Yuval, *Scholars in Their Time: The Religious Leadership of German Jewry in the Late Middle Ages* [Jerusalem, 1988], p. 288 [in Hebrew]):

It is appropriate for a shin to be on the head phylacteries and from it they will see their king upon their heads alluded to by the shin, for YHWH equals shin through [the technique of] a"t ba"sh. And this is the pattern of what is above as it is in the work of the chariot, for Sandalphon binds phylacteries to the head of the Creator, the Lord, God of Israel. What is written in them? "And who is like Your people Israel?" (1 Chron. 17:21), "Or what great nation [has laws and rules as perfect as all this Teaching that I set before you this day?]" (Deut. 4:8) And when He wants to adjure by means of the phylacteries, He takes the phylacteries from His head and annuls the decrees from the earth. When the crown ascends to the head of the Creator the face of Jacob shines before Adiriron, the Lord, God of Israel . . . Understand well this secret that I have brought from the source of the master of secrets. See n. 363.

247. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fol. 69a. See *ibid.*, fol. 74a. On the connection between the glory and the eyes, see *ibid.*, fol. 70a. Cf. the tradition regarding the letters of the phylacteries attributed to "R. Judah the Pious the son of R. Samuel the Pious the son of R. Qalonymus the Elder," extant in MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 2486, fol. 56a: "*Shin* is described as the cherubim between the wings." For another interpretation of the name M P" S, see the words of Eleazar in *Sha'are ha-Sod ha-Yihud we-ha-'Emunah*, ed. J. Dan, in *Temirin: Texts and Studies in Kabbala and Hasidism*, ed. I. Weinstock (Jerusalem, 1972), 1:153: "MSP" S: *yhwh* in a"t ba"sh is *msp*" S. This is numerically equal to *berahamim* [with mercy]." Cf. the similar statement in the pseudo-Hai commentary in *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1812, fol. 66a: "Thus the numerical value of [the expression] *wa-yhwh'ehad be-rahamim* is *we-mp*" s *yhwh'ehad*." See MSS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 92, fol. 12a; New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2430, fol. 74a; and *Keter Shem Tov*, 5b. See also passage from the commentary on *Sefer Yesirah* discussed in n. 291.

248. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fol. 74b. It stands to reason that Eleazar influenced the following formulation of *Sefer Siyyoni*, 28c: "There remains for me to explain what the sages, may their memory be blessed, said

with respect to the *shin* of the phylacteries that it is a law given to Moses from Sinai, as it says, 'And all the peoples of the earth shall see that the Lord's name is proclaimed over you' (Deut. 28:10), for they see those who wear phylacteries and they direct their intention to her commandments for the Presence dwells upon them and speaks from the top of his head like from between the two cherubim, as it says, '[the Ark of God] to which the Name was attached, the name Lord of Hosts Enthroned on the Cherubim' (2 Sam. 6:2)."

249. Cf. Num. 6:25; Ps. 4:7,31:17; 44:4; 67:2; 80:4,8,20; 89:16; 119:135; Prov. 16:15; Job 29:24; and Dan. 9:17.

250. In fact, the numerical values of the two expressions are not equal: the former equals 524 and the latter 278.

251. Both expressions equal 278.

252. MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2430, fols. 74a-b. Cf. the passage in the pseudo-Hai commentary included in *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1812, fol. 5b: "ABG"Ya father of Israel from thirteen years of age [this is alluded to in the divine name ABG"Y, i.e., AB spells 'av, father, and the remaining letters G"Y reversed allude to *yod-gimmel*, which equals thirteen] . . . and similarly a father must support his son until thirteen years of age . . . Thus [the name is] ABG"Y, the father opens thirteen windows above through which the prayer ascends corresponding to the twelve tribes and Jacob their father, which makes thirteen. Therefore, the sons of Jacob said, 'Hear O, Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is one' (Deut. 6:4), [the word '*ehad*' is numerically thirteen. Thus the Father remembers the thirteen attributes of mercy on behalf of Israel. 'The Lord, the Lord, a God compassionate and gracious' (Exod. 34:6)." See the passage from the commentary on the forty-two-letter name in MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana 44:14, fol. 221b cited by G. Scholem, "R. Moses of Burgos, the Disciple of R. Isaac," *Tarbiz* 5 (1934): 320-22 (in Hebrew). Scholem notes the likely provenance of this text in either German or French Pietists (see p. 320 n. 1). See also Scholem's comment in *Tarbiz* 4 (1933): 60 that the commentary of Moses of Burgos on the forty-two-letter name was based on a similar commentary that originated amongst the German Pietists. Cf. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1565, fol. 97a, printed in *Liqqutim mi-Rav Hai Gaon* (Warsaw, 1798), 5a. Compare the formulation in a commentary on the forty-two-letter name of God in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1960, fol. 154a: AB"G . . . a father for Israel who is the third of the patriarchs. Therefore, his icon is engraved upon the throne of glory. Another interpretation: AB"G, a father for the three patriarchs who comprise thirteen letters [i.e., the letters of their three names combined] . . . and the son is the responsibility of the father until the thirteenth year. Corresponding to this there are thirteen windows in heaven through which the prayer ascends, corresponding to Jacob and the twelve tribes, and corresponding to the thirteen attributes of the Holy One, blessed be He." Cf. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1816, fol. 74a.

253. Since I wrote the Hebrew version of this study I have continued to reflect on the role of gender symbolism in the various forms of Jewish esotericism,

including German Pietism and theosophic kabbalah. In my present view, the image of Jacob still functions as a feminine symbol in the esoteric teaching of the Pietists, but I would qualify my original argument by noting that it is the feminine aspect of the masculine. (See, however, n. 329.) In brief, it seems to me that the image of Jacob engraved on the throne represents the corona of the male organ, which is feminized in the Jewish sources. The contextualization of the feminine as part of the phallus, rather than existing as an autonomous potency, is consistent with other expressions of gender symbolism in Jewish esotericism, including, most importantly, theosophic kabbalah. See E. R. Wolfson, "Woman/The Feminine as Other in Theosophic Kabbalah: Some Philosophic Reflections on the Divine Androgyne," in *The Other in Jewish Thought and History: Constructions of Jewish Culture and Identity*, ed. L. Silberstein and R. Cohn (New York, 1994).

254. On the pseudo-Hai provenance of the text, see Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, pp. 122-27.

255. See Scholem, *Origins*, pp. 184-85; Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, pp. 119-22; Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 142-43, 231-44; Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, pp. 193-96; and Ch. Mopsik, *Les Grands Textes de la Cabale: Les rites qui font Dieu* (Paris, 1993), pp. 612-14.

256. According to the traditional liturgical formulation for the *qedushah*, based on Ezek. 2:12, which is essentially a recounting of the angelic hymning of the glory.

257. That is, both expressions equal 662. This numerology appears frequently in Ashkenazi sources. See, e.g., *Merkavah Shelemah*, 23b (on the attribution of this text to Eleazar, see Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 237); and Eleazar's commentary on the liturgical poem *ha-' ohez be-yad middat mishpat* (see Scholem, *Origins*, p. 125 n. 129), extant in several manuscripts, e.g., MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 92, fol. 26b; and MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1786, fol. 43b, cited and discussed by Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, pp. 195-96, 374 n. 196.

258. That is, "let us dwell in the prayer of Shaddai." It is evident, as has been noted by various scholars (see references in n. 255), that in this context the term "prayer" assumes a hypostatic connotation. The midrashic exegesis of Ps. 91:1 is based in part on *Numbers Rabbah* 12:3 (the reference in Dan, *Hugge Mequbbalim ha-Rishonim*, p. 159, to 2:3 should be corrected accordingly).

259. That is, "he has this prayer."

260. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1812, fols. 60b-61a; text is printed in Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, p. 120, on the basis of MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1568, fols. 5a-b.

261. Scholem, *Origins*, pp. 185-86.

262. *Ibid.*, p. 185. This qualifying comment is lacking in the original German edition, *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala* (Berlin, 1962), p. 164, and

in the French translation by J. Loewenson, *Les origines dela kabbale* (Paris, 1966), p. 199. Without having access to Scholem's private copy of the *Ursprung*, it is difficult to determine if this parenthetical remark reflects an annotation of Scholem or the editor (Werblowsky). Concerning the additions in general to this version of Scholem's text, see the editor's Preface, p. xiii.

263. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1568, fol. 25b; the text is printed in the *Perush ha-Roqeah'al ha-Torah* 1:15. Regarding this text, see also Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 609. This text alone renders questionable Dan's opinion that the protokabbalistic material was simply copied by Eleazar and had no impact on his own writings. See above n. 205.

264. *Origins*, p. 98.

265. *Ibid.*, p. 125 n. 129.

266. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1812, fol. 63a.

267. See Scholem, *Origins*, pp. 98, 184; Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, p. 195; and the extensive discussion in Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 231-44.

