

Piergabriele Mancuso

Shabbatai Donnolo's
Sefer Hakhmoni

Introduction, Critical Text,
and Annotated English Translation

STUDIES IN JEWISH HISTORY AND CULTURE

Shabbatai Donnolo's *Sefer Ḥakhmoni*

Studies in Jewish History and Culture

Edited by

Hava Tirosh-Samuelson
(Arizona State University)

and

Giuseppe Veltri
(Leopold-Zunz-Centre for Jewish Studies,
University of Halle-Wittenberg)

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By

Piergabriele Mancuso



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PREFACE

Rabbi, physician and astrologer, Shabbatai Donnolo (912–913—after 982) is one of the most fascinating Jewish polymaths of early medieval Italy. Born in Oria, a small town situated a few miles south-west of Brindisi, Donnolo was the author of a series of works, among the first in medieval Europe to be written in Hebrew, about medicine, pharmacopoeia, and astrology.

Modern interest in Donnolo and his work began with the 19th century *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (*Science of Judaism*) school of historiography, but the most important analyses of Donnolo's thought appeared only in the second half of the 20th century, with the studies of Suessman Muntner (*Rabbi Shabtai*) and, above all, Andrew Sharf (*The Universe*).

Nevertheless, most of Donnolo's works have not undergone critical examination. The one exception is the *Sefer Ḥakhmoni* which was edited by David Castelli in Florence in 1880. Considered until recently reliable and accurate, Castelli's edition and the manuscripts on which it was based have been shown to contain far too many errors to be useful (Gruenwald, "Some Critical Notes," 483). Moreover, Castelli had studied only five manuscripts out of the extant thirty-two. Any further research on Donnolo would have to be based on a fuller and more reliable edition of his major work. The aim of my research is to provide such an edition of Donnolo's *Sefer Ḥakhmoni* (hereafter SH). An abridged version of the present edition of Donnolo's work has recently been published in Italian in 2009 (see Mancuso, ed., *Sefer Ḥakhmoni*).

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TRANSLITERATIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Hebrew

			numerical value
א	’	(not transliterated at the beginning and at the end of a word)	1
{ ב	b		2
{ ב	v		2
{ ג	g		3
{ ג	gh		3
{ ד	d		4
{ ד	dh		4
ה	h		5
ו	w		6
ז	z		7
ח	ḥ		8
ט	ṭ		9
י	y	(but יֹ / יֻ [hireq gadol] = i)	10
{ כ-ך	k		20
{ כ-ך	kh		20
ל	l		30
מ-ם	m		40
נ-ן	n		50
ס	s		60
ע	’		70
{ פ-ף	p		80
{ פ-ף	f		80
צ-ץ	ṣ		90
ק	q		100
ר	r		200
ש	s		300
ש	sh		300
ת	t		400
ת	th		400

Greek

A- α	a	N- ν	n
B- β	b	Ξ - ξ	x
Γ - γ	g	O-o	o
Δ - δ	d	Π - π	p
E- ϵ	e	P- ρ	r
Z- ζ	z	Σ - σ/ς	s
H- η	e	T- τ	t
Θ - θ	th	Y- υ	u-y
I- ι	i	Φ - ϕ	ph
K- κ	k	X- χ	ch
Λ - λ	l	Ψ - ψ	ps
M- μ	m	Ω - ω	o

S \ddot{H} : Sefer Hakhmoni

SY: Sefer Yeşirah

PART ONE

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Apulian Jewry

In 70 CE, following a long siege culminating in the fall of Jerusalem, the Roman legions in Palestine, headed by Titus, Emperor Vespasianus, destroyed the Second Temple. The destruction of the Temple was the final act that established Roman rule and put an end to Jewish sovereignty in Palestine.

Jewish captives were deported and forcibly settled in the cities of southern Italy.¹

With the collapse of the Roman Empire, and the emergence of Christian Byzantium in the 4th century, the Jews of Apulia became one of the many minority communities officially recognised under Pagan Roman rule as a *religio licita*, whose rights and civil status were gradually being eroded under the influence of theological debate.²

Far from a mere transfer of the political barycentre from Rome to Constantinople, the establishment of the Byzantine empire embodied, at one and the same time, a political and cultural continuation of the Roman imperium and a reinterpretation of the past in the light of the Christian religion. Under the auspices of the new faith, and as a result of the need for the new political class to strengthen its religious identity, the relationship between the state and the Jewish minority was substantially redefined.

¹ A significant number of Jews was brought to Rome at the end of Pompey's war in 63 BCE, and again in 53 and in 37 BCE. See Goodnick Westenholz, ed. *Jewish Presence*, 14–16 and Noy, "The Jews in Italy." As noted by Noy, although the group of Jews brought by Titus was not the first to land on Italian shores, southern Italian Jewry traced its origins to the Judean captives taken from Palestine. See also Milano, *Storia degli ebrei*, 27–28.

² See Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, 99; Rabello, "The Legal Condition of the Jews," particularly 693–694, and de Lange, "Jews and Christians," 22.

Constantius (337–361), the son of Constantine who founded the new empire, prohibited Jewish-Christian intermarriages, conversion to Judaism, Jewish ownership of property and slaves, and the holding of public office. Following the death of Julian (361–363), who had challenged the status of Christianity as the state religion and attempted to revive the pagan religion of old Rome, the Byzantine attitude towards the Jews became politically and theologically hostile. The undermining of the legal status of the Jews and the deterioration of their condition in the new empire found clear expression in the anti-Jewish legislation issued by Justinian (527–565). In *Novella 146*, promulgated in 553 to settle a series of disputes that had arisen in the synagogues, the powers of self-government which had been granted to the Jewish community under Rome were rescinded,³ and the Jews were banned from holding public office. At the same time, their economic activity was severely curtailed.⁴

In 632, during the reign of Heraclius (610–641), when Byzantium was confronting the invasion of the Persians from the east and the barbarians from the north,⁵ the Byzantine Jews became subject to the first edict of forced conversion.⁶ Whether motivated by religious or political considerations or both, this edict inaugurated a series of persecutions of Byzantine Jewry that lasted until the middle of the 10th century.⁷

Due to the lack of historical documents—the scarcity of official Byzantine records of these events, and the absence of detailed information on Byzantine Jewry until the 10th century—it is difficult to evaluate the events and their repercussions on the Jewish community of Byzantium. As observed by Sharf,⁸ only a few hints appear in the official legislation on

³ The aim of the imperial edict was to resolve a dispute between two Jewish factions, one in favour of the sole use of Hebrew, the other of the use of Hebrew and Greek in the reading of Scripture in the synagogue. See de Lange, “Prier et étudier,” 52. The emperor imposed the use of Greek and prohibited the study of what the Jews called *deuterosis*, apparently a Greek rendition of the *mishnah*, which, however, may well refer to other segments of the so-called “oral tradition” such as the *targumim* or the *midrashim*. See Rabello, *Giustiniano, Ebrei e Samaritani*, II, 821. On the role of Greek in the Jewish liturgy, see Colorni, “L’uso del greco.”

⁴ See Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, 11.

⁵ See Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 41–53.

⁶ “Thus the decree of 632 was an attempt to safeguard imperial security by eliminating the political dangers of religious dissidence . . .” See Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, 53. As pointed out by de Lange (“Jews and Christians,” 23), however, exactly what led to the promulgation of this edict is still subject to debate. See also Dagron, “Judaïser,” 17–46.

⁷ See Dagron, “Le Traité de Grégoire de Nicée,” 347.

⁸ Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, 61–74. The very existence of anti-Jewish measures under

the long campaign conducted by Basil I (867–886) to rectify the “Jewish anomaly”, and of the previous conversionist attempts by Leo III (717–741).⁹ According to Sharf,¹⁰ neither the *Procheiron*—a legal handbook published between 870 and 879—nor the *Epanagoge*—the introduction to the *Basilica*, a legal code compiled under the reign of Leo VII (886–912)—contain any reference to a persecutory measure against the Jews or to a formal edict of forced conversion, while the legal status of the Jews remained by and large the same as it had been under Justinian.

By contrast, the decree of forced conversion issued in 932 by Romanus I (920–944) was recorded and officially dispatched by the Byzantine court.¹¹ By persecuting the Jews, Romanus was probably trying to gain the support of the Church and legitimize his position within the Macedonian dynasty.¹²

The emperors were led to adopt anti-Jewish measures for a variety of complex reasons, none of which arose exclusively from their anti-Jewish sentiments, nor necessarily as the outcome of political scheming. Likewise, the degree to which these measures threatened the existence of the Jewish communities varied considerably from place to place. While the restriction of Jewish rights applied to the Jews throughout the empire, the worst effects were felt by the Jews of the Byzantine *themes* of southern Italy. As Sharf observes,¹³ the sole records of the anti-Jewish campaigns launched by Basil I, and, with the exception of the official document issued by the court of Constantinople, the only non-Byzantine testimonies on the persecutions by Romanus I, come from *Sefer Yuḥasin*, a family chronicle written in Apulia in the first half of the 11th century,¹⁴ and a 10th-century letter that the Jews of Bari addressed to Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut, a member of the court of ‘Abd al-Raḥman II (912–961), the caliph of Cordova.¹⁵

the reign of Leo III, and the position of Sharf on this subject were fiercely contested by Charanis, “The Jews in the Byzantine Empire,” 75–77.

⁹ See Cumont, “La conversion,” 10.

¹⁰ See Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, 91–94.

¹¹ See Starr, *The Jews*, 151–154.

¹² See *ibid.*, 95–96.

¹³ See *ibid.*, 99.

¹⁴ On this work, see below p. 8.

¹⁵ According to this letter, Hebrew books were being burnt and most of the Jews tortured and executed. The letter asked for Ḥasdai’s intercession with the Byzantine authorities. These events had wide-ranging repercussions for the Jews of Apulia most of whom, including the Jews of Oria, fled to other Byzantine territories. See Mann, *Texts and Studies*, I, 23–25. Ḥasdai did not plead directly with Constantine VII (913–

It can be inferred from this work that the anti-Jewish campaign of Basil I, and particularly the vicennial persecution of Romanus I, had taken the form of cruel purges, torture and repression in one of the darkest chapters in the history of Apulian Judaism.¹⁶

By the beginning of the 11th century, once “the ruling institution finally became reconciled to the impossibility of removing the Jewish anomaly”¹⁷ the situation of the Jews throughout the Byzantine empire, including the Jews of Apulia, became less precarious. Because of the stabilisation of the political situation, which attracted Jews from Palestine, Lebanon and Egypt fleeing persecution in the Egyptian caliphate,¹⁸ and the improvement of the social conditions of the Jews, 10th-century Apulia became the centre of an extraordinary Jewish cultural revival which, by the 11th century, led to the renaissance of the Hebrew language and the production of the first works in medieval Europe written in Hebrew.