268. See Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 236-37: "In my opinion, the possibility should be considered that the protokabbalistic texts in *Sefer haHokhmah* faithfully reflect a radical Ashkenazi theological doctrine . . . that which R. Eleazar brought to light in his first composition . . . The material of the protokabbalistic type recurs in additional texts from *Seferha-Hokhmah* . . . and amongst them authentic discussions of R. Eleazar." See *ibid.*, pp. 142-43, 254. Needless to say, the position of Farber is in diametric opposition to that of Dan who has consistently maintained that the protokabbalistic texts in the introduction to *Sefer ha-Hokhmah* had no impact upon Eleazar's own writings. See previous references in n. 206. My own work supports the view of Farber who has persuasively shown the untenableness of Dan's position.

269. The full force of Eleazar's exegesis can only be grasped from the Hebrew insofar as the expression in Prov. 8:30, *'eslo*, "with Him," is related to the word *'asilut*, emanation. The point of the comment, then, is that the Torah, personified as primordial Wisdom, is the feminine Presence that emanates from the Creator. A similar wordplay is evident in the pseudo-Hai commentary included in the introduction to *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*. See Scholem, *Origins*, p. 185. Cf. *Perush haRamban'alha-Torah*, ed. C. D. Chavel (Jerusalem, 1960), 2: 234-35, ad Num. 11:17.

270. Scholem, *Origins*, p. 185 n. 213, suggests that the reference may be to the Targum to Num. 11:17, although he also notes that no precise Targum is found that matches what is mentioned in the text. The reading accepted by Scholem differs from the one that I have followed: instead of *mitravyah* the Aramaic is *mitrabeitthat* is transposed into *bat mareih*, rendered by Scholem as "daughter of his master" (pp. 185-86). See, however, *Perush ha-Roqeah'al ha-Torah*, 1:15 n. 14, where the editor mentions the Targum to Esther 2:20 (mistakenly cited as 3:20). In that context the biblical expression *ve-'omnah'itto*, "under his tutelage," is translated as *mitravyah'imeih*. The exegetical linkage

of Esther 2:20 to Prov. 8:30 is related, of course, to the appearance of the word *amon*, "confidant," in the latter.

271. That is, both expressions equal 620.

272. *Perush ha-Roqeah'al ha-Torah*, 1:15-6, corrected according to MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1568, fols. 25a-b. On the feminization of the Torah in the esoteric teaching of the German Pietists, see Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 242, 609, and my study referred to above in n. 13.

273. *Perush ha-Roqeah'al ha-Torah*, 1:25.

274. *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, pp. 193, 372-73 n. 158.

275. Cf. Ezek. 1:25.

276. That is, "prayer of one father." Both expressions have the numerical value of 541.

277. MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1786, fol. 43a. I have slightly modified the English rendering in Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, p. 193.

278. Cf. "Book of Angels," p. 115, where mention is made of Sariel who is before the glory and "from whose mouth fire goes forth." The angel Sariel is known from ancient Jewish literature, such as the Qumran scrolls, the Aramaic fragments of the Book of Enoch, and the Targum Neophiti. See G. Vermes, "The Archangel Sariel: A Targumic Parallel to the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Christianity, Judaism, and Other Greco-Roman Cults*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden, 1975), 3:159-66; *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*, ed. J. T. Millik with M. Black (Oxford, 1978), pp. 170-74; and M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (Oxford, 1978), 2:84 n. 9. Finally, it is noteworthy that according to a passage in the magical treatise *Shimmushe Torah*, MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2026, fol. 1b, the name that is derived from the section of Genesis that begins with Jacob's dream of the ladder is Sariel.

279. See "Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," p. 62, where the *hasmalah*, the last of the divine gradations, is said to "rise to the head of them all and envelop them like a crown and like a throne." A similar convergence of symbols, specifically the throne, the crown, and the phylacteries, is found in different sections of the *Bahir*. See Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 247, and my analysis in "Images of God's Feet," p. 161.

280. B. Yoma 54a; Baba Batra 99a.

281. *Sefer Yesirah* (Jerusalem, 1961), 21a. In the fuller version of this commentary, *Perush ha-Rav'Ele'azarMi-Garmaiza'al Sefer Yesirah* (Przemysl, 1883), 3b, the words, "for they were in the Temple to increase the procreation of Israel," are missing. Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, p. 338 n. 162, already noted this textual discrepancy. See *ibid.*, p. 130. The sexual nature of the cherubim is also specified in *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fols. 297a and 322a.

282. Cf. A. Epstein, *Mi-Qadmoniyot ha-Yehudim* (Jerusalem, 1957), p. 144: "The two cherubim on the ark of testimony correspond to the two holy names, YHWH Elohim."

283. *Perush ha-Rav'Ele'azar Mi-Garmaiza'al Sefer Yesirah, 22a.*

284. This represents the consonants of the name of God, YHWH, and the appellation, Adonai (which means Lord), spelled out in full.

285. Both expressions equal 733.

286. Both expressions equal 86.

287. There is a discrepancy of one: the former expression equals 102 and the latter 101.

288. *Sefer ha-Roqeah, p. 22*, slightly corrected according to the parallel in *Arugat ha-Bosem, 1:183-84*. Cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 358a: "YHWH in a't ba"sh [MSP"S] is [numerically] equivalent to *berahamim*. Elohenu is numerically *ha-dan yehidi*. Know that 'the Lord is one' (Deut. 6:4)." Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 363a. On the association of the cherubim and the attributes of judgment and mercy, cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 263b. Needless to say, the correlation between the cherubim and the attributes of God from one side and the masculine and feminine powers from the other is a much older Jewish tradition. See G. G. Stroumsa, "Le Couple de l'ange et de l'esprit," *Revue Biblique* 88 (1981): 46-47, 53-55; Idel, "Métaphores et pratiques sexuelles," pp. 337-41; and *idem, Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, pp. 128-33.

289. Cf. *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1812, fol. 61b:

The *Shekhinah* has two thrones, two crowns, and two ophanim, one below and one above . . . Michael is the archon of mercy and Gabriel the archon of judgment, and when the *Shekhinah* sits in the attribute of judgment then the crowns and ophanim mention the name of forty-two letters . . . and the attribute of judgment is transformed into the attribute of mercy. Concerning this Isaiah said, "For lo! The Lord shall come forth from His place," *hinneh yhwh yose' mi-meqomo* (Isa. 26:21). The word *yose'* [comes forth] has the numerical value of Michael [i.e., both expressions equal 101]. [The expression] *hinneh yhwh yose' mi-meqomo* has the numerical value of [the expression] *yhwh u-msp"s kisso'* [i.e., both expressions equal 419] *be-rahamim* [in mercy]. Therefore we say, *yhwh'el rahum we-hannun*, "the Lord, a God compassionate and gracious" (Exod. 34:6) for they are ten letters. Similarly, [the expression] *yhwh yhwh'el*, "the Lord, the Lord, a God" (*ibid.*) . . . The throne of judgment is transformed into a throne of mercy. Therefore, we say in the *qedushah, hu' yifen be-rahamim* ("He looks with mercy"), these are the letters [of the expression] *ha'ofanim be-rahamim* ("the ophanim in mercy") [in fact, one letter,

the *mem*, is extra] for the ophanim transform the throne of judgment into a throne of mercy and a crown of mercy.

On the double throne and the double crown in this Ashkenazi protokabbalistic text and its resemblance to motifs expressed in the *Bahir*, see Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 247. See above n. 234, and below nn. 318-19.

290. See, e.g., "Book of Angels," p. 116.

291. Cf. MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 46, fol. 2b (concerning this manuscript see Scholem, *Reshit ha-Qabbalah*, p. 196), and Moses Zacuto, *Sefer ha-Shemot*, 10b. See the commentary on the name "Shaddai" in MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 236, fols. 79a: "The *shin* has a great secret and this is the name (*shem*) of the Holy One, blessed be He, and this is the first letter through which the world was created. This is *shin* [which refers to] YHWH, for the *shin* in a"t ba"sh is MSP"S [i.e. the transposition of YHWH through a"t ba"sh], which has the numerical value of *shin*." Similar language is found in the commentary on *Sefer Yesirah* extant in several manuscripts including MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 680, fol. 201b (the text is printed in *Shoshan Sodot* [Korets, 1784], 3b): "The three mothers, *alef*, *mem*, and *shin*, correspond to the name Shaddai, for in the letter *shin* there is a great mystery . . . in it is [an allusion to] the name of the Creator, blessed be He, for the name YHWH through transposition of letters by a"t ba"sh is MSP"S, which has the numerical value of *shin*, and this is the *shin* of the phylacteries, and it is the attribute of mercy." It has been argued by Abrams, "'Book of Illumination,'" pp. 4, 105, that this commentary was written by Jacob ha-Kohen. In an unpublished study Abrams has prepared a critical edition of the text and presents his arguments for attributing it to R. Jacob.

292. That is, the name Elohim when written out in full = *be-rahamim* = 300, which is also the numerical value of MSP"S, the Tetragrammaton written out in a"t ba"sh form.

293. *Perush ha-Roqeah'al ha-Torah*, 1:24.

294. See above n. 126.

295. That is, the hidden (*ne'elam*) letters that make up the name Adonai, i.e., the letters necessary for the vocalization of any letter that are nevertheless not graphically visible.

296. The relevance of this verse exegetically can only be understood if one bears in mind the phallic implication of the expression skilled tongue, *leshon limmudim*. More precisely, the tongue here is probably related to the image of scales that symbolically represent the union of male and female. This unity is represented as well by the two names, Adonai and YHWH, that appear in the beginning of the verse. On the sexual symbolism of the scales, see references to work of Liebes in Wolfson, "Erasing the Erasure," p. 180 n. 122. See above n. 121.

297. A view frequently expressed in Pietistic writings based on B. Shabbat 152b and its parallels. For references to primary and secondary literature

relevant to this theme, see Wolfson, "Circumcision and the Divine Name," pp. 91-92 n. 41. 298. MS Oxford 1566, fol. 38a. Cf. *ibid.*, fols. 74a, 87b, 89b. On the placing of the Torah scroll in the throne, see the comment of Eleazar in *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 38: "The Torah is in His throne as it is in the ark. From the side of the ark is the Torah scroll, a testimony for Israel who fulfill the Torah." See *ibid.*, p. 19, and the text from *Seferha-Kavod* cited in Abraham bar Azriel, *Arugat ha-Bosem*, 1:161. Cf. *Sefer Tagi*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 224b: "The Torah and the throne of glory are one pair, for the tablets were taken from the throne of glory [for references to this aggadic motif, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:49-50 n. 258 and 59 nn. 305-6] . . . Just as the *Shekhinah* is upon the throne so [it is] upon the Torah and upon the ark. The Torah and the tablets are found there. Thus the Torah is His throne." On the correlation of the Torah scroll and the tablets in the ark see as well in *Sefer Hasidim*, §§ 695-96, 698. On the relation of the two cherubim and the study of Torah, see *ibid.*, § 780. It is worthwhile noting here a passage in MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1892, fol. 66b: "Therefore [God] chose [Jacob], raised and exalted him to be His Torah engraved upon His throne." This may be related to another motif based on a depiction of Jacob as the incarnate Torah, viz., the 172 words of the Decalogue together with the ten commandments themselves equals 182, the numerical value of the consonants of the word *ya'aqov*. Cf. MSS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 168a; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fols. 28a-b, 84a; and Cambridge, University Library Add. 644, fol. 19a. See n. 330.

299. The other two letters of the Tetragrammaton are accounted for inasmuch as the *he'* is doubled and the *yod* of Adonai has already been counted.

300. On the mystical conception in the writings of the German Pietists of the Torah being composed of divine names, see Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, p. 124 n. 45; Idel, "Concept of the Torah," p. 54 n. 102; and *idem*, "We Have No Kabbalistic Tradition on This," in *Rabbi Moses Nahmanides (Ramban): Explorations in His Literary and Religious Virtuosity*, ed. I. Twersky (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), p. 54 n. 10. See further my study cited above in n. 13. On the development of these motifs in kabbalistic literature, see G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, trans. R. Manheim (New York, 1965), pp. 37-44, and Idel, "Concept of the Torah," pp. 49-84.

301. Cf. *Baraita of Joseph ben Uziel*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 770, fol. 33a, quoted in Dan, *Hugge ha-Mequbbalim ha-Rishonim*, p. 101. According to this text, the divine name is said to be written on the crown of the enthroned cherub just as the words *qodesh la-shem* are inscribed on the forehead of Aaron.

302. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 42a.

303. Cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fols. 213a-b, 227a, 363a. And in *Siddur Mal'ah ha-'Ares De'ah*, 14a (pagination lacking in the

original): "God of Israel,'*elohe yisra'el*, has the numerical value of 613, for the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, is unique to those occupied with the commandments."

304. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 118a. Cf. Eleazar's comments in his *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 49a: "'God of Israel,'*eloheyisra'el* (1 Chron. 29:10) is the glory that Israel the elder (*yisra'el sabba'*) saw and all the prophets. It is a glorious appearance, a bright fire, that has no image except in the imaginative vision of a person." For a slightly different text, see *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 195. See also the passage from MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 77a noted below in n. 348. Cf. "The First Commentary of R. Elhanan Isaac ben Yaqar of London to *Sefer Yesirah*," ed. G. Vajda, *Qoves'al Yad* 6 (1966): 156, where the expression "God of Israel" signifies the "archons above who are called *el*, like Michael and Gabriel, and the rest of the holy ministering angels." It would be instructive to compare the use of this technical term in the Pietistic literature to its use in the writings of Judah Halevi. See E. R. Wolfson, "Merkavah Traditions in Philosophical Garb: Judah Halevi Reconsidered," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 57 (1990-91): 206-7.

305. This expression occurs several times in Scripture. Cf. Exod. 5:1,32:27, and Joshua 7:13, 24:2.

306. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 100b. Cf. the tradition recorded in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 1408, fol. 44a: "The ten commandments are the beginning of all the words that God spoke, all the commandments. This is an allusion that He unified His name and His divinity, the [expression] God of Israel, *yhwh'elohe yisra'el*, has the numerical value of 613." For a detailed description of this codex, see C. Sirat, "Le manuscrit hébreu n° 1408 de la bibliothèque nationale de Paris," *Revue des études juives* 123 (1964): 335-58.

307. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 41: "When Israel utter a blessing then the glory is increased." Cf. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Weiss, p. 92: "The glory and the splendor increase by [means of] the blessing." And *Perush Sodot haTefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 38b: "'The glorious majesty of Your splendor' (Ps. 145:5) when'they declare Your mighty acts' (ibid., 4), then the glory is increased." Ibid., fol. 30a: "When the pious bless His name then the glory and the kingship increase." Ibid., fol. 110a: "When Israel bless His glorious name the glory is increased." (This passage is cited already by Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, p. 160, as an illustration of the theurgical element in Eleazar's thinking.) Cf. the corresponding versions in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1204, fol. 111b (this version is printed in *Perushe Siddur ha Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 145): "'The glorious majesty of Your splendor': when one mentions'they declare Your mighty acts,' one immediately says'the glorious majesty.' This indicates that when the righteous declare His wonders and mighty acts the glory is increased." Ibid., fol. 112b (*Perushe Siddur ha Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 148): "'And your mighty acts' that You show to human beings,'all Your works shall speak of You and Your faithful ones shall bless You' (based on Ps. 145:10 with some variations) the glory. This indicates that

the glory is increased by the blessings of Israel for it appears as if He were crowned in their crowns." Cf. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fol. 122a: "When a person makes a blessing with the intention of the heart . . . the glory increases in effluence and splendor. In the future one will merit that light, 'upon you the Lord will shine [and His Presence be seen over you]' (Isa. 60:2), for the glory and splendor increase through the blessing, as it is written, 'Your faithful ones shall bless You, they shall talk of the majesty of Your kingship, and the majestic glory of His kingship' (Ps. 145: 10-12)." Cf. *Commentary on the Passover Haggadah by Eleazar of Worms*, p. 165: "When Israel glorify the praise [of God] the throne and the glory are exalted and enlarged." On the elevation and enlargement of the throne, see *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 27: "When Israel exalt [God] in praise the throne, as it were, is exalted." *Ibid.*, p. 36: "As the glory ascends so too the throne ascends, and as the glory expands so too the throne expands." See also the passage of Eleazar quoted by Naftali Herz Treves in his commentary on the prayer book, discussed in Idel, "Concept of Torah," p. 24 n. 2, and a second passage from the same work cited by Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, pp. 160 and 357 n. 40. Cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 267b, where the motif of the augmented glory is connected with the name "Shaddai" traditionally associated with male virility (cf. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Weiss, p. 3): "Since this name is found in relation to procreation [the divine] appeared to the prophets in the name Shaddai; they saw the glory increase and expand" (*ro'im ha-kavod mitrabbeh we-holekh*). In the continuation of this passage the expanding glory is compared to the voice that increases and expands. (On the hypostatic nature of the voice, perhaps related to older speculations on the Logos, cf. *ibid.*, fols. 306a-7b.) It is of interest to note that in *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 171b (cf. *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la Roqeah*, p. 711) Eleazar discusses the epiphany of the glory through the appearance or vision of Shaddai (cf. Num. 24:16) immediately after his reflections on the process of procreation. These examples, and many others that could have been cited, greatly support Idel's theurgical interpretation of the German Pietistic use of the image of the ascending crown. See *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, pp. 160-61, 193-97. See as well *idem*, "In the Light of Life," pp. 205-7. For possible influences on Eleazar with respect to the expression *kavod ha-mitrabbeh*, cf. Judah ben Barzillai, *Perush Sefer Yesirah*, p. 37, where the expression *ha-kavod ha-merubbeh* occurs. See also *Numbers Rabbah* 14:22, and especially the *yoser* for Rosh ha-Shanah in *Piyyute R. Shim'on bar Yishaq*, p. 48, wherein those who observe the commandments are said to increase God's glory, *leharbot kevodekha* (cf. Goldschmidt, *Mahzor la-Yamim ha-Nora'im*, 1:47).

308. The manuscript reads *ha-keruv*, but the masoretic text has *ha-keruvim*.

309. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 119a.