Far from being a sudden and spontaneous eruption, the renaissance of Hebrew was the culmination of a gradual process, first observed in the Hebrew inscriptions on tombstones in the Jewish catacombs from the mid 7th and increasingly from the 8th century onward.¹⁹ Representative of a point soon after it had replaced Latin and Greek to become the sole literary idiom of the Jews in the region, the Hebrew of these funerary

959), the legitimate emperor, or with Romanus, who had usurped his throne, but with Helena, Constantine’s wife, who had a strong influence on Romanus. At a time of political uncertainty, observes Sharf, (*The Jews*, 100), this was a shrewd diplomatic move which ensured that Hasdai’s message would reach the governing emperor. For this reason, however, we do not know which of the two emperors subsequently ordered the cessation of the persecution. The only extant version of the letter is in Hebrew. This, observes de Lange (“A Thousand Years of Hebrew,” 154), suggests that the Byzantine court could count on a Hebrew translator, probably a Jewish courtier. The improvement of the socio-economic situation of the Jews found immediate expression in the *Vision of Daniel*, a semi-historical, mystical Hebrew text enthusiastically conforming to the politics of Constantine and, in spite of the persecutions, to his interpretation of the history of the Macedonian dynasty. See Sharf, “The Vision of Daniel”; Bonfil, “The Vision of Daniel.” Another attempt at mass conversion of the Jews was carried out by John Dukas Vatatzes (1222–1254), but this had no repercussions in southern Italy, and Apulian Jewry, which was governed by the Normans from 1071, remained unaffected. See Bowmann, *The Jews of Byzantium*, 16–18.

¹⁶ See Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, 99–102.

¹⁷ Sharf, *ibid.*, 109.

¹⁸ Sharf, *ibid.*, 111–115.

¹⁹ See Colafemmina, “Hebrew Inscriptions”. The virtual disappearance in the Byzantine territories of Jewish documents written in Greek is probably a manifestation of the same phenomenon. See de Lange, “*Prier et étudier*,” 54.

inscriptions is stylistically and terminologically elaborate, rich in Biblical quotations and not uncommonly in rhyme verse.²⁰

One of the fields in which the linguistic upsurge first found proper expression was—most probably due to close relationships which Apulian Jewry maintained with the Palestinian milieu—in the composition of liturgical poetry. Influenced in its earliest phases by the language of the 5th–8th-century Palestinian *piyyuṭim* (liturgical poems),²¹ the Apulian poets of the 9th century, such as Silano of Venosa,²² Shefaṭyah bar Amittai,²³ Amittai bar Shefaṭyah²⁴ and Zevadyah²⁵ had already acquired command of written Hebrew, elaborating on the language of the Bible and midrashim, while embracing a broad thematic spectrum of liturgy, secular and mystical subjects.²⁶

²⁰ A complete repertoire with transcriptions of the inscriptions found in Apulia was published by Frey, ed. *Corpus of Jewish Inscriptions*, nn. 569–635, pp. 420–454; Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, 61–181. All this material has been re-examined and enriched with new findings by Colafemmina, “Liscrizione brindisina di Baruch”; idem, “Archeologia ed epigrafia ebraica” and idem, “Note su di una iscrizione.” Quite significantly, the earliest attestation of Hebrew in the funerary inscriptions is found in the use of personal names. This suggests that the revival of Hebrew as a written language was part of a broader process which involved the problem of identity and self-definition.

²¹ On the emergence of the poetical school in southern Italy and its connections with the Palestinian milieu, see Hollender, “Il *Piyyut* italiano” and Fleischer, “Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in Italy”; Schirmann, *Zur Geschichte der hebräischen Poesie*; idem, “The Beginning of Hebrew Poetry in Italy,” and idem, “Gli albori della poesia ebraica.”

²² His poem now forms part of *Sefer Yuḥasin* (see Adolph Neubauer, ed. *The Book of Genealogy*, II, 115) and is also attested in a Cairo Genizah fragment (ms. Adler 1208 of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York) published by Marcus, “Studies in the Chronicle.”

²³ See Colafemmina, “Una poesia liturgica.”

²⁴ See Colafemmina, “Un epitalamio di Amittai”; idem, “Una zemirah” and Yonah, ed., *The Poems of Amittai*.

²⁵ See Yonah, ed. *The Poems of Zebadiah*.

²⁶ The midrash *Pesiqta Rabbati*, the *Halakhot Qeṣuvot*, the *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* and the *Alphabet of Ben Sira* were probably composed in southern Italy. The hypothesis that the *Pesiqta Rabbati* was composed in southern Italy was formulated by Levy, following his analysis of the geographical references in the text. See Levy, “La Pesikta Rabbati”; idem, “Bari dans la Pesikta Rabbati”; Braude, *Pesikta Rabbati*, I, 2 but also Cuomo, “Pesicheta Rabati.” The *Halakhot Qeṣuvot* is a collection of rabbinic rules composed by the Babylonian geonim and traditionally attributed to Yehudah Gaon. Against this common assumption, Mordechai Margalioṭ (idem, ed., *Halakhot Qeṣuvot*, 1–60; idem, “Halakhot Keṣuvot,” *EJ*, VII, 1170–1171) stressed that one of the major sources of this work is Palestinian, that most of the customs mentioned in it stand in sharp contrast to the practice of the geonim while conforming to those witnessed in southern Italy, and that the value for the redemption of the firstborn which is specified in the work is expressed in Italian currency. See Aptowitz, *Studies*, 91–95 but also Danzig, “The First Discovered Leaves,” 105 n. 170. The *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* is an extra-canonical tractate of the Talmud

It was only by the 10th century, alongside the developments of the Apulian poetical school—the clearest examples of which are the compositions of Menaḥem ben Mordekhay Qoryṣy,²⁷ Elia bar Shema‘yah of Bari,²⁸ Anan ben Marinus of Siponto and Abraham ben Yiṣṣaq²⁹—that the process of a linguistic renaissance found further expression in scientific-philosophical works such as Donnolo’s *Sefer Ḥakhmoni* (one of the oldest commentaries on SY and the first Neoplatonic philosophical text written in Hebrew), his medical works,³⁰ and *Sefer Yosippon*, an anonymous narrative modelled on Josephus’s work describing the history of the Jewish people from Adam to the period of the Second Temple.³¹

Midway through the 11th century in Oria, a few miles south-west of Brindisi, Aḥima‘aṣ ben Palṭi‘el wrote the *Sefer Yuḥasin*—also known as *Megillat Aḥima‘aṣ* (*The Scroll of Aḥima‘aṣ*)—a genealogical history of the Amittai family, one of the most influential families of Oria, the birthplace of Shabbatai Donnolo.³² This work, which Aḥima‘aṣ wrote in rhymed prose is, in the light of extant documentation, the most important record of the history of the Jews in Apulia in the early Middle Ages. Although the intent of Aḥima‘aṣ is to describe the genealogy of his family, most of whom were “enlightened in *Sefer ha-Yashar* (*The Book of the Upright*)³³

composed probably between the 7th and the 9th centuries. The hypothesis advanced by Friedenbergh, (“Early Jewish History in Italy,” 3–13) that the *Avot* was composed in Italy is not supported by any cogent textual evidence and should be viewed with caution. See Putzu, *Shabbetai Donnolo*, 33. The work, however, was probably known to Donnolo who found in it a long passage dealing with the correspondences between the macro and the microcosm; see below pp. 46, 71, 330 n. 152. Equally uncertain is the hypothesis that the *Alphabet of Ben Sira*—a work traditionally dated to the time of the Babylonian geonim—was written in southern Italy. It is important to note, however, that the aforementioned midrashim have been best preserved in a series of manuscripts written in southern Italy. See Yassif, “Medieval Hebrew Tales,” 227–246 and idem, “The History of Ben Sira.” For further details about this work, see Strack and Stemberger, *Talmud and Midrash*, 322–329, 372–373. See also Baron, *A Social and Religious History*, VII, 176–183, VIII, 12, 30.

²⁷ See Starr, *The Jews*, 38, 59, 150–151.

²⁸ A critical edition of his poems was published by Yonah, ed. *The Poems of Elya bar Schemaya*. On Elia bar Shemayyah, see Quagliarella, *Peccato, perdono*.

²⁹ On these two poets, see Colafemmina, “Hebrew Inscriptions,” 65 and Putzu, *Shabbetai Donnolo*, 35.

³⁰ For further information about Donnolo’s works, see below, Works, 22–29.

³¹ For the work, its author, its provenance and date of composition, see *Sefer Yosippon*, Flusser, ed., See also Bonfil, “Tra due mondi” and Bowman, “SEFER YOSIPPON: History and Midrash.”

³² On the possible relation of Donnolo to the Amittai family, see below, English Translation, 225 n. 30.

³³ One of the earliest mystical works composed by an unknown author, probably in Babylonia between the 7th and the 8th century. See Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, 168–169.

and contemplating the secrets of the chariot,³⁴ almost a third of the entire work is devoted to the figure of Abu Aharon, a Babylonian sage, not related to the Amittai family, whom Aḥima‘aṣ credited with a series of miraculous actions, the ability to distinguish a man from a *golem*³⁵ and, above all, for an outstanding knowledge of religious law—clear evidence, as observed by Bonfil,³⁶ of the dissemination in Italy of the Babylonian Talmud and the culture of Babylonian Jewry. In Abu Aharon—a Babylonian Jew whose authority in the field of religious observance is said to have been unanimously acknowledged by the Apulian Jews so as to prevail over the opinions of their own rabbis who studied the Palestinian Talmud—and in the rich symbolism of the numerous episodes related in *Sefer Yuḥasin* about him, there seems to be, as pointed out by Bonfil,³⁷ the popular representation of a broader and much more complex phenomenon of cultural transformation, namely a *translatio scientiae* from Babylonia to southern Italy, by which, around the end of the 9th century, Apulian Jewry, until that time under the influence of Palestinian Judaism, gradually moved to the orbit of Babylonian influence.

An important aspect of the cultural flourishing in Apulia was the development of rabbinical Jewish studies, and more specifically, the establishment of a close-knit network of rabbinical and Talmudic schools which spread out across Apulia, especially in Bari, Brindisi, Taranto, Otranto and Oria,³⁸ whose authority—as epitomised by the 12th-century Rabbenu Tam’s well-known paraphrase of Isaia 2:3 “For out of Bari shall go forth the Law and the word of the Lord from Otranto”—was widely acknowledged in northern Europe until the late middle ages.³⁹

³⁴ See Klar, ed. *Megillat Ahimaaz*, 12 and Wolfson, “The Theosophy of Shabbetai Donnolo,” 282.

³⁵ This is a magically created anthropoid brought to life by inserting the divine name written on a parchment in his body. The use of the term *golem* with the meaning of lifeless body is attested for the first time in SH. See below, English translation, 298 n. 103.

³⁶ See Bonfil, “Tra due mondi,” 140–141.

³⁷ See Bonfil, “Tra due mondi,” 140–141.

³⁸ See Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, 164. A short episode mentioned by Abraham ibn Daud (12th century) in his *Sefer ha-qabbalah* (*Book of Tradition*) epitomises the fame of the Apulian academies. It refers to the “four captives”, scholars who had sailed from Bari, and were captured at sea only to be ransomed by four Jewish communities in which they quickly rose to the headship of the local rabbinical academies. See Abraham ibn Daud, *The Book of Tradition*, 63–66.