310. Cf. the *qerovah* for Passover, '*omes gevurotekha mi yemalel*, by Moses bar Qalonymus, appendix to *Piyyute R. Shim'on bar Yishaq*, p. 217, where the theophany of the "glory of the God of Israel" is depicted in terms of the image of enthronement upon a cherub.

311. Naturally, in the theosophic kabbalistic symbolism as well the unity of the two names symbolizes the union between the masculine and the feminine potencies in the divine realm. See M. Verman, "The Development of Yihudim in Spanish Kabbalah," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 8 (1989): 25-41 (English section).

312. On the sexual connotation of the image of riding upon the cherub, see the commentary on the *Shema'* from the circle of the *Sefer ha-Temunah*, printed in *Sefer ha-Temunah* (Lemberg, 1892), 73a (cf. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1557, fol. 29b): "When the sun stands in an erect posture (*qomah zequfah*) upon the moon, as it says, 'He rode upon a cherub,' then 'His wisdom is beyond reckoning' (Ps. 147:5)." See in slightly different terms another version of this text in MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 194, fol. 70b: "The crown of majesty, as it says, 'He rode upon a cherub,' to be one form, the sun upon the moon." It is relevant to note in this context the view expressed by Maimonides in the *Guide of the Perplexed* 1.70, on the nature of the act of riding (*rekhivah*) and the allegorical significance of the one who rides as the one who controls and rules over that which one rides. See especially Abraham Abulafia's discussion of this motif in a fragment from *Sefer ha-Melammed*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 680, fols. 301a-b. (Concerning the identification of this text, see M. Idel, "The Writings of Abraham Abulafia and His Teaching" [Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, 1976], pp. 15-16 [in Hebrew]). Although there is no explicit sexual connotation in the case of Maimonides' philosophical explanation, it is not difficult to imagine the imposition of such imagery given the accepted medieval mindset with respect to such matters as the typical posture of man and woman during sexual intercourse. Cf. the anonymous text of prophetic kabbalah, *Sefer ha-Seruf*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 22, fol. 205b-207a: "All the gradations are in accordance with their level one atop the other, the lower one is always called female and the one above her male in relation to her, for he rides upon her and this one is ridden upon, even though this is not actual riding but a matter of level and great dominion You must contemplate the secret of the account of the chariot, and the chariot of which we spoke of the four creatures that bear the throne. Contemplate the secret of the throne Understand well that I do not have permission to reveal more explicitly, but everything is intimated to the one who sees with the eye of the intellect. Understand this and then great matters concerning the secret of the throne and chariot, the simple and the compounded, and the secret of which we spoke before, which is the secret of the male and female, will be clarified for you." Also instructive in this context is the wording of Judah Alharizi cited in *Hebrew Poetry in Spain and Provence*, ed. J. Schirmann (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1957), 2:118 (in Hebrew): "Fortunate is the man who rides upon her chariot (*be-merkavttah rakhav*), 'at her feet he sank, laying outstretched' (Judges 5:27)." It is obvious that in this poem the image of riding upon a chariot is a metaphor for coitus.

313. The manuscript (see reference in following note) here repeats the notation for the Tetragrammaton, but according to the masoretic text the correct

reading is Adonai YHWH. The force of the Pietistic exegesis is only understood in light of the received biblical text; i.e., there is a unity of the two names symbolized by the two cherubim.

314. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 87b.

315. *Hokhmat ha-Nefesh*, ch. 73, p. 126. Cf. *ibid.*, ch. 68, p. 118: "With respect to all the commandments He alludes to the fact that He unifies His name and His divinity upon Israel. [The title] 'Lord, God of Israel' (*yhwh'elohe yisrael*, ' has the numerical value of 613." Cf. *Commentary on the Passover Haggadah by Eleazar of Worms*, p. 72: "He said to them, 'Thus says the Lord, God of Israel,' to indicate that we must observe the 613 commandments and then He is called Lord, God of Israel." It is reasonable to assume that Eleazar's formulation, *le-ma'alah demut*, reflects the expression *demut le-ma'alah*, "the image above," which signifies the anthropomorphic form of the glory of the Dynamis. Cf. *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*, ch. 33, 58b, and *Pesiqta de Rav Kahana*, ed. B. Mandelbaum (New York, 1962) p. 65. On the doctrine of the *demut* in rabbinic literature, see A. J. Heschel, *Theology of Ancient Judaism* (London and New York, 1962), 1:220-23 (in Hebrew); S. Lieberman, "How Much Greek in Jewish Palestine?" in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. A. Altmann (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), pp. 140-41; and M. Fishbane, "Some Forms of Divine Appearance in Ancient Jewish Thought," in *From Ancient Israel to Modern Judaism Intellect in Quest of Understanding: Essays in Honor of Marvin Fox*, ed. J. Neusner, E. S. Frerichs, and N. M. Sarna (Atlanta, 1989), 2:265-68.

316. MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 212b.

317. Cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1569, fol. 116a. The version there matches that of MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 221b, as well as that of MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 81, fol. 140b, but the picture found there in the margin matches the view expressed in the theosophic text attributed to Judah the Pious: ADNYHW L"F L"T W"N W"D A"W.

318. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 58.

319. On the motif of the double throne in Haside Ashkenaz, see reference to Farber cited above in n. 289. See also the passage from Eleazar's commentary on the liturgy cited above in n. 234. In that text in particular the esoteric nature of the singular throne that is divided into two is emphasized. It seems to me, as Farber too has suggested, that the secret of the throne is decidedly sexual. I would suggest that the deep secret here, as in the theosophic kabbalistic symbolism, is related to the androgynous phallus. See n. 329.

320. It is possible that the move from the plural cherubim to the singular cherub is based on Ezek. 10:3-4, a point already made by Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 113, although in that context he was speaking about material from the *Hug ha-Keruv ha-Meyuhad*, without however identifying it as such. Cf. the commentary on Song of Songs 3:11 attributed to Eleazar, printed in *Perush ha-Roqeah'al ha-Megillot*, p. 127: *merkavo mi-keruv keruvim*.

321. MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 184a. Cf. *ibid.*, fols. 339a, 352b, and Abraham Abulafia, *Hayye ha-'Olam ha-Ba'*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1582, fol. 20b.
322. The manuscript that I examined (see n. 325) reads, *'al ha-'ares kevodo*, in place of the correct wording of the *qedushah* prayer, *kol ha-'ares kevodo* (based on Isa. 6:3). In my translation, however, I have followed the reading in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 327, which conforms to the traditional prayer.
323. On the motif of "faces" signifying attributes of God's actions vis-à-vis the world, cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 305a: "And there are also faces, faces of the glory (*pene ha-kavod*) . . . and the prophet who sees the faces knows the supernal mind (*da'at'elyon*) that turns from the side of the speech that is made known to the prophet." In the continuation of that passage Eleazar explicitly contrasts the faces of anger, *pene ha-za'am*, with the faces of goodness, *panim tovim*, or light, *panim shel'orah*. (An important parallel to Eleazar's text is found in the *Sefer ha-Kavod* extant in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fols. 42b-43b.) It is evident from this context that the *pene ha-kavod* are optically akin to the angels in whose image Adam was created, a motif that Eleazar repeats in many of his writings. See Scholem, *Major Trends*, pp. 117-18; *idem*, *Origins*, p. 112 n. 114; Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, pp. 218, 224-29; and Ch. Mopsik, *Le Livre hébreu d'Hénoch ou Livre des palais* (Paris, 1989), p. 53. For a docetic interpretation of the traditional idiom *pene ha-shekhinah*, cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 378a.
324. In MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1204, fol. 79a: "the glory near the glory," *ha-kavod'esel ha-kavod*, and in a parallel in MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 232, fol. 7b: "the glory near the special cherub," *kavod'esel keruvyahid*.
325. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 76b.
326. According to Ezek. 1:27. Cf. *Pirque Rabbi'Eli ezer*, ch. 4: "The Presence of the Holy One, blessed be He, is in the middle, and He sits on a high and exalted throne. . . . He manifests His glory in the likeness of the *hashmal*."
327. That is, 182. Cf. the pseudo-Eleazar *Perush ha-Roqeah'al ha-Torah* 3:38: "[The word] *bi-neso'a* has the numerical value of *ya'aqov* for he is upon the throne."
328. *Perush ha-Merkavah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fol. 68b, and precise parallel in *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 13. Cf. *Perush haMerkavah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fols. 67a-b:

It is said, "in the likeness of a hashmal" (Ezek. 1:4, 27), for when Ezekiel saw the effulgence of the glory he could endure it until He showed him the hashmal in the likeness of the splendor of the glory. "When the Ark was to set out," *wa-yehi bi-neso'a ha-aron* (Num. 10:35). The bet and samekh [of the word *bi-neso'a*] through the permutation of letters [by means of the technique of] *a"t ba"sh*

are het and shin, and the'ayin [of the word bi-neso'a exchanges with the letters mem and lamed insofar as'ayin = 70, which is the sum of mem and lamed, 40 + 30]. Thus [one derives from the word] hashmal. And the inverted nun [according to the masoretic text] is to indicate that he guides the chariot (molikh ha-merkavah). Hashmal has the numerical value of molikh ha-merkavah [i.e., 378].

See *ibid.*, fol. 74b; MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2430, fol. 71a: "R. Eliezer (!) wrote that the *hashmal* stands surrounding the throne of glory. He has three appearances, and he is the most important of the angels for he guides the chariot. Therefore, *hashmal* has the numerical value of *molikh ha-merkavah*." See Farber, "Concept of the Merkavah," pp. 42, 328. Cf. *Rabbenu Bahya'alha-Torah*, ed. Chavel, 2:276, ad Exod. 25:18: "The reality of the *hashmal* is from the splendors of the throne of glory. You should know that he surrounds the throne, and he leads (*molikh*) the word of the glory to the holy creatures."

329. While I did not articulate fully the implications of my own thinking in the original Hebrew version of this study, I did consider the image of Jacob to be an androgynous symbol. However, what is more clear to me now is that the phallus assumes the androgynous character inasmuch as both masculinity and femininity are localized in the male organ. See above nn. 253 and 319, and below n. 376. The bisexual element of the glory may also be implied in the following statement of Eleazar in *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 288a: "If you say, 'how did Ezekiel see the "semblance of a human form" (1:26)'? It is like a person who sees in a large mirror a large face (*parsuf gadol*) and in a small mirror a small face (*parsuf qatan*)." The symbolism underlying this metaphor may involve the masculine and feminine hypostases referred to respectively as the large and the small faces. If my interpretation is correct, then this is another striking resemblance of Pietistic theosophy to the symbolism of kabbalah.

330. That is, $172 + 10 = 182$, the sum of the Hebrew letters in the name Jacob. See above n. 298.

331. ThereferenceistoQallir'spoem, *we-hayyot'asherhenahmerubba'ot kisse'*. See above n. 56.

332. The continuation of the verse is "under my head," *tahatle-ro'shi*. The letters of the last word can be transposed into *yisra'el*.

333. The continuation of the verse in Exod. 24:10 is *ke-ma'aseh livnathasappir*, "the likeness of a pavement of sapphire." It is possible that Eleazar is drawing an analogy between these words and the expression describing the throne in Ezek. 1:26, *ke-mar'eh'even sappir*, "in appearance like sapphire." On the other hand, it is possible that the word *ke-mar'eh* is an allusion to the expression *ke-mar'eh'adam* in the same verse from Ezekiel. The "semblance of the human form" upon the throne is to be identified as Israel or the image of Jacob. Cf. the passage from the *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah* cited below in n. 373.

334. This refrain is part of the traditional liturgy.
335. If "Jacob" is written in the plene form with a *waw*, then the numerical value of *mi-ya'aqov* is 228, which is the same as that of the word *keruv*. See above n. 203.
336. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fols. 159a-b. See printed version, based on MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1204, in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, pp. 678-80.
337. See, e.g., *Pesiqta de-RavKahana*, 23, pp. 376-77; *Pesiqta Rabbati*, ed. M. Friedmann (Vienna, 1880), 40, 168b; *Leviticus Rabbah* 29:3, p. 674; and *Midrash Tehillim* 47:2, ed. S. Buber (Vilna, 1891), 137b.
338. Quoted in E. Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Jerusalem, 1975), p. 435 (in Hebrew).
339. According to the description of Jacob in Gen. 25:27.
340. Goldschmidt, *Mahzor la-Yamim ha-Nora'im*, 1:83. In the continuation of the poem it says: *u-va-'a tarah'asher be-ro'shekha zequqah/ u-ve-shem yisra'el be-khinnuy mehuzzaqah* (and the diadem that is bound to Your head, that which is called by the name Israel). See, however, the version in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1038, fol. 6b: *histakkel ba-tavnit'asher be-kisse' haquqah . . . u-va-'aarah'asher be-ro'sho zequqah/ be-shem yisra'el bekhinnuy mehuzzaqah*. According to this version, the diadem whose name is Israel is bound to the head of the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne. Cf. Goldschmidt, *Mahzor la-Yamim ha-Nora'im*, 1:178: *yewwada' hesed haquq be-khes shiv'ah*. And in *Mahzor la-Yamim ha-Nora'im*, 2:120: *hotmam me-rehem yoshev'ohalim/ surato be-khis'akha haqtta behillim*. In another liturgical poem for Yom Kippur (op. cit., p. 402) reference is made to the image of the patriarchs (designated the "ancient mountains," *harere qedem*; cf. *Sifre on Deuteronomy*, pisqa 353, p. 414) upon the throne rather than the image of Jacob alone: *we-tavnit harere qedem ba-kisse'/ mehannenim be'ad'am zu mi-tahat la-kisse'*. Cf. the Ashkenazi *Perush Haftarah*, MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Or. 945, fol. 154b. It is possible that there is an allusion to this very matter in the poem published in M. Zulay, *The Liturgical Poetry of Sa'adya Gaon and His School* (Jerusalem, 1964), p. 141 (in Hebrew): *yizzakher lefanekha sedeq hamamshilim be-'arba'ah fanim'asher ba-kes harutim/ shahas we-shor we-'ayit we-reshem to'ar mefasel ba-rehatim*.
341. Based on Nahum 2:11.
342. *Mahzor la-Yamim ha-Nora'im*, 1:217.
343. Cf. 1 Kings 7:7.
344. See, e.g., Eleazar's *ma'arivim* for Rosh ha-Shanah, in *Shirat haRoke'ah*, ed. Meiseles, p. 77: *sod tam'ezkkor ba-kesse'/ atiratkhem'eshma' ba-kesse'/ we-'et qol ha-shofar* (the secret of the innocent one I recall upon the throne/ your prayers I hear upon the throne/ and the voice of the ram's horn.)

It should be noted that in this poem Eleazar mentions the merit of the three patriarchs, not solely that of Jacob whose image is engraved upon the throne. Eleazar's dependence upon the *piyyut* literature has been well noted by other scholars. See Urbach, *Arugat ha-Bosem*, 4:100-11, and H. Soloveitchik, "Three Themes in Sefer Hasidim," *ASJ Review* 1 (1976): 352.

345. MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 184b. Cf. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Weiss, p. 150: "The glory immediately looks at the human countenance, the image of Jacob, and he has pity upon them." On the ocular gaze of God as an expression of mercy or the transformation of the attribute of judgment into the attribute of mercy, see Eleazar ben Moses ha-Darshan, *Sefer ha-Gimatri'ot*, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 221, fol. 160a. There is little question in my mind that the gaze in the Ashkenazi sources, as in theosophic kabbalistic symbolism, has an implicit erotic connotation. See my extended discussion of this theme in *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, 1994). On the erotic implication of the gaze in kabbalistic texts, see also Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, pp. 68-69.

346. *Sefer ha-Roqeah*, p. 105.

347. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fol. 59a. See "The Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot by R. Jacob," p. 29. The influence of this motif is discernible in the passage from *Midrash ha-Ne'elam* published by G. Scholem, "A New Section from the *Midrash ha-Ne'elam* of the *Zohar*," *Festschrift in Honor of Louis Ginzberg* (New York, 1946), p. 431 (in Hebrew):

R. Abbahu said: He made the icon [of Jacob] in heaven and when Israel sin and the attribute of judgment is upon them, the Holy One, blessed be He, looks at his icon and has mercy on them as it is written, "God said, Let there be lights in the expanse of the sky" (Gen. 1:14) Therefore, Joseph saw in his dream "the sun and the moon" (ibid. 37:9), for this referred to Jacob The Holy One, blessed be He, engraved Jacob near His throne . . . and when the Holy One, blessed be He, wants to have mercy on Israel He looks at the icon of Jacob and has mercy on them.

Cf. the metamorphosis of this motif in *Zohar* 1:168a: "In times of distress for the children of Jacob the Holy one, blessed be He, looks at the icon of Jacob that is before Him and has pity upon the world." The influence of this motif, perhaps reflecting more specifically the zoharic passages, is discernible in the following statement of Abner of Burgos, "Therefore they say, the Holy One, blessed be He said, They would anger Me were it not for the image of their father, Jacob, that is engraved on the throne." See Hecht, "The Polemical Exchange between Isaac Pollegar and Abner of Burgos," pp. 184 and 372. See above n. 36. On Jacob as a symbol for the attribute of lovingkindness or mercy, cf. the passage of Eleazar of Worms in MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 232, fol. 5a.

348. Cf. *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 65a (printed text in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 264):

The three times that the word *qadosh* appears [in the Trisagion based on Isa. 6:3] correspond to . . . [the three scriptural expressions] (1) *yoshev ha-keruvim*, "enthroned on the cherubim" (1 Sam. 4:4, 2 Sam. 6:2, 2 Kings 19:15, Isa. 37:16, Ps. 80:2, 1 Chron. 13:6; see also Ps. 99:1); (2) *wa-ya'amod'al ha-keruvim*, "and stood above the cherubim" (Ezek. 10:18); (3) *wa-yirkav'al keruv*, "He mounted a cherub" (2 Sam. 22:11, Ps. 18:11). Thus there are three [postures]: sitting (*yeshivah*), standing (*'amidah*), and riding (*rekhivah*). Therefore [it says] "Holy, holy, holy, the Lord of Hosts" (Isa. 6:3).