³⁹ However, in spite of its long-lasting fame, with few exceptions, the literary production of Byzantine Apulia up until the 12th century amounts, as observed by Israel Ta-Shma, to virtually nothing. The recent re-examination and reappraisal by scholars, such as Weinryb, Ta-Shma and Danzig, of a number of works traditionally considered to be of

As observed by von Falkenhausen, the cultural and literary flourishing of the Jewish community in Apulia seems to have been independent of the revival of Byzantine learning which, during the 9th and the 10th century under the influence of the Macedonian dynasty,⁴⁰ led to a substantial reappraisal and re-evaluation of ancient Greek classics and a rise in the level of literary Greek.⁴¹ What probably lay behind the

Spanish or Ashkenazi origin, and their re-attribution to authors living within the borders of Byzantium, may explain the absence of rabbinical texts from a region so dotted with religious schools and academies as 10th–11th-century Apulia. An important contribution to this trend was made by Bernard D. Weinryb, according to whom *Sefer Rossina*, a commentary on the Pentateuch which was traditionally attributed to an unidentified Samuel of Russia, was actually composed in the city of Rossano, in Calabria, in the middle of the 10th century. This is one of the few works of rabbinic literature which can confidently be assigned to southern Italy. A critical and annotated edition of the Hebrew text was published in four volumes by Weiss, ed. *Sefer Rossina*. On the authorship of the work see Weinryb, “The Myth of Samuel of Russia.” As pointed out by Weinryb, the possibility that this text originated in Rossano is suggested by the frequent use of Greek and southern Italian vernacular words. The author relied on a number of sources, ranging from the *Alphabet of rabbi ‘Aqivah*, the *Shi’ur Qomah*, Nissim Gaon’s *Megillat Setarim*, Natan Yehi’el’s *Arukh*, to midrash *Bereshit Rabbah*, *Avot de-rabbi Natan*, the Babylonian and the Palestinian Talmudim (most of these sources were used in the commentary on the Mishnah of the 12th-century Apulian scholar Melkhişedek of Siponto). See Weiss, ed., *ibid.* I, 39–45, IV, 9–12 [in English]. Further analysis of this work was conducted by Ta-Shma (“Sefer Rossina” 574–580) who pointed out the “pre-Rashi” character of its exegesis. Upon closer analysis of the text, however, I found that one of the sources for this work may well have been Donnolo’s commentary on Genesis 1:26 in SH from which the author of *Sefer Rossina* quotes verbatim. By the same token, Danzig (“The First Discovered Leaves,” particularly pp. 103–109) suggested that *Sefer Hefes*, a legal code attributed to an unknown author of Qairawan in northern Africa, was composed in a Byzantine Jewish milieu, most probably in southern Italy.

⁴⁰ See von Falkenhausen, “I Bizantini in Italia,” 96. It is important to note that Donnolo probably spent most of his life in the north of Calabria, and more precisely in the city of Rossano. This was one of the most important centres for the production of Byzantine manuscripts and the location of many professional scriptoria. Among these was the scriptorium founded by Saint Nilus of Rossano, (see below p. 18 n. 67) in the middle of the 10th century, from which a new type of minuscule script, of the so-called “Nilian school”, was introduced into the production of Byzantine-Greek manuscripts. See Follieri, “Attività scrittoria calabrese,” and Canart, “Introduzione,” 19–23 and Lucà, “Attività scrittoria e culturale a Rossano.”

⁴¹ As pointed out by Mango, “The Revival of Learning,” the most important achievement of the Byzantine learning revival was not the production of contemporary literature but the preservation of classical and early Christian writings. In the early 11th century, the alphabetised encyclopaedia, the *Suda*, was composed, as was the *Palatine Anthology*, a collection of poems from antiquity to the 10th century. However, as observed by Treadgold (*A History*, 564–569), this revival of learning “brought only a modest revival of literature, and for a time it seems to have stifled literary creativity.” By contrast, the literary renaissance among the Jews of southern Italy, which similarly entailed linguistic and

renaissance of Hebrew in southern Italy was the establishment of stronger links between the Jewish community of Apulia and the Jews of Palestine and North Africa from the 7th century on.⁴² This, however, does not mean that Hebrew arrived in Europe via southern Italy, since there are clear indications that long before the 9th–10th century, Hebrew had reached Constantinople and other centres of the Jewish Diaspora in Europe.⁴³

In the light of present knowledge, what led to the revival of Hebrew, and the renaissance of Jewish culture in southern Italy is far from clear. The assumption that Palestinian influences might have stimulated this revival is plausible, and it is implicitly confirmed by the development in Apulia of literary genres (e.g. poetry and midrash) imported from Palestine. We may also assume that behind this process lay a number of other factors such as the strengthening of the relationships between Apulian Jews and other centres of the Jewish Diaspora, as well as the fact, observed by Sharf,⁴⁴ that southern Italian Jewry appears to have maintained a stronger Jewish identity and attachment to the values of Judaism, probably because it had been subjected to more stringent social and political restrictions. However, the precise course of this process still remains to be charted.⁴⁵

SH is one of the most significant examples of the cultural wealth enjoyed by Apulian Jewry in the 10th century. While the literary models that inform its language are the same as those on which other authors, for example the author of *Sefer Yuḥasin*, were to model their own texts, SH embraces a wider spectrum of subject matter—from astrology to medicine to biblical exegesis—harmonising the traditions of rabbinical Judaism with the intellectual legacy of the Greco-Roman world, while also echoing the influences of late Gnosticism.⁴⁶

literary preservation, was nevertheless marked above all by the creation of original Hebrew works.

⁴² See Ben-Sasson, “Italy and ’Ifriqia,” but also Bonfil, “Tra due mondi,” 147, who underlines that in the 7th century, Jews from northern Africa fleeing the Muslim conquests settled in southern Italy. See Bognetti, “Le inscriptions juives de Venosa,” 193–203.

⁴³ See de Lange, “Hebrew scholarship in Byzantium,” 30 and idem, “A Thousand Years of Hebrew,” 151.

⁴⁴ Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, 177–178.

⁴⁵ Friedenberg (“Early Jewish History in Italy”) suggests that Arabic, brought to Apulia by the Saracens, might have played a role in the revival of Hebrew. Arabic, it should be noted, did influence the vernaculars spoken in southern Italy, but there is no cogent evidence of its involvement in the renaissance of Hebrew.

⁴⁶ See Sharf, 38–39, 49–51.

Shabbatai Donnolo: Biographical Details

The most important source for Shabbatai Donnolo's life is his preface to SH which, although primarily aimed at providing his readership with an explanation for his interest in the sciences of the Gentiles, offers a detailed and reliable account of the author's early youth. Additional information comes from the biography of Saint Nilus of Rossano, a Calabrian monk and one of the most important leaders of southern Italian Byzantine Christianity in the 10th century.

Shabbatai Donnolo, son of Abraham, was a native of the city of Oria,⁴⁷ an Apulian city which lies a few miles south-west of Brindisi, and one of the most important outposts of the Byzantine empire in the south of Italy. He was born in 912–913 CE,⁴⁸ twelve years before the city fell to the Muslim armies led by Ja'far ibn 'Ubayd, the emir and army chief of the Fatimid caliph 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī.⁴⁹ Together with the rest of the population, Shabbatai was enslaved at that time but he was subsequently ransomed and freed by his relatives in Taranto. He remained in the lands under Byzantine rule while his family was deported to Palermo, the capital of Fatimid Sicily, and to North Africa: "Oria, the land of my birth

⁴⁷ According to Herodotus, Oria was founded in the 5th century BCE by Greek settlers from Crete who called it Hyria (Ὠϋρία in Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, VI, 282), after the name of a pagan deity of the sea. The Hebrew colony there was established probably between the 7th and 9th centuries and remained until the 11th, long after the invasion by the Saracens in 925. In Oria, a few decades later, Aḥima'as ben Paltī'el composed his *Sefer Yuḥasin*, the genealogical history of his family and one of the most important sources of information on Jewish life in southern Italy in the early Middle Ages. The city remained under Byzantine rule until 1055, when it was conquered by the Normans headed by Count Unfred of Altavilla. For the history of Oria, see Delli Santi and di Summa, *Guida di Oria*, 7–16; Marsella, *Da Oria viene la parola di Dio*, 20–22; Mangia, *Breve guida*, 59 and D'Amico, *La comunità ebraica oritana*, 1–10.

⁴⁸ This can be inferred from the introductory section to SH in which Donnolo states that when Oria was occupied by the Saracens (in 925), he was ransomed, presumably not long after the event, in Taranto at the age of twelve. See below, English Translation, 226.

⁴⁹ 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī (literally, "the divinely guided" [909–934]) was the founder and first caliph of the Fatimid dynasty which ruled over North Africa, Egypt and Syria from 909 until 1171. See Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 206–208; Cozza-Luzi, ed., *La cronaca siculo-saracena*, 73. One of his courtiers was Ishāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isra'īlī, also known as Isaac Israeli, the first Jewish Neo-Platonist and teacher of Dunash ibn Tamim. See below 61–67. The first clash between the Fatimids and Byzantium took place in 911, in the Sicilian city of Demona. Fatimid armies conquered important Byzantine lands in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean. On the Muslim encroachment on the Byzantine empire, see *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Kazhdan et al. eds., II, 780, III, 1891; Kaegi, *Byzantium*, 14, 30; Starr, "Byzantine Jewry," 280–293 and Sharf, "Byzantine Jewry," 103–115.

was conquered, by Muslim soldiers ... in the year 4685 ... I, Shabbatai, was ransomed in Taranto with my parents' money, at the age of twelve.⁵⁰ My parents and my relatives were deported to Palermo and to Africa, while I remained in the lands that are under the Romans' rule."⁵¹

Donnolo provides a fairly clear and accurate account of the events that befell Oria, but he does not offer any additional information on the fate of his family after they were captured and enslaved by the invading Muslims. He does, however, seem to suggest that the family's departure from the region was final, and that he alone remained in the Byzantine territories. His unquenchable thirst for knowledge prompted him to move beyond the boundaries of traditional Jewish learning in order to acquire knowledge of the celestial bodies. This was a science in which, he claimed, no Jew was adequately grounded, even though, at its origin, it was the product of the Jewish genius: "I did not find [even] one Jewish scholar who understood them [i.e. astronomical books]. Rather, some of them would say of the astronomical books written by Jews that there is no substance in them ..."⁵² Donnolo emphasises that learning science from non Jewish-scholars does not constitute a departure from Jewish norms but rather the recovery of an intellectual tradition which Israel had lost. He reports that he had studied under the guidance of a certain

⁵⁰ The ransoming of captives was one of the many duties of Jewish religious organisations in the Middle Ages; see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, 327–330; II, 137–138; idem, "Contemporary Letters," 162–177.