Is there here an allusion to the fact that these different postures are symbolic characterizations of the *hieros gamos* between the glory and the cherub? This interpretation would appear to be enhanced by the exegetical context in which this comment appears, viz., an explication of the Trisagion. The erotic element of this liturgical refrain is underscored by the critical passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati* (see above n. 181) that alludes to the dynamic between the enthroned glory and the iconic image of Jacob engraved upon the throne. Eleazar cites this very text when he comments on the *qedushah de- amidah*, i.e., the Trisagion of the Eighteen Benedictions. Cf. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 76a (printed text in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, pp. 325-26). See n. 352. Cf., however, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 77a (*Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 329) where the custom to rise on one's feet when the Trisagion is recited is related to the need to stand before God when one of the divine names is mentioned. In that context a spurious talmudic passage (the exact reference given is the *Yerushalmi*, the ninth chapter of *Berakhot* called *ha-ro'eh*; cf. *Arugatha-Bosem*, 1:215, where Abraham bar Azriel cites a similar source in the name of the *Yerushalmi* but in that context the narrative is about Eleazar ben Azariah; see E. Zimmer, "Poses and Postures During Prayer," *Sidra* 5 [1989]: 128 n. 219 [in Hebrew], who suggests that Abraham bar Azriel considered the *Hekhalot* literature to be part of the talmudic corpus of the Palestinian sages) is cited that is in fact based on the passage from *Hekhalot Rabbati* referred to above: "When Eleazar ben Arakh ascended to heaven, the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Eleazar, My son, don't you know how beloved are My children before Me? When they say 'Holy, holy, holy,' and cast their eyes to Mine, and lift their bodies by their heels, I embrace and kiss the visage of Jacob, their patriarch, that is engraved upon My throne of glory. Whoever is seated must stand. Similarly, R. Simeon would stand when they said 'Lord, God of Israel.'" (Here again we note parenthetically that the title, "Lord, God of Israel," indicates in a technical sense the enthronement of the glory; see above n. 304.) The standing posture of the worshipper both sets into motion and reflects the status of the glory vis-à-vis the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne. More specifically, the erotic dynamic of the glory embracing and kissing the iconic visage of Jacob is related to the standing of the worship-

per. There is thus a reverse correlation of what occurs above and below: as the worshipper stands and lifts his body the glory stoops down and sits upon the throne. On the custom to leap during the recitation of the Trisagion in the *qedushah* and its linkage to the passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati* in medieval Provençal and Ashkenazi halakhic figures, see sources discussed by Zimmer, "Poses and Postures During Prayer," pp. 128-29. Zimmer surmises that the custom began in France and from there disseminated to Germany and Italy as well as Provence and Spain. The passage from Eleazar's *Perush Sodot haTefillah*, according to MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, is not discussed by Zimmer. See also passage from the Ashkenazi prayer book extant in MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 324, cited in the *Siddur of R. Solomon ben Samson of Garmaise*, p. 87 n. 63 (as noted in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la Roqeah*, p. 329 n. 100): "The reason that we stand on our toes when we say 'Holy, holy, holy' is on account of the [image of] Jacob on the throne of glory. When Israel stand on their toes, the Holy One, blessed be He, takes him and kisses him."

349. See Dan, *Studies*, p. 137.

350. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 278b.

351. To be sure, in other places in his writings Eleazar cites the passage of Nathan ben Yehiel without any indication that he has imputed sexual meaning to it. See *Sod ha-Yihud* of Eleazar published by Dan, *Studies*, p. 86; *Sha'are haSod ha-Yihud we-ha-'Emunah*, p. 148; and *Arugat ha-Bosem*, 1:200. See Verman, *Books of Contemplation*, p. 141. Support for my interpretation of Eleazar's use of the saying "glory above the glory" to refer to masculine and feminine potencies of the divine may be found in the text in MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1884, fol. 20b, transcribed and translated in Verman, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-3. In that text the Primal Ether, described as an androgynous female (see my discussion in "Erasing the Erasure," n. 145), is identified by R. Meir of Germany as the Primal Light and by R. Peres of France as the Tenth Level as well as the cherub. (Concerning the possible identity of the aforementioned rabbinic figures as, respectively, R. Meir of Rothenburg and R. Peres ben Elijah of Corbeil, see Kanarfogel, "Rabbinic Figures in Castilian Kabbalistic Pseudepigraphy," pp. 100-2.) The last identification is predicated on the fact that just as the cherub was both male and female (following the talmudic tradition; see above, n. 280), so too this potency is androgynous. I will cite the most relevant part of the text according to Verman's translation: "There is in this the secret of the Cherubs: an allusion to one who understands what is written in Scripture-'male and female He created them . . . and He called their name Adam, on the day He created them' (Gen. 5:2), so it is. Similarly, the proponents of interior religion called its name, the glory above the glory." There can be no question that the esoteric masters referred to as "proponents of interior religion" (*anshe ha-dat ha-penimit*) understood the statement of Nathan ben Yehiel in terms of a male-female polarity, precisely the way that I have interpreted the comment of Eleazar cited in the body of this study. It is evident as well that this text preserves authentic German Pietistic traditions; see Verman, *op. cit.*, p. 200. It is noteworthy that the androgynous nature of the cherub is emphasized in

another text that betrays the influence of the German Pietists, and particularly of Eleazar of Worms, viz., the kabbalah of Meshullam the Zadokite, extant in MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana 62, fol. 109b, transcribed and translated in Verman, op. cit., pp. 207-10 (see esp. 208). See Farber, "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 560, 633-38. Finally, it is of interest to recall that M. Idel, "On the Concept of Zimzum in Kabbalah and Its Research," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 10 (1992): 66 n. 46 (in Hebrew), observed that an expression similar to that of Nathan ben Yehiel's remark concerning the "glory above the glory" is found in the Gnostic work, the *Gospel of Phillip* 85, trans. W. W. Isenberg in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, ed. J. Robinson, revised edition (San Francisco, 1988), p. 159: "There is glory which surpasses glory. There is power which surpasses power." It is evident from the context that this remark signifies the union of the upper spiritual powers and the lower spiritual powers. Thus the text continues: "Therefore the perfect things have opened up to us, together with the hidden things of truth. The holies of the holies were revealed, and the bridal chamber invited us in." The reference to the bridal chamber suggests that the reunification of the upper and the lower spiritual powers is a reunification of the masculine and the feminine. If my reading is correct, then it can be concluded that already in this Gnostic source the locution of the glory above the glory has a sexual connotation. The affinity of this Gnostic text and esoteric Jewish motifs has been well noted in the scholarly literature; for references see "The Tree That Is All," p. 73 n. 168 [below p. 221 n. 172].

352. The sitting of the glory upon the throne assumes a sexual nuance already in one of the main macroforms of *Hekhalot literature*, *Hekhalot Rabbati*, § 94: "Beginning of praise and the first song, beginning of rejoicing and the first exultation, the archons, who serve each day, sing before YHWH, the God of Israel, they exalt the wheel of His throne of glory, (singing): Rejoice, rejoice, throne of glory! Exult, exult, supernal dwelling! Shout, shout for joy, precious vessel Gladden the king who (sits) upon you, as the joy of the bridegroom in his nuptial chamber." See *ibid.*, § 99 in which the throne of glory is described as prostrating itself thrice daily before the glory and uttering: "Zoharariel, YHWH, God of Israel, glorify Yourself, and sit down upon me, magnificent King, for Your burden is dear to me, and it is not heavy." On the feminine quality of the throne, see above n. 183. It seems to me that the sexual implication of enthronement underlies the following comment in *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 280a, on the passage in *Sefer Yesirah* 1:8 (Gruenwald, "Preliminary Critical Edition," p. 142), "If your heart runs, return to the place whence you came": "If the heart begins to contemplate he should rush and quickly place his heart as if the throne of glory above were facing him and the supernal God sitting on it, and he should bow down to Him, and he will remember the One (*we-yizkor ha-yihud*)." The realization of divine oneness is here connected to the enthronement of God, which is actualized only through imaginative visualization since the One is not a body that occupies a throne. Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 288b: "The One has no limit (*ha-yihud' ein lo sof*) for He is everything, and if not for the fact that 'through the prophets [God] was imaged' (Hosea 12:11) as a king sitting upon a throne, they would not have known to whom to pray This is what is said in

Sefer Yesirah (1:8)'and set the Creator on His place.'" The imaginative visualization of God, which provides the iconic representation necessary for prayer, is expressed particularly in terms of the structure of enthronement. For a more extensive discussion of the process of visualization in the writings of Haside Ashkenaz, see chapter 5 of my *Through a Speculum That Shines*. Needless to say, in theosophic kabbalistic symbolism as well the sitting of God upon the throne symbolizes the unity between the masculine and the feminine potencies in the divine realm, i.e., the union of Tiferet and Malkhut, the Holy One, blessed be He, and the Presence. See, e.g., the well-known passage in *Zohar* 2:135a-b (recited liturgically by certain communities under the title *raza'de-shabbat*, "the mystery of Sabbath"): "The Holy One, blessed be He, is one above, and He does not sit upon His throne of glory until she is unified in the secret of the one as He is, so that they will be one together with one The prayer of Sabbath evening: the holy throne of glory is unified in the secret of the one and she is prepared for the supernal holy King to rest upon her." See Ginsburg, *Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, pp. 167 n. 176, 168 n. 183. Cf. *Zohar* 3:48a: "When is there said to be perfection above? When the Holy One, blessed be He, sits upon the throne, and prior to His sitting upon the throne there is no perfection, as it is written, 'and on top, upon this semblance of a throne, there was the semblance of a human form' (Ezek. 1:26). From the fact that it is written human it may be inferred that it is the containment and perfection of everything." Concerning this text and its possible relation to the Idrot sections of zoharic literature, see Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, p. 113. Liebes also noted the sexual nuance of the image of sitting upon a throne. The words of the *Zohar* are based on the rabbinic view that a person is not called "Adam," i.e., a human, unless there is a pairing of male and female. Cf. B. *Yevamot* 63a; *Seferha-Bahir*, § 172; *Zohar* 1:55b; and 3:141b (*Idra'Rabba'*). For other sources, see Liebes, *Sections of the Zohar Lexicon*, p. 33 n. 26. On the perfection (or completion) of a person in terms of the union of masculine and feminine, see *Zohar* 1:239a, and 3:7a. This image is supported in zoharic literature by another rabbinic idea, based on a much older myth, regarding the androgynous nature of Adam. Cf. *Genesis Rabbah* 8:1; B. *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; and many places in the *Zohar*, e.g., 1:2b, 34b-35a, 37b, 165a; 2:55a, 70b, 231a-b; and 3:10b, 19a, 44b, 117a; *ZoharHadash* 16c (*Midrash ha-Ne'elam*), 55c, 66c. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:88-89 n. 42; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, pp. 1355-56; D. C. Matt, *Zohar: The Book of Enlightenment* (New York, 1983), p. 217; and Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, pp. 70-71.

353. Cf. *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 90b: "'The secret of the Lord is with those who fear Him' (Ps. 25:14). There are three secrets and they are: 'The secret of the Lord is with those who fear Him,' 'But His secret is with the straightforward' (Prov. 3:32), 'For He revealed His secret to His servants the prophets' (Amos 3:7), corresponding to the three patriarchs and the three sides of the throne above. Your sign for this is [the letter] kaf. This cannot be explained further except to those who are fearers [of God]." See printed text in *Perush Siddurha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 402. The reference in that version to the letter samekh should be corrected because the throne is symbolized by the letter kaf, which also makes sense in this context in light of

the reference to three sides of the throne, the letter *kaf* being closed on three out of four sides. On the depiction of the throne in terms of the letter *kaf* in the Pietistic writings, reflecting an earlier aggadic motif, see above n. 209. It is evident that the secret in this case involves some sexual element connected particularly with the feminine nature of the three-pronged throne. See also above nn. 65 and 183. See also the passage concerning the divided throne in *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 170b cited above, n. 234. Cf. op. cit., fol. 49a (printed text in *Perushe Siddurha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 195): "The glory surrounds the prophet with a cloud the whole time that it speaks with him. This cannot be transmitted in writing but only orally." It is likely that the image of the prophet being surrounded by the glory also carries a sexual connotation. See, e.g., op. cit., fol. 152a (printed text in *Perushe Siddurha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 658): "The *hashmalah* is surrounded by the *hashmal*." According to this passage, the enveloping reality is masculine (*hashmal*), and that which is enveloped is the female (*hashmalah*). If my interpretation is correct, then we have another piece of textual evidence that Eleazar emphasizes the esoteric nature of a doctrine and the need to transmit it orally in a context where the divine entity is described in terms of an erotic element. On the masculine valence accorded the image of enveloping, see the view of Joseph of Hamadan discussed in Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, pp. 105 and 208, n. 128. I note, parenthetically, that the image of the female enveloping the male can be found in certain texts, reflecting the locution of Jer. 31:21, "a woman shall encircle a man." Cf. the comment attributed to Samuel ben Nahman in *Midrash Tehillim* 73:4, p. 335: "In this world the male surrounds the female but in the future the female will surround the male, as it says, 'a woman shall encircle the male.'" Cf. the kabbalistic text cited in "Erasing the Erasure," n. 145; *Book of the Pomegranate*, pp. 24, 89, 143, 327; and *Rabbenu Bahya'al ha-Torah* 2: 276, ad Exod. 25:18. On the role of the female encompassing the male, cf. the kabbalistic explication of *sukkah* included in Moses de León, *Nefesh ha-Hakhamah*: "The *sukkah* alludes to Wisdom, and Wisdom is feminine . . . she is a house for all the emanations for she encompasses everything." Cf. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 171b (printed text in *Perushe SiddurhaTefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 711) where a discussion about prophetic vision, and particularly the manifestation of the glory through the different divine names, that leads to an explication of the thirteen attributes of mercy is prefaced with the following remark: "This is the whole of the person to know the essence in order to praise Him that He is one. Therefore, David commanded his son, Solomon, 'Know the God of your father and serve Him' (1 Chron. 28:9). God does not grant that this is understood except by those who are straightforward in their hearts. I will write a little for one should not transmit everything in writing but only the main elements orally." The issue of esotericism is also linked to eroticism in Eleazar's *Perush ha-Merkavah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 850, fols. 77b-78a:

Ezekiel wanted to see the glory first but he could not. He saw the hashmal in order to know matters pertaining to the glory. Thus it is written, "Above the expanse over their heads was the sem-

blance of a throne, in appearance like sapphire; and on top, upon this semblance of a throne, there was the semblance of a human form. From what appeared as his loins up, I saw a gleam of amber-what looked like fire encased in a frame" (Ezek. 1:26-27). It did not say what it appeared like from his loins up, but it says in another place, "From his loins up, his appearance was resplendent and had the color of amber" (Ezek. 8:2). He did not want to explain what the splendor is. From here [it is deduced that] only the chapter headings are transmitted . . . He linked the visions to the likeness of the hashmal and the likeness of the hashmalah, for there are strange visions of which the mouth is not permitted to speak.

354. The reference is to the nine occurrences of the word *mar'eh* in Ezek. 1:26-28.

355. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 232, fol. 7b.

356. Based on a passage in B.'Avodah Zarah 3b. The motif is employed in *3 Enoch* and *Seder Rabbah di-Bereshit*, works related to the *Hekhalot* corpus. Cf. *Synopse* §§ 38, 441, 442, 746, 747, 837. Cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 361a: "He alone sees the 18,000 worlds." Cf. *Zohar* 1:24a; 3:226b (*Ra'aya' Mehemna'*); *Zohar Hadash* 49b.

357. MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 316a.

358. In the continuation of this passage Eleazar extends the ontic angelification to anyone who dies with "proper teaching in his mouth and nothing perverse on his lips" (Mal. 2:6). In my chapter on Haside Ashkenaz in *Through a Speculum That Shines* I have discussed the mimetic transformation of human beings into angels through the mystical praxis of mentioning the divine name. It is evident that other, more normative rituals were understood by Eleazar in precisely this vein. See above n. 348. Cf. Eleazar's description of the ritual of the fringe garment in *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fols. 261b-62a and *Hokhmata-Nefesh*, ch. 58, p. 101, and the text of Eleazar Seligman of Bingen, *Hiddushim Be'urim u-Fesaqim* (Jerusalem, 1985), pp. 110-11 and *Arugat ha-Bosem*, 3:207, 234, 245. On the ritualistic application of the ancient mythic motif of God's sitting upon the throne of glory on Sabbath (cf. *Synopse*, § 849; *Bereshit Rabbati*, pp. 35-36; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5: 110, n. 101; and Ginsburg, *Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, pp. 103-4), cf. *Sefer Tagi*, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1566, fol. 247a: "Concerning all that which is said with respect to the matter of [the Sabbath hymn]'For God who rested from all the acts [of creation],' so a person is obligated to rest.'He ascended and sat [on the throne] in the highest heaven,' so too a person should sit in a palace in order to comfort his mind (*leharhiv da'ato*; cf. B. Berakhot 57b)." Cf. *Sefer Hasidim*, § 628; *Perush Sodotha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 128b (printed text in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah laRoqeah*, p. 526); and *Arugat ha-Bosem*, 4:125 n. 96.

359. The erotic implications of the entry of the high priest into the Holy of Holies on Yom Kippur are explicitly drawn in kabbalistic sources where the sexual myth of *hieros gamos* is blatant. See Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, pp. 6566. On the special distinction of Yom Kippur as the propitious hour for mentioning the divine name, cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fols. 308a, 334b-35a.

360. On the theurgical effect of the priest's utterance of the name on Yom Kippur, cf. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 8, and MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 2430, fol. 67a. On other occasions the theurgical effect of mentioning the name in the Temple is assigned to Israel more generally. Cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 169a, and *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 110a (printed text in *Perush Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqueah*, p. 464). On the transfiguration of the high priest into an angel, cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 362a: "When the high priest entered the innermost [Holy of Holies] he was in the image of God."