⁵¹ See below, English Translation, 224–227. At the time when Donnolo was writing, Byzantium's dominions in southern Italy had been reduced to the regions of Apulia and Calabria. Donnolo was probably living in Otranto, an Apulian city not far from Taranto, in which he was ransomed. He may well be mentioned by name in a letter discovered in the Cairo Genizah (ms. Adler 2156^r of the Cairo Genizah collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York), sent by the Jewish community of Bari, headed by Abraham ben Sasson, to the renowned Andalusian doctor, Ḥasday ibn Shaprut, courtier of the Ummayyad 'Abd ar-Raḥman III. The letter refers to some important Jews who escaped an anti-Jewish persecution (which probably followed the anti-Jewish measures introduced by Romanus I Lecapenus [920–944] in 943–944). Among those mentioned is a certain *rabbi Shabbatai bar Abraham bar 'Ezra* or—according to an alternative reading of the blurred parchment—*'El'azar*. See Adler, "Un document," 40–43; Mann, *Texts and Studies*, I, 25; Colafemmina, "Gli Ebrei di Bari," 247–256. It should also be noted that if the correct reading is *'El'azar*, this would give support to the hypothesis that Donnolo's father was the son of 'El'azar son of Amittay I, primogenitor of the family whose vicissitudes were narrated in *Sefer Yuḥasin*, written in 1054 by Aḥima'az ben Parti'el. See Colafemmina, ed., *Sefer Yuḥasin*, 35. The elimination of the leadership of the Jewish community did not bring the Jewish presence in Oria to an end. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that only a few decades later Aḥima'az composed his *Sefer Yuḥasin* there.

⁵² See below, English Translation, 228.

Babylonian scholar, whose knowledge matched and corroborated the *Barayta di-Sh'e mu'el*,⁵³ an anonymous 8th–9th century Midrash, which Donnolo sees as the origin of Israel's astrological knowledge: "... they [i.e. the books of non-Jewish scholars] were the same in every respect as the books of the Jews ... I realised that the whole of the science of the planets and constellations was based on the Barayta of Samuel ... I encountered a Gentile scholar from Babylon by the name of B-g-d-ṭ⁵⁴ ... His wisdom entirely agreed with the Barayta of Samuel ..."⁵⁵

⁵³ On which see more below 23, 35–36.

⁵⁴ The identity of this Babylonian scholar is uncertain. He was identified by Fried, *Sefer ha-yesodot*, lvii–lviii n. 5, with Abu Ja'far ibn Ahmad ibn Ibrahim ibn Khalid al-Jazzar (ca. 929–1009), a Tunisian physician who was the author of medical treatises translated into Latin and Greek by Constantine of Reggio and Constantine the African, and enjoying wide circulation in the medical school of Salerno. See also Sharf, *The Universe*, 130 n. 45. As noted by Fiaccadori, "Donnolo," 213, two substantial objections can be raised against this identification. First, *B-g-d-ṭ* is described by Donnolo as a Babylonian, while Abu Ja'far was north African; secondly, Abu Ja'far never left Africa, and there is no evidence of any sojourn of his in Italy. See also Nutton *et al.* eds., *The Western Medical Tradition*, 140–141. The figure of *B-g-d-ṭ* is reminiscent of that of Abu Aharon, the Babylonian mystic who came to Italy in the 9th century according to Aḥima'as's *Sefer Yuḥasin*. See Weinstock, "Discovered Legacy," 153–159; Scholem, "Has a Legacy been discovered," 252–265; Neubauer, "Abu Ahron," 230–237; idem, "The Early Settlement," 606–625. The etymology of the name is uncertain. It is attested in the manuscript tradition of SH in two forms: *b-g-d-ṭ* (ms. Heb.e.26 of the Bodleian Library in Oxford; ms. heb. 770 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris) and *b-g-d-sh*, probably due to the misreading of *v* for *ṣ*. As observed by Lacerenza, "Donnolo e la sua formazione," 60 n. 65, the variant does not affect the etymological origin of the name, which derives from *bag* or *baga*, a Persian root which, since the 8th century, means "given" or "created by God" (e.g. Baghdad). I have chosen the first variant, which is attested in the oldest witness of the manuscript tradition (ms. Heb.e.26 of the Bodleian Library in Oxford) and which resembles more closely the name of the city of Baghdad. Donnolo probably used *b-g-d-ṭ* as a toponomastic designation (probably *Bagdadi*, "from Baghdad," as the well-known Abu Aharon was nicknamed). See "Baghdad" in *El*, I, 894 and Neubauer, "Abu Ahron," 230–237; Weinstock, "Discovered Legacy," 153–159 and Scholem, "Has a Legacy been discovered," 252–265. Founded in 762 by the caliph Harun al-Rashid (786–809), Baghdad became one of the leading centres of astronomical and astrological studies under the caliphate of al-Ma'mun (813–833), who had fostered the studies of classical scientific texts, and established two observatories where astronomers were charged to ascertain the veracity of the Ptolemaic tradition. See O'Leary, *How Greek Science*, 151–155 ff.; Sayili, *The observatory*, 56. The earliest known documents testifying to the penetration of Muslim astronomy in Byzantium are the scolia of ms. Vat Gr. 1594 (and its copy, ms. Vat. Gr. 2326) dated 1032, where the Muslim scholars, whose method was based on the empirical verification of astronomical data, are called νεώτεροι—"the moderns"—in opposition to the Byzantine scholars, whose investigation of the celestial bodies mostly relied on purely mathematical calculations. See Mogenet, "Une scolie inédite," 198–221. From this point of view, Donnolo's Babylonian scholar "who also knew how to make calculations ... as well as how to observe the constellations and the planets" (see below, English Translation, 230) was "a modern."

⁵⁵ See below, English Translation, 230.

The account of Donnolo's encounter with the Babylonian scholar, which marks the beginning of his intellectual journey, is the last autobiographical detail he offers in the introductory section of SH. He does not state when and precisely where he first met B-g-d-t,⁵⁶ how long his period of apprenticeship lasted, or where he spent the rest of his life. We know that he was still alive in the year 982, which he mentions in the introduction,⁵⁷ and this date can be taken as a *terminus post quem* of his death.⁵⁸

An important and complementary source of information on Donnolo's life is the *Life of Saint Nilus of Rossano*, a hagiographical work written around the year 1020 by Saint Bartholomew, a monk and one of Saint Nilus's disciples.⁵⁹ Modern scholarship has credited this *Life* with considerable reliability.⁶⁰ It mentions Donnolo in two passages which are markedly free of the hostile attitude normally employed by Christian hagiographers in reference to the Jews.⁶¹ Donnolo is portrayed as

⁵⁶ It is most unlikely that this was soon after the fall of Oria and the ransoming of Donnolo. The meeting must have taken place a few years later ($12 + 12 = 24$ at least), when Donnolo had already acquired "a considerable sum of money" and could offer his teacher "lavish gifts". This suggests that Donnolo had already earned for himself a sufficiently lucrative position, in all likelihood as a physician.

⁵⁷ "... in the year 4742 since the Creation of the world, which is the eleventh year of the 250th cycle." See below, English Translation, 241.

⁵⁸ See Fiacadori, "Donnolo," 216. A tombstone bearing Donnolo's name and dated from 28 October 959 was allegedly found by Abraham Firkovich (1786–1874), leader of the Crimean Karaite Jewish community, together with many others that he claimed to have discovered in the Karaite cemetery of Crimea. See Firkovich, *'Avnei Zikaron*, xx. Donnolo's alleged tombstone is in all likelihood one of Firkovich's many forgeries. See Schur, *The Karaite Encyclopedia*, 105–107; Szysman, "Les inscriptions funéraires," 231–264; Shapira, "Yitsaq Sangan, Sangarit," 223–260 and Harviainen, "Abraham Firkovich," 875–892.

⁵⁹ The Greek text was published, together with a Latin translation, by Migne, ed. "Βίος και πολιτεία," 9–166. The question of its authorship is unresolved: the work was traditionally attributed to Saint Bartholomew, who was a pupil of Nilus. Serious doubts about this attribution were raised by Halkin, "S. Barthélemy," 204–206, who observed that at the time of the composition of the work, Nilus's disciple was only twelve years old. See also Giovanelli, "L'encómio in onore di s. Bartolomeo," 172 and Mancini, *Per la critica*, 4–5. A new edition of the Greek text, as well as an Italian translation, was published by Giovanelli, ed. *S. Nilo da Rossano* and idem, ed. *Βίος και πολιτεία*. On the history of Saint Nilus's biography and its sources, see also Follieri, "Niccolò Calducci," 263–290 and idem, "Per una nuova edizione," 71–92; Sansterre, "Les coryphées des apôtres," 517–520 and idem, "S. Nil," 341–343.

⁶⁰ See von Falkenhausen, "La Vita di San Nilo," 271–305; idem, "L'Ebraismo dell'Italia meridionale," 25–46.

⁶¹ See Luzzati Laganà, "Catechesi e spiritualità" and Falkenhausen, "La Vita di San Nilo," 284.

occupying a prominent position in the social hierarchy, being one of the few individuals—Christians or Jews—who were personally acquainted with the local religious and political elite:

On the next day the saint came down from that place,⁶² and when he entered the city [Rossano], there came up to him a certain Jew, Domnulus by name,⁶³ who had been known to him from his boyhood [ἐκ νεότητος αὐτοῦ, my addition. P.M.] because he was studious to a very high degree, and was learned in the medical art in no common way. He therefore began to speak to the father thus: “I have heard of your severe mode of life in which you train yourself, and of your great abstinence, and I was surprised, knowing the habit of your body, that you have not fallen into epilepsy. Therefore if you are willing, I shall give you a drug befitting your temperament, so that after that your whole life you may fear no sickness. And the great father said: “One of your Hebrews has said to us: It is better to trust in God than to trust in man. We, therefore, trusting in our God as our physician, and in our Lord Jesus Christ, do not need any drugs made by you. You indeed would not otherwise have been better able to make sport of the more simple Christians than if you had boasted that you had given Nilus some of your drugs.” The physician, hearing this, answered nothing.”⁶⁴

⁶² i.e. his monastic hermitage.

⁶³ Δόμνουλος (*Domnulus* in the Latin version), a hypocoristic name, meaning “little Lord” which Shabbatai probably gained in recognition of his professional expertise. On Donnolo as a proper name, see below, English Translation 226 n. 34. The use of *Domnus* and *Domnulus* as proper names in the Roman empire was quite common. See Treves, “I termini italiani di Donnolo,” 65 n. 3 and Wissowa, ed., *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, 5.1, col. 1526. Due to his fame as a doctor, Shabbatai Donnolo was included by the anonymous author of the Latin *Chronica Elini* in the legendary group of four doctors who founded the first medical school of the Middle Ages in Salerno. They were a Latin Christian, a Greek (Orthodox) Christian, a Muslim and a Jew, Shabbatai Donnolo. The legend became part of the more comprehensive *Urbis Salernitanae Historia* written in Naples in 1681 by Antonio Mazza. As shown first by De Renzi and Steinschneider, and reiterated by Kristeller, there is neither any historical evidence to support this legend nor any documents relating Donnolo to the medical centre of Salerno. Nevertheless, the legend is indicative of Donnolo’s fame, making him a paradigmatic figure of the Jewish doctor in southern Italy. See de Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, 106–109; Steinschneider, “Donnolo. Pharmakologische Fragmente,” 80–89; Kristeller, “La Scuola di Salerno,” 11–96; Muntner, “Donnolo et la part des Juifs,” 1100; idem, “Donnolo et la contributions des Juifs.”

⁶⁴ Τῇ ἐπαύριον κατελθόντος τοῦ ὁσίου ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ εἰσεληλυθότος, ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰουδαῖός τις ὀνόματι Δῶμνουλος, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ γνωστός ἐκ νεότητος αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν σφόδρα φιλομαθῆ καὶ ἰκανόν περὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην. “Ἦκουσα περὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεώς σου, καὶ πολλῆς ἐγκρατείας, καὶ γινώσκων τὴν κρᾶσιν τοῦ σώματός σου ἐθαύμαζον πῶς οὐ περιπέπτωκας ἐπιλήψει: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπό

From this passage we learn that Nilus knew Donnolo ἐκ νεότητος αὐτοῦ, from his boyhood.⁶⁵ This suggests that their acquaintance began soon after the fall of Oria in 925, when the twelve years old Donnolo was ransomed in Taranto. They may well have remained in touch until 940,

τουῶν νῦν, εἰ κελεύεις, ἐγὼ σοι δώσω φάρμακον πρὸς τὴν σὴν κρᾶσιν, ἵνα ἔγῃς αὐτὸ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀσθένειαν φοβηθῆσῃ.” Εφη αὐτῷ ὁ μέγας: Εἶπε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξ ὑμῶν εἷς Ἑβραῖος: “Ἀγαθὸν πεποιθῆναι ἐπὶ Κῶριον, ἢ πεποιθῆναι ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων.” Πεποιθότες οὖν ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν ἱατρὸν ἡμῶν Θεὸν καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, χρεῖαν ἔχομεν τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ γενομένων φαρμάκων. Σὺ δὲ ἄλλως δύννησι ἐμπαῖξαι τοὺς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀγεραίους, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ καυχᾶσθαι σε τῶν φαρμάκων μεταδοῦναι τῷ Νεῖλω. Τούτων οὖν ὁ ἱατρὸς ἐπακούσα, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον ἀπεκρίνατο (Migne, ed., “Βίος καὶ πολιτεία,” 91–94). English translation in Friedenwald, “Jewish Physicians in Italy,” 140–141 and also in Starr, *The Jews*, 162. The rejection by Nilus of the medical assistance proffered by Donnolo was meant, according to Luzzatti-Laganà (“La figura di Donnolo,” 98) to set a clear distance between him and the Jew with whom he had shared intellectual interests in his youth. However, her assumption that Nilus’s familiarity with Donnolo might have aroused suspicion finds no support in the sources. The depiction of Nilus’s attitude towards Donnolo, as underlined by von Falkenhausen, “L’Ebraismo dell’Italia meridionale,” 25–46 and idem, “La Vita di San Nilo,” 271–305, was clearly inspired by the hagiographical need to create an *exemplum*, that is to say, a demonstration of the superiority of the Christian faith.

⁶⁵ According to the first part of the Life, Nilus’ youth was marked by intellectual vivacity and an “insatiable thirst for knowledge.” This included an interest even in so-called amulets and exorcisms: “Ἠγάπα γὰρ ἀεὶ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων τοὺς Βίους, ἐκ νεότητος αὐτοῦ, Ἀντωνίου φημί δὴ, Σάββα τε καὶ Ἰλαρίωνος, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ: καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ πόθου καὶ συνέσεως αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ διεξήρχετο. Ὅθεν καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ μισοπὴνηρον εἶναι, καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι τὰς ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τῶν ἀρχόντων διατριβὰς μισεῖν τε καὶ ἀποβδελύττεσθαι πᾶσαν περιεργίαν, καὶ ἐξουθενεῖν[!] τὰ λεγόμενα φυλακτὰ, καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἐξορκισμοὺς: καίτοι γε οὐδέ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπορήσας βίβλων διὰ νοὸς δξύτητα καὶ σπουδὴν τὴν ἐν ἅπασιν (Migne, ed., “Βίος καὶ πολιτεία,” 19). [“Since his youth he liked reading the Vitae of the holy fathers such as Anthony, Saba, Hilarion and others, whose images were painted in the Cathedral, which he always read with eagerness and attention. This is how he began to dislike wickedness, to stay away from the houses of the leaders, to deal irreverently with the powerful, to loathe every superstition and to despise the [books of] so-called amulets and exorcisms. Because of his brilliance and his insatiable hunger for knowledge, however, he had those books with him”] (my translation. P.M). The text does not provide any further comment on the contents of “those books,” nor are we told why they remained in Nilus’s possession in spite of their evidently unorthodox nature. There is little doubt, however, that they were books of magic, and it seems that at a certain stage of his life, Nilus was interested in apotropaic practices. With the probable intention of upholding his good reputation, Johannes Cleus (Jean Clé), an 18th century commentator of the Life, insisted that Nilus’s books of magic were, in fact, astronomical treatises: “Si recte ex adjunctis co[n]jicio, non de typis quibusdam magicis aut tabulis diabolicis, sed de observationibus tabulisve astronomicis aut mathematicis, quae tum temporis non solebant forte sine aliqua superstitione esse, hic loquitur biographus[sic]” [“If I correctly infer from the circumstances, the biographer does not refer in this passage to magical or diabolical tables but to observation tables, astronomical or mathematical, which at that time were not entirely free of some

when Nilus, aged thirty, left the secular life to take his monastic vows.⁶⁶ Since Nilus belonged to one of the most prominent and well-to-do native families of Rossano, and since he lived in Rossano for the entire period prior to his adoption of the monastic vocation, his acquaintance with Donnolo could only have been made in Rossano, where we must assume that Donnolo arrived in the aftermath of the invasion of Oria in 925.

Situated on the eastern coast of Calabria, in the heart of the Mercurion—a mountainous region wherein the Byzantines had established one of their most important military strongholds in southern Italy—Rossano remained relatively unscathed by the periodic Fatimid raids on the Byzantine cities of Calabria and Apulia from the neighbouring island of Sicily and from North Africa.⁶⁷ It maintained a prominent cultural

superstitious character”] (my translation. P.M.). See Migne, ed., “Βίος καὶ πολιτεία,” 20 n. 3. If there is any substance to this claim, then a common interest in astronomy [and astrology] may have brought Donnolo and Nilus together in their youth and sustained their acquaintance in subsequent years.

⁶⁶ According to Luzzatti Laganà (“La figura di Donnolo,” 83–84) once he became a monk, Saint Nilus was precluded from having any relations with non-Christians, especially Jews, by the 11th canon issued at the Council of Trullano in 692, which expressly forbade all contacts with the Jews. However, Nilus clearly did not observe this prohibition; not only does it seem likely that he maintained some contacts with Donnolo (on which see directly below), but as the Life explicitly says, he invited a group of Jews, which probably included Donnolo, to join his monastic hermitage. See Migne, ed., “Βίος καὶ πολιτεία,” 94.

⁶⁷ Sharf, *The Universe*, 115 observes that “Rossano was a focal point of Byzantine strategy against Muslim raiders. Like Oria fifty years earlier, it was thought easily defensible, with its citadel towering a thousand feet above the plain . . . This is why it had become the seat of the imperial governor . . . Rossano, however, was not only a political bulwark and a formidable citadel. For centuries it was remembered as the intellectual centre upon which the literature, the art and the theology of Byzantine Italy converged.” See also Gay, “St-Adrien de Calabre,” 291–305 and idem, *L'Italie méridionale*, 343–346; Pepe, *Da S. Nilo*, 11. Rossano hosted an important Byzantine scriptorial school: three manuscripts copied by Nilus survive in the monastery of Grottaferrata; see Follieri, “Niceforo ‘il nudo,” 5–12; idem, “Attività scrittoria calabrese,” 103–142, particularly 125–128. See also Canart, “Introduzione,” 17–34. An important testimony to the important role played by Rossano in Byzantine southern Italy is provided by Bartholomew in his Life of Saint Nilus: Τὸ Ῥουσιάνον οἶδ’ ὅτι πάντες γινώσκουσιν, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ προκαθῆσθαι τοῖς τῆς Καλαβρίας τέμασι, μέγιστόν τε τευχγάνειν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ καὶ πάσης τῆς χώρας ἐρημωθείσης, καὶ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἔργον γεγενημένων τῆς τῶν Σαδῶρανηῶν πολυπληθείας, μόνον διαφυγεῖν μέχρι καὶ νῦν τῆς αὐτῶν ἀπωλείας τὸν νόμον (Migne, ed., “Βίος καὶ πολιτεία,” 17) [“I know that Rossano is well known to everybody, and not only by name, since the city is the largest one which guards the Calabrian borders, and also the only one which eluded the danger of the Saracens who had devastated the entire region and taken all the cities under their control”]. (my translation. P.M.). About Rossano as a Byzantine military stronghold, see Panebianco, “Osservazioni sull’Eparchia,” 189–193. Some doubts about the presence of defensive walls and the capac-

and political position in the broader context of Byzantine southern Italy. Although there exists no conclusive evidence on Donnolo's whereabouts after the fall of Oria, it is perfectly plausible that Rossano was indeed the place, or at least one of the places, in which he lived for either part or the whole of his mature life. As we have seen, Rossano was one of the few Byzantine cities which was well defended against attacks from the sea. This, together with the thriving cultural life of the city, would have attracted Donnolo whose need for security was as great as his desire for knowledge. The assumption that after being ransomed in Taranto, Donnolo settled in Rossano, where he cultivated scientific interests and finally gained fame as an expert physician, is further corroborated by the Life of Saint Nilus.

A second episode in this Life provides clearer and historically reliable evidence to the effect that Donnolo was still in Rossano some forty years later, in 965. This episode concerns the repentance and death of Euprassius, the imperial judge [δ βασιλικός] and commander of the Byzantine province of Apulia.⁶⁸

Both Nilus and Donnolo are described as attending to Euprassius on his deathbed. While the Christian monk attempts to bring about his wholehearted repentance from worldly life, the Jewish physician is entrusted with the task of healing his physical afflictions. Tonsured by Nilus as a mark of his religious conversion, Euprassius turns his heart to the "true faith," while Donnolo expresses his admiration for the spiritual powers of his Christian friend, whom he calls the new "Daniel taming the lions" (Daniel 6:22, according to the Greek and Latin versions):

He [Euprassius] was then struck by the disease called gangrene of the genitals, which was unresponsive to treatment and which punished the organs of profligacy by which he had broken the laws of nature ... Moved by his tears and by his supplications, with his own hands, the Father [Nilus] cut his hair and clothed him—a man who had been delicate for so long, clothed in long and luxurious garments—in very humble wool

ity of Rossano to resist external attacks have been raised, on the basis of the extant archaeological remains, by Coscarella, *Insedimenti bizantini*, 103.

⁶⁸ The two Byzantine *themes* of Italia [Longobardy] and Calabria could temporarily be merged into a single *theme* controlled by a single judge. See von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 124ff.; Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia Agathè*, 68 n. 9, 71 n. 10, 144 n. 34, 148 n. 36. See also Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 347–348. The name Euprassius, which is scarcely attested in the Byzantine sources, was commonplace in Calabria. Euprassius was in all likelihood a functionary of Calabrian origin. See von Falkenhausen, "La Vita di San Nilo," 282.

made glorious by (monastic) humility. He did this in the presence of the metropolitan Stephan and the bishop of the locality [Rossano], as well as a considerable number of abbots and priests. Also present was a Jew, Donnolo, the doctor whom I have mentioned before, who watched the proceedings and, after admiring what had been done, came up and addressed those present in the following way: “Today I saw wonderful things which, as we have heard, had been done before. Now have I seen Daniel, the prophet, taming the lion. For who [else] was ever able to lay his hand on that lion? Yet this new Daniel has both shaved his hair and put on him a monk’s hood. (my translation. P.M.).⁶⁹

It clearly emerges from this account that in 965—the year of Euprassius’s death, when command of the province was transferred to Nicephoros Hexakionites⁷⁰—Donnolo was in Rossano, where his reputation as a physician was such that he was called, together with Saint Nilus, the leading local Christian authority, to assist in the treatment of the most prominent Byzantine political figure in the city.

The image of the Jew Donnolo as it emerges from this hagiographical source is historically credible and, above all, surprisingly positive. It is markedly devoid of the anti-Jewish slant that characterises most of the

⁶⁹ Πάθος γάρ τὸ λεγόμενον γάγγραινα περὶ τὴν βάλανον τοῦ παδόγονου μορίου αὐτοῦ ἐκφυέν, τῶν μὲν ἰατρῶν ἀπρακτον διήλεγγε τὴν περιοδείαν, δίκας δὲ εἰσπεράττειν τὸ τῆς ἀσωτίας ὄργανον, δι’ ᾧν ἀκρατῶς τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον ἐξύβρισεν ... Καμφθεὶς οὖν ὁ Πατήρ τοῖς δάκρυσι καὶ ταῖς ἰκεσίαις αὐτοῦ, ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶν αὐτὸν ἀπεκείρατο, καὶ τὰ τῆ σεμνῆ ταπεινώσει δεδοξασμένα ῥακη περιεβάλετο, τῇ ἀπαλῇ καὶ περιδῶρουσῃ ἐσθῆτι πρῶην μαλακίζόμενον, παρόντος τοῦ μητροπολίτου Στεφάνου σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦ Κάστρου ἡγουμένοις τε οὐκ ὀλίγοις, καὶ ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσι, Παρειστήκει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰουδαῖος Δῶμνουλος ὧς ἰατρὸν οὐ καὶ πρῶην ἐμνήσθη, θεωρῶν ἅπαντα τὰ τελούμενα· ὅς ἐξελθὼν ἔξω, καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα θαυμάσας, ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας· Σήμερον ἐθεασάμην θαυμάσια, ἅπερ πάλαι γενέσθαι ἀνηκόαμεν. Νῦν εἶδον τὸν προφήτην Δανιὴλ ἡμεροῦντα τοῦς λέοντας. Τίς γὰρ ἠδυνήθη ποτὲ χεῖρα ἐπιβαλέσθαι τούτῳ τῷ λέοντι; Ὁ δὲ νέος οὗτος Δανιὴλ καὶ τὴν κόμην ἀπέτεμε, καὶ κουκούλιον ἐπιτέθεικεν (Migne, ed., “Βίος καὶ πολιτεία,” 95, 99).

⁷⁰ At around that time, Emperor Nicephoros Phocas (963–969) embarked on a new campaign to reconquer the Byzantine territories under Muslim rule. The appointment of Nicephoros Hexakionites as μάγιστρος of the two southern Italian themes of Longobardy (Apulia) and Calabria was an innovation suggested by the need to strengthen Byzantine rule over the zones neighbouring the occupied territories (such as Sicily). Hexakionites remained in office from 965 until the beginning of the reign of Constantine VIII (1025–1028). The new policy inaugurated by Phocas was extremely unpopular with the southern Italians who feared retaliation by the Muslims: in Rossano, for instance, the Byzantine ships docking in the city harbour were burnt down and their commanders killed by the local population; see von Falkenhausen, “La Vita di San Nilo,” 280; Schlumberger, *Lépopée byzantine*, 456; Giovanelli, ed. *S. Nilo da Rossano*, 75; Pertusi, “Contributi alla storia dei temi,” 16. See also Guillard, “Études sur l’histoire administrative,” 14–28 and Guillou, “Geografia amministrativa,” 113–133.

author's references to the Jews. A good example of this is his account of an episode concerning the Jews of Bisignano, a small town under the jurisdiction of Rossano. The judges of that city had condemned a certain Christian to death for killing a Jew. Nilus, having been begged by the family of the killer to plead with the magistrates for his pardon, appealed against the sentence, citing an unknown legal clause whereby the death of every Christian must be countered by the death of seven Jews.⁷¹

As observed by Sharf,⁷² the attitude of Nilus's hagiographer toward the Jews does not generally differ from that detectable in other, both earlier and later, Christian hagiographical texts, in which the figure of the Jew serves primarily to demonstrate Christian truth: Nilus's refusal to accept the remedies proffered to him by the Jewish doctor, and the subsequent declaration of the moral superiority of healing by the Christian faith, are part of the standard repertoire of literary and theological *topoi* to which Christian hagiography often resorted, but "on the other hand Nilus casts no doubt on the propriety of the treatment offered to him. Quite the contrary. His fear is that Donnolo might delude Christians into becoming his patients not beguiled by useless fancies or by demons, but because he has been treating a monk: presumably, therefore, with some success."⁷³

The last chronological detail of the life of Shabbatai Donnolo is the reference to the year 982 in his introduction to SH, wherein he criticizes his Jewish contemporaries for being a "contemptible, and unwise generation of our time."⁷⁴ The reasons for such a critical outburst are not entirely clear. Sharf suggests that it might have been a reaction to failure of Donnolo's work to be understood and appreciated by his fellow Jews, a work on which he had spent "many years of toil."⁷⁵ The exhortations to his brethren to observe the traditional commandments of Judaism, and the emphasis which in the same section he places on affirming the legitimate character of the scientific investigation of the principles of nature,⁷⁶ are probably expressions of Donnolo's wish, at the end of his long career

⁷¹ See Colafemmina, "San Nilo di Rossano," 128, republished in idem, *Per la storia degli ebrei*, 1–10.

⁷² Sharf, *The Universe*, 114–115.

⁷³ Ibid. 114. See also Kazhdan, "The Image of the Medical Doctor," 48.

⁷⁴ See below, English Translation, 241.

⁷⁵ See Sharf, *The Universe*, 121. On the other hand, it seems that Donnolo's works, and particularly SH, soon became known in southern Italy where only a few decades later it was quoted by the author of *Sefer Yosippon*, as well as in the biblical commentary *Sefer Rossina*, and eventually also by northern European exegetes.

⁷⁶ See below, English Translation, 243.

spent in pursuit of Greek-Byzantine learning, to establish his work within the framework of traditional Judaism.

Shabbatai Donnolo's Works

The literary production of Shabbatai Donnolo ranges in subject matter from pharmacopoeia through human pathology to astrology and astronomy.⁷⁷ In addition to SH, it consists of *Sefer ha-mirqaḥot*, *Sefer ha-mazzalot*, *Barayta de-mazzalot*, *Practica* and *Antidotarium*, although not all of these works can be attributed to him with certainty:

1. *Sefer ha-mirqaḥot* (The Book of Mixtures), also known as *Sefer ha-yaqar* (The Precious Book), is a pharmaceutical text consisting of twenty short chapters devoted to the preparation of medical remedies and herbal compounds. Donnolo wrote this text, the oldest known medical text written in Hebrew in Medieval Europe, about the year 970, some 40 years after he began his study of medicine.⁷⁸

The Hebrew used is both syntactically and terminologically close to that of Rabbinic literature. It is rich in Greek and Latin names, as well as vernacular synonyms transliterated into Hebrew characters, by which the author identifies plants and herbs. Names of Arabic origin are absent.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Astrology is the study of the supposed influences of the celestial bodies on the sub-lunar world, which effectively amounts to the relationship between the macrocosm and the microcosm (see Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 52–54), while astronomy is the study of the physical phenomena taking place in the Earth's upper atmosphere and the physical properties of the celestial bodies (see Ridpath, *Dictionary of Astronomy*, 34). As pointed out by Pines ("The Semantic Distinction," 344), until the 14th century astrology and astronomy were regarded as synonymous, even though some important distinctions between the two terms are attested in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (III, xxvii), and the works of the 12th century Latin Hugh of Saint Victor [d. 1141] (see *Eruditio didascalica*, Migne, ed., col. 756) and the Byzantine Michael Glycas (see *CCAG*, V, I, 140). Donnolo does not distinguish between astrology and astronomy, which he conceives as part of a unique discipline to which he refers as הכמת הכוכבים. See below, English Translation, 231 n. 57. In the present study, I distinguish between astrology and astronomy, only when such a distinction, according to the two definitions above, is clearly discernable in Donnolo's works. When, however, the distinction is not discernable, I refer to the sources as astrological-astronomical.

⁷⁸ See Ferre, "Donnolo's *Sefer ha-yaqar*," 12.

⁷⁹ The absence of terms derived from Arabic is peculiar to Donnolo's work, since the majority of medieval pharmaceutical treatises—either Hebrew, Latin or Romance, both earlier and later than Donnolo's—were subject to the influence of Arabic pharmacopoeia. See Ferre, *ibid.* 2–3 and Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicine*, I, 152.

The work is extant in two manuscript fragments: ms. Plut. 88 n. 37 of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence (ff. 84a–b85b)⁸⁰ and FR.R.95 of the Jewish National and University Library. It was published for the first time by Moritz Steinschneider, who based his edition solely on the Florence manuscript, which at that time was still considered as the *codex unicus*.⁸¹ Alexander Marx identified the second manuscript, which was described by Harry Friedenwald,⁸² while Jacob Leveen published parts of it.⁸³ A new critical edition, together with an English translation, was recently published by Lola Ferre.⁸⁴

2. *Sefer ha-mazzalot* (*The Book of the Constellations*) is an astrological commentary on the *Barayta di-Sh^emu'el*, an astronomical-astrological midrash written between the 8th and the 9th century.⁸⁵ *Sefer ha-mazzalot* is extant only in a long fragment preserved in the form of a citation in the commentary on the book of Job by the French exegete Joseph ben Shim'on Qara,⁸⁶ a pupil of Rashi (born circa 1060–1070).

⁸⁰ The manuscript was described by Biscioni, *Bibliothecae Mediceo-Laurentianae*, 506–508 and by Muntner, *Rabbi Shabtai*, I, 7–23.

⁸¹ See Steinschneider, “Donnolo. Pharmakologische Fragmente,” idem, *Donnolo. Fragment des ältesten medicinischen Werkes*, and Muntner, “The historical background.”

⁸² See Marx, “The Scientific Work” in Davidson, ed., *Essays and Studies*, 117–170; Friedenwald, “Jewish Physicians in Italy,” 133–211, and idem, “The Use of the Hebrew Language.”

⁸³ See Leveen, “A pharmaceutical fragment of the 10th Century,” 1397–1400.

⁸⁴ See Ferre, “Donnolo’s *Sefer ha-yaqar*.”

⁸⁵ The date of composition is very uncertain and based primarily on the *terminus post quem* of the year 4536 (776 of the Gregorian calendar) mentioned in the text. The Hebrew text was first published by Amram in 1861 (*Barayta di-Sh^e mu'el*. Tesseloniki, 1861. According to Friedberg and Friedberg, eds., *Bet Eked*, I, 169 n. 1462, this edition was prepared by Raphael Kircheim) and subsequently re-edited by Lipkin with his commentary “Shevilei ha-me'orot” (*Barayta di-Sh^e mue'el ha qaṭan*, Piotrkow, 1901). The same text was re-published with a short introduction by Eisenstein (*Oṣar midrashim*, 542–547). “Barayta” is the name traditionally given to Tannaitic texts which are not included in the canon of the Mishnah. The *Barayta di-Sh^e mu'el* did not originally bear this title, which was arbitrarily supplied by Amram. Because of the 8th century date mentioned in the text, Leopold Zunz did not accept the definition of the work as a *barayta* and hypothesised that it was written in a Byzantine milieu sometime in the 9th century; see Zunz, “Die Barayta Samuel’s,” in Steinschneider, ed., *Hebräische Bibliographie*, V, 15–20. See also Sarfatti, “The Astrological Books,” 27–29, 31–35; idem, “I trattati di astrologia,” 143.

⁸⁶ An exhaustive study of this commentary was published by Ahrend, *Le commentaire sur Job*, 45–47. Concerning the relation between Qara and Donnolo’s texts see also Beller, “Ancient Jewish Mathematical,” 51–66; Stern, “Fictitious Calendars,” 117–119 and idem, *Calendar and Community*, 180, 185–186, 204.

Sefer ha-mazzalot was first published by Samuel David Luzzatto and subsequently again by Zacharia Frankel.⁸⁷ Part of the text is also attested in *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*,⁸⁸ in *Sefer Razi'el* and in *Sefer Ḥasidim*.⁸⁹

3. The *Barayta de-mazzalot*, which has been attributed to Donnolo, is of uncertain authorship. An astronomical and astrological treatise by an anonymous author living in Byzantium probably between the 6th and the 8th century, it follows the Ptolemaic astrological and astronomical tradition.⁹⁰ The suggestion that it was written by Donnolo was made by Gad B. Sarfatti, based on a comparative analysis of quotations attributed to Donnolo in later works and the text of the *Barayta de-mazzalot*.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Luzzatto, "Mikhtav gimel," 60–67; Frankel, "Der Commentar des R. Joseph Kara." Some passages were translated into English by Starr, *The Jews*, 157–159; see also Twersky, *Rabad of Posquières*, 258 and 279 n. 38.

⁸⁸ This is a pseudepigraphic text written in the second half of the 14th century, supposedly by the grandson of rabbi Nehuniah ben ha-Qanah, the alleged author of *Sefer ha-Bahir*. *Sefer ha-Peli'ah* was published for the first time in Koretz in 1784, and with textual emendations and corrections in Prezmysl in 1883. Against the common view of the Spanish origin of this work, see Kushnir-Oron, *The Sefer ha-Peliah and the Sefer ha-Kanah*, ii–iv [English abstract] and 1–15 [Hebrew section] and Ta-Shma, "Sefer Haqaneh and Sefer Hapeliah," 56–63. Both argue that *Sefer ha-Peli'ah* and *Sefer ha-Qanah* were written in a Byzantine milieu at the beginning of the 15th century. See also de Lange, "Hebrew scholarship in Byzantium," 23–37, particularly 26. The quotation reproduces almost verbatim the text of *Sefer ha-mazzalot* recorded by Joseph Kara, from the beginning of p. 62 to p. 64 of the text edited by Luzzatto; see *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, 32b. Moses Cordovero and Menaḥem Azaria da Fano attributed the work to Avigdor ben Yiṣḥaq Kara, probably a descendant of Joseph Kara; see Marcus, *Der Chassidismus*, 244–261. There is no ground for this attribution which, according to Scholem (*Major Trends*, 400) is "entirely mistaken"; see also idem, *Kabbalah*, 65.

⁸⁹ See *Sefer Razi'el* (Amsterdam, 1701), 18 ff. and *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, 35, which also quotes from the introductory section of SH. See below, English Translation, 224 n. 18.

⁹⁰ The technical terminology used in the text consists mostly of lexical and semantic borrowings from the *Tetrabiblos*; see Sarfatti, "An Introduction," 80 ff., and idem, "I trattati di astrologia," in Lacerenza, ed., *Šabbetai Donnolo*, 145 and below pp. 30–32.

⁹¹ Sarfatti showed in particular how in midrash *Leqaḥ Ṭov*, written in the 11th century by Tobias ben Eliezer, the astronomical explanations quoted from Donnolo's SH are followed a few pages later by quotations from the *Barayta* and considered as part of the same work; see Solomon Buber, ed., Tobias ben Eliezer, *Midrash Leqaḥ Ṭov*, [Bereshit] 7, 12–13 (according to the pagination in Arabic numerals). Sarfatti similarly analyses some of the quotations from the *Barayta* found in the *Sefer Razi'el*, following the observations first made on this subject by Wertheimer in the introduction to his edition of the text; see *Baraita de-mazzalot*, in Wertheimer, ed., *Batei Midrashot*, I, 7.

As observed by Sharf, one of the main difficulties with the attribution of the work to Donnolo is that it contains interpretations of certain astrological subject matter, such as the Dragon (*tli*), which are quite different from Donnolo's in SH. He rejects the notion of Donnolo's authorship as follows:

In the *Barayta de-mazzalot* the *tli* appears only in the guise of a planetised lunar dragon, that is with its head and tail on the list of exaltations and dejections ... It is difficult to accept that Donnolo would have omitted its parallel function, so important for him, as the *axis mundi*, especially since the *Baraita* describes the movements of the constellations through the ecliptic ... the *Baraita de-Mazzalot* would be the sole instance of a work by Donnolo for which neither he himself claims the authorship nor has it claimed for him.⁹²

These objections may, however, be overcome. The Dragon is one of the few astronomical and astrological concepts in SH of which Donnolo clearly has a composite notion. There is thus no real divergence between the *Barayta de-mazzalot*'s and SH's interpretation of the Dragon; rather, only one of SH's notions of the Dragon is absent from the *Barayta*. This, as well as the absence of any claim of authorship by Donnolo, might be due to the fragmentary nature of the extant *Barayta de-mazzalot*, which seems to be missing a whole section of the text.⁹³ An annotated edition of the Hebrew text was published in 1955 by S.A. Wertheimer.⁹⁴

The attribution of two other medical works, the *Practica* and the *Antidotarium* to Donnolo is also very doubtful.

4. The *Practica* is an anonymous text, written in Hebrew and probably incomplete, in which various diseases are listed, together with explanations of their pathological manifestations and descriptions of their therapeutic and pharmacological remedies. The text is Byzantine in character,

⁹² Sharf, *The Universe*, 187.

⁹³ The text begins *in medias res* describing the twelve constellations and their position in the firmament, without a title or preamble. A further point in favour of Sarfatti's hypothesis is that the *Barayta de-mazzalot* consists of a simplified and shortened version of the *Barayta di-Sh'e mu'el*, which Donnolo criticised in the introductory section of SH for being "very difficult to understand", unlike the wisdom of his Babylonian teacher which, on the contrary, was "clear and very lucid." See below, English Translation, 230. If considered in the broader context of Donnolo's mission to reconcile Jewish and non-Jewish learning, the idea that he rewrote the text of *Barayta di-Sh'e mu'el* in a clearer and more accessible language is plausible and would support Sarfatti's claim that Donnolo was the author of the work.

⁹⁴ *Barayta de-mazzalot*, in Wertheimer, ed., *Batei Midrashot*, II, 7–37.

as is evidenced by the numerous technical terms transliterated from Greek and Latin, and the very limited use of genuine Hebrew medical terminology.⁹⁵

The attribution of the *Practica* to Donnolo suggested by Süßman Muntner,⁹⁶ relies on neither internal nor external textual evidence, but solely on the fact that the work was transmitted in the same manuscripts as *Sefer ha-mirqaḥot*.

5. The *Antidotarium* has been attributed to Donnolo on similar grounds. It is a short medical handbook listing the most important diseases and their remedies, to which Donnolo seems to refer at the end of his *Sefer ha-mirqaḥot*: “These are my words on syrups and poultices that I have examined and researched with my limited knowledge. I found no other book like this about diseases and this was written above in the *Antidotarium* on [page] number 208.”⁹⁷ This passage, however, as observed by Fiaccadori, evidently contains a scribal interpolation (“I found ... number 208”) aimed at linking the medical issues discussed in *Sefer ha-mirqaḥot* with the text of the *Antidotarium*, which precedes *Sefer ha-mirqaḥot* in both extant manuscripts.⁹⁸ The *Antidotarium*, whose text has not yet been published, shows numerous similarities, both substantial and terminological, to the *Antidotarium Nicolai*, a renowned text emanating from the medical school of Salerno.⁹⁹

Also uncertain is the attribution to Donnolo of a marriage *pizmon* or epithalamium, with an acrostic which ascribes it to a certain “Shabbatai (the) Physician, (be) strong” [שבתאי רופא חזק]. From the 16th to the 19th century it was included in all editions of the *Maḥzor Romania*, the prayerbook used by many Byzantine, Spanish, Galician and Qaraite Jewish communities. Fiaccadori has suggested that the attribution is false but

⁹⁵ See Fiaccadori, “Donnolo,” 216; Tamani, “L'opera medica,” and, for an analysis of the medical issues discussed in the work, see Straus, “The diagnosis and treatment.”

⁹⁶ Muntner, *Rabbi Shabtai I*, 109–144; idem “Donnolo et la part des Juifs,” 1100, and idem “Donnolo et la contributions des Juifs,” 155–161.

⁹⁷ From ms. Plut. 88.37 of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana in Florence, f. 58b ff. and ms. FR.R.95 of the Jewish National and University Library, f. 50c ff.; English translation in Ferre, “Donnolo's *Sefer ha-yaqar*,” in Lacerenza, ed., *Šabbetai Donnolo*, 1. As regards the last sentence of this quotation from *Sefer ha-mirqaḥot*, see immediately below.

⁹⁸ See Fiaccadori, “Donnolo,” 217.

⁹⁹ See Ongaro, “Gli Antidotari,” 34–42. The Latin text of the *Antidotarium Nicolai*, together with a Dutch translation, was published by Berg, ed., *Eene Middelnederlandsche*. Leiden, 1917.

was probably made as a result of familiarity with the poems that appear in the introductory section of Donnolo's SH.¹⁰⁰

Donnolo's most important work is his *Sefer Ḥakhmoni*.¹⁰¹ Written in all likelihood shortly before the month of Elul of the year 946,¹⁰² the text consists of three main sections: an autobiographical introduction, a commentary on Genesis 1:26, and a commentary on SY.

The autobiographical section opens with an introductory poem, set within a long acrostic bearing the author's name and his main biographical data, which Donnolo used in order to ensure that his authorship of the work would be recognised and to protect it from plagiarism. A long biographical section follows wherein Donnolo relates the events following the fall of Oria, the deportation of the Jews from that city, and the beginning of his own intellectual and professional career.¹⁰³

While this poem is an original composition, clearly conceived to protect Donnolo's "copyright" to SH by warning the readership not to allow his authorship of the work to be forgotten or overlooked, a second poem, which follows the autobiographical section, is derivative and composed

¹⁰⁰ For more information about this epithalamium, see Mancuso, "Ornamento del mio sposo." Fiaccadori, "Donnolo," 217 and Putzu, *Shabbetai Donnolo*, 55 mistakenly doubt Donnolo's authorship of another poem about which Fiaccadori claims that "meno certezza grava" [fewer doubts remain]. There is in fact no uncertainty at all, because that *piyyut* is the first poem in the introductory section of SH. See Hebrew Text, 137; English Translation, 221–223 and Davidson's *Thesaurus*, III, 466 as n. 1284.

¹⁰¹ In the manuscript tradition, the work is also known as *Sefer Taḥkemoni*. For more information about the title, see below 130–133. SH was first published by Castelli (*Il commento*, Florence, 1880). The text edited in Castelli's edition was republished in Warsaw in 1884 by Y. Goldman, ed., *Sefer Yeširah ha-meyuḥas le-Avraham avinu*, 121–148, and in a facsimile edition in Jerusalem, 1962, by Lewin-Epstein ed., *Sefer Yeširah*, 148–167. It is important to note that the text of the latter two editions is not identical to Castelli's: many passages were modified on the basis of the variant readings in Castelli's edition, but also on the basis of what appears to be a series of linguistic conjectures which are totally unrelated to any manuscript evidence. See also Bertola, "Il 'Sefer Chakmoni.'" For further information about the edition of SH, see below, 94–153.

¹⁰² This *terminus ante quem* is clearly indicated in the text preceding the calendrical and astronomical table aimed at providing the exact position of the planets in that year: "[I hereby explain the current date,] the cycle of the planets, the Dragon [*tli*] and constellations for the year 4706 since the Creation of the world, in order to know in which constellation and in which degree of the constellation the seven planets and the Dragon are;" see below, English Translation, 234.

¹⁰³ The introductory section was first published by Geiger, "Introduction," 28–33. Other parts of the text were published by Jellinek, *Der Mensch als Gottes Ebenbild*, 245–250 and Luzzatto, "Igeret 15," 97b–102. The first introductory poem was also published by Schirmann, *Mivḥar ha-shirah*, 15–16 and idem, "Gli albori della poesia ebraica," 196–197. The Hebrew text of the poem, with an English translation, appeared in Sharf, *The Universe*, 7–8, 159–160.

entirely of verses selected from the book of Proverbs, containing no explicit reference to Donnolo's authorship of the work.¹⁰⁴ However, this poem, too, preserves the memory of the author by the acrostic in which it is set.

The second poem is followed by a long section which does not relate to the life of the author. This section, where Donnolo introduces some of the subjects he discusses in the commentary on Genesis 1:26, is, however, characterised by warnings to the reader to preserve traditional religious values,¹⁰⁵ by enigmatic expressions of the author's concern and his bitter criticism of his generation,¹⁰⁶ as well as by demonstrations of the legitimacy of the study of the celestial bodies,¹⁰⁷ all of which, as Sharf has suggested, may echo actual biographical events of which no direct evidence has survived.¹⁰⁸

The commentary on SY was first published by David Castelli in 1880, together with the complete text of SH and a long explanatory

¹⁰⁴ It is not clear why the author relied exclusively on the book of Proverbs for the composition of this poem. We can only speculate that by drawing on a single biblical source, Donnolo meant to invest the poem with linguistic or thematic coherence. The same strategy can be observed in the text that follows the second poem as well as the biographical section wherein the books of Ecclesiastes and Psalms are the only two sources on which the author draws heavily in composing his text; see below, Hebrew Text, 141–144 and English Translation, 240–247. The second poem is preserved in only one manuscript, Heb.e.26 of the Bodleian Library from the Cairo Genizah; the text was published with various omissions by Neubauer, “Un chapitre inédit,” 213–218 and together with the rest of this manuscript by Sharf, *The Universe*, 161–163. A short analysis of the two poems and their manuscripts appears in Loewenthal, “L'introduzione autobiografica,” 5–13 and “Per una rilettura,” 345–352.

¹⁰⁵ “From these verses we learn that Israel must fear God, occupy their minds with His Torah, and observe His commandments, for out of fear of God they will occupy their minds with His Torah ...” See below, English Translation, 243.

¹⁰⁶ “David did not pronounce these verses only in order to instruct the generations that lived after him and before us, since they were all people of good name, but also for the [benefit of the] base, contemptible, and unwise generation of our time, in the year 4742 since the Creation of the world, which is the eleventh year of the 250th cycle.” See below, English Translation, 241.

¹⁰⁷ “Also human beings, who are below this firmament, and who lift up their eyes to look at the firmament on high with the knowledge of God, observing the Lord's actions, seeing the work of His hands and understanding the science of the planets and the constellations, declare His praise and acknowledge His divinity. And even more than all the other nations of the world, Israel—the holy people—are commanded to study the science of the planets and constellations, as explained by the Jewish sages ... What [other] nation is permitted and able to foretell the signs of the future and coming events as Israel, My people, to whom I gave permission to investigate and search for the explanations of recondite meanings in the secrets of my Torah ...” See below 242–244.

¹⁰⁸ See above, Biographical Details, 21.

introduction.¹⁰⁹ There are three scholarly editions of single sections of SH based on some of the manuscripts mentioned above. The first introductory poem was published by Samuel David Luzzatto as “Igeret 15,” 97b–102, on the basis of ms. Parma—Biblioteca Palatina 2123. The introductory section was published by Abraham Geiger as “Introduction,” 28–33 on the basis of mss. Parma—Biblioteca Palatina 2123 and 2425, transcribed for him by Hillel Cantoni, professor of Hebrew at Turin university, in 1832. The commentary on Genesis 1:26 was published by Neubauer, (*Der Mensch als Gottes Ebenbild*. Lipsia, 1854), on the basis of mss. Paris—Bibliothèque Nationale 767 and 770, and a third, unnamed source, from which Jellinek drew a long paragraph dealing with the micro-macrocosm relations, which is reproduced in *Sefer Orhot Šaddiqim*.¹¹⁰ Castelli’s edition of the commentary on Genesis 1:26 was republished in 2002 by Abraham Dovidovitz, *Sefer Hakhmoni*, in Rosh Pinna (Israel). An Italian translation of selected passages of the Castelli edition was edited by Sciunnach and Mancuso in 2001 (Sciunnach and Mancuso, eds., *Il Libro della formazione*)

The entire literary production attributed to Shabbatai Donnolo is written in Hebrew, in a style which combines the syntax and morphology of Rabbinical and Biblical Hebrew.¹¹¹ It is also influenced—mainly from the technical terminological point of view—by Greek, Latin and the Italian vernacular.¹¹² Particularly in his pharmaceutical works—a field in which Hebrew could not provide much technical terminology—Donnolo resorted to a number of transliterations of Greek and Latin words which, both phonetically and semantically, reflect the influence of the local vernacular, mostly the Apulian and Calabrian dialects.¹¹³

We learn from these works that, in addition to Hebrew, Donnolo knew the two classical languages and the local vernacular. The regional

¹⁰⁹ Castelli, *Il commento*, 30–88 [Hebrew section].

¹¹⁰ Jellinek, *Der Mensch als Gottes Ebenbild*, 10–11 and *Sefer Orhot Šaddiqim* (Prague, 1581), 110–113. See below, p. 82 n. 10; for the Hebrew text and English translation of this passage see below 142, 152–158 and 242, 260, 262–270. As noted above, *Sefer Orhot Šaddiqim* quotes passages from SH which are attested only by the Cairo Genizah fragment, Heb.e.26. Jellinek did not distinguish in his edition between the variants drawn from the two manuscripts, and many of the variants he recorded could not be found in either of the two witnesses.

¹¹¹ See Eldar, “R. Shabbetai Donnolo,” 7–8.

¹¹² See Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 265.

¹¹³ For an analysis of some of the vernacular words used by Donnolo, see Treves, “I termini italiani di Donnolo,” 64–66.

dialects, both in Apulia—Donnolo's birthplace—and in Calabria, where he probably spent part of his mature life,¹¹⁴ retained a neo-Latin syntax and their vocabularies were heavily influenced by Greek.¹¹⁵

Although the adoption of non-Hebrew words characterises Donnolo's entire literary production, the degree to which they are employed in individual works differs. Since in most cases, Donnolo's use of non-Hebrew words was confined to transliterations of botanical and medical terms for which he could find no Hebrew equivalents, he employed them most extensively in his pharmaceutical texts, such as *Sefer ha-mirqaḥot* and the *Practica*,¹¹⁶ and also in *Sefer ha-mazzalot* and *Barayta de-mazzalot*. As indicated by Sarfatti,¹¹⁷ the technical astronomical and astrological terms which Donnolo derived directly from Greek, and principally from Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*,¹¹⁸ are either lexical or semantic borrowings: טריגון, סטריימוס, דיאמיטרון, from the Greek τρίγωνον ["triangle"], στῆσις ["standing firm"] and διάμετρος ["diameter"]; בית, from οἶκος [literally, "place," domicile of a planet]; גבול, from ὄριον [literally, "boundary," subdivision of a zodiacal sign];¹¹⁹ שמה from χάζω, [literally, "to take pleasure in," a verb which, in Ptolemaic astronomy, indicates the occupation by a planet of a position appropriate to another celestial body]; שפילה from the Greek ταπείνωμα ["depression"] and its opposite, גובה,

¹¹⁴ See above, Biographical Details, 17–22.

¹¹⁵ See Rohlf's, *Calabria e Salento*, 35–44, 51–60; Mosino, *Storia linguistica*, 139–177 and Aprile, Coluccia *et al.*, "La Puglia," 679–756, particularly 686–689 and 710–712; Fanciullo and Librandi, "La Calabria," 793–833, particularly 795–798.

¹¹⁶ Forty-two names of plants and potions of Greek and Latin derivation are used in *Sefer ha-mirqaḥot*, while more than three hundred are employed in the *Practica*. Out of all of them, only one is shared with SH, i.e. *stomakhus*. See Muntner, *Rabbi Shabtai*, II, 139 n. 286. Some of the words of non-Hebrew origin had already been introduced into Jewish scientific literature by Asaf the Physician, whose work Donnolo probably knew. See Sharf, *The Universe*, 97–98; Muntner, *ibidem*, II, 21 and on Donnolo's knowledge of Asaf's works, see *idem*, "The historical background." A list of the pharmaceutical terms used by Asaf and Donnolo was published by Löw, *Die Flora*, IV, 176–177. See also Lieber, "Asaf's *Book of Medicine*," 233–249; Baron, *A Social and Religious History*, VIII, 402 n. 42; *Barayta de-mazzalot*, Wertheimer, ed., 22, 26, 24, 31, 32, 33.

¹¹⁷