361. The same verses from Song of Songs are employed by Eleazar to depict the union of the prophet and his celestial counterpart in the angelic realm that results from gnosis of the supernal mind of the glory. Cf. *Seferha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 281a: "It is said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness . . . in the image of God' (Gen. 1:26-27) The angels are called *elohim*. With regard to what is written, 'the semblance of a human form' (Ezek. 1:26), this is so that the prophet will know the supernal mind. 'I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine' (Song of Songs 6:3). 'My beloved is mine and I am his' (ibid. 2:16)." Cf. *ibid.*, fols. 314b-15a where Song of Songs 6:3 and 7:11 are applied to the one who knows and mentions the seventy-two-letter name of God. Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 367a. But cf. *Seferha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 290b, where Eleazar cites Song of Songs 2:16 to depict the relationship of Metatron and God.

362. See, e.g., the *Sod ha-Yihud* of Eleazar published by Dan, *Studies*, pp. 86-87; *Sha'are ha-Sod ha-Yihud we-ha-'Eminah*, pp. 147-48; and *Arugat haBosem*, 1:200. This terminology is not unique to Eleazar, and its roots can be found in older sources. Cf. Nathan ben Yehiel, *Aruch Completum*, s.v., ^{הוד}הוד, 6: 110: "The splendor (*ha-hod*) and the great glory (*ha-kavod ha-gadol*) refer to the glory of the Presence (*kevod ha-shekhinah*) concerning which permission has not been granted to any creature to see." Cf. the words of Hananel ben Hushiel cited in B. M. Lewin, *Otzarha-Geonim to the Tractate Yebamot (Jerusalem, 1984)*, pp. 123,314. And cf. Judah ben Barzillai, *Perush Sefer Yesirah*, p. 12: "There is a glory above the glory, and the glory that is the great splendor (*ha-hod ha-gadol*) that is close to the Presence cannot be seen by man." See *ibid.*, p. 22: "Many of the geonim, may their memory be for a blessing, explained that Akatriel . . . is from the light of the glory, blessed be he, and from the great splendor from which R. Ishmael saw a form." See G. Vajda, "Or ha-Sekhina: Compléments et Autocritique," *Revue des études juives* 134 (1975): 134. Cf. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1567, fol. 42a: "The glorious splendor (*hod kavod*) of the cherubim." Cf. MS

Jerusalem, Mussajoff 145, fols. 49b-50a: "The glory of the God of Israel by way of tradition: this glory is the splendor (*hod*) that is the glory of the Presence (*kevod ha-shekhinah*) and from it there emanates an angel whose name is Keruv, and some say Keruviel, and he participates with Gabriel, and the two of them are comprised of the attribute of power (*middat ha-gevurah*) and the attribute of loving kindness (*middat ha-hesed*)." In the *Baraita of Jonathan ben Uziel* the word *hod* designates the lower potency, the special cherub (*keruvha-meyuhad*), that emanates from the *nogah*, the glory of the Presence (*kevod ha-shekhinah*). See Dan, *Huggeha-Mequbbalim ha-Rishonim*, pp. 101-2. Finally, let me note that in the *Hekhalot* literature the word *hod* is synonymous with *hadar*, and its signification is the luminous splendor of the glory. See, e.g., *Synopse*, §§ 33, 73, 252, 592.

363. Cf. *Perush ha-'Aderet we-ha-'Emunah*, MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 228, fol. 107b: "On every heaven that the crown is glorified it expands more and more, and when it reaches the image of Jacob, our patriarch, which is engraved upon the throne of glory, then it expands according to the glory, and it is entirely glorified on account of the merit of Jacob, our patriarch." On this commentary and its relationship to Eleazar, see J. Dan, "Ashkenazi Hasidic Commentaries on the Hymn *Ha-'Aderet we-ha-'Emunah*," *Tarbiz* 50 (1981): 396-404 (in Hebrew). It seems that underlying this text is the motif discussed in the body of this chapter, i.e., the erotic dynamic of the image of Jacob in relation to the glory is expressed here in terms of the expansion of the crown. While the expansion and glorification of the crown, woven from the prayers of Israel, occurs in each heaven, the process reaches its fullest expression when the crown arrives at the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne. Cf. the language cited by Siyyoni (above in n. 248): "When the crown ascends to the head of the Creator the face of Jacob shines before Adiriron, the Lord, God of Israel." Here too the sexual nuance is obvious, especially the image of the shining face of Jacob, an image that is reminiscent of the passage from *Hekhalot Zutarti* cited above in n. 185. Cf. *Sefer ha-Shem*, MS London, British Museum 737, fol. 365b, and the German Pietistic text extant in MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America Mic. 1878, fol. 44a. The latter text describes the ascent of the crown made from the prayers of Israel from Sandalphon to Metatron and from the latter to the image of Jacob engraved upon the throne. I translate at the point of the text when the crown has reached Jacob's image: "Then the crown is clothed in a shining fire upon which no eye can gaze on account of the abundant brightness. Immediately, all the creatures, ophanim, electrums, seraphim, and the throne of glory give splendid praise to the glorious king. Then the crown expands infinitely."

364. *Perushha-Roqeah'al-Hameshha-Megillot*, p. 115 (cf. the version that I cited above in n. 199). Cf. the commentary to Song of Songs 1:2, op. cit., p. 101: "'Oh give me of the kisses of your mouth,' in the Book of Hekhalot [it says that the glory] embraces and kisses the image of Jacob." Both of these passages from the pseudo-Eleazar commentary on Song of Songs are noted by Marcus, "The Song of Songs in German Hasidism and the School of Rashi," p. 188 n. 22. Despite the fact that the published commentary on Song of Songs attributed to Eleazar of Worms was not written by him, it is evident, as Marcus has noted (p. 185), that

there is much congruence between the commentary and the exegetical techniques delineated in Eleazar's *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*. From a thematic perspective as well the ideas expressed in the pseudo-Eleazar commentary share much with motifs found in Eleazar's own writings in general and specifically related to the Song of Songs. This is certainly the case with respect to the motif of the glory's embracing and kissing the image of Jacob derived from *Hekhalot Rabbati*, a motif that Eleazar too connects with the relevant verse from Song of Songs. See references cited in nn. 218,230,232,336,367. Finally, it is important to emphasize that a true appreciation of the Song of Songs in the esoteric theosophy of the German Hasidim requires a thorough examination of a significant number of printed pages and manuscript folios in which are scattered exegetical references to verses in this biblical text. The prominent place that Song of Songs occupied in their theological ruminations cannot be denied. A study limited to the literary genre of biblical commentary is necessary but hardly sufficient.

365. See above n. 181.

366. Cf. *Perush Sodot ha-Tefillah*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fols. 76a, 77a, 127a, 132b (see *Persuhe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, pp. 325-26, 329, 514, 535); *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 29; and *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Weiss, p. 43. It is worthwhile comparing the last mentioned source of Eleazar to the passage in *Zohar Hadash* 76c-d (*Midrash ha-Ne'elam*).

367. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 29.

368. *Hokhmat ha-Nefesh*, ch. 76, p. 129.

369. See above n. 87.

370. See above n. 92.

371. *Synopse*, §§ 163-64.

372. See above n. 180.

373. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 132b, and with slight variations in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 1204, fols. 157a-b (printed in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, pp. 535-36).

374. *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 27.

375. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale héb. 772, fol. 170b (printed text in *Perushe Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, p. 708).

376. As I have explained (see nn. 253, 319, and 329), the feminine potency symbolized by the image of Jacob is located in the masculine potency, and, more specifically, in the phallus. That is to say, just as in the standard theosophic symbolism the feminine potency is the corona of the phallus, so too in the esoteric doctrine preserved and cultivated by the German Pietists.

377. See Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 211, and M. Idel, *Golem: Jewish Magical and Mystical Traditions on the Artificial Anthropoid* (Albany, 1990), pp. 81-95.

378. See above n. 70.

379. *Major Trends*, p. 113.

380. Ibid., pp. 113-15; *Origins*, pp. 211,215-16, 345-46. See also Altmann, "Eleazar of Worms' Hokhmah Ha-'Egoz," p. 107 n. 28. See above n. 70.

381. "Concept of the Merkabah," p. 309.

382. Ibid., pp. 312-13. The relevant text is cited above in n. 240.

383. See "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 623-24: "There is no doubt that the description of the *hashmal* that appears in the circle of R. Judah the Pious . . . reveals a closeness to the description of the '*hashmal-pargod*' in the writings of the circle of the Special Cherub." See *ibid.*, pp. 553-54 (see above nn. 67-68).

384. Cf. *Synopse*, §§ 33,557; *Merkavah Shelemah*, 27b (see Elijor, *Hekhalot Zutarti*, p. 70 n. 231-39); and *Sode Razayya'*, ed. Kamelhar, p. 29. On the identification of Metatron and the cherub in the teaching of Isaac ben Yedaiah, see M. Saperstein, *Decoding the Rabbis: A Thirteenth-Century Commentary on the Aggadah* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), p. 84.

385. "Concept of the Merkabah," pp. 310-11. See *ibid.*, p. 560.

386. See above nn. 74-82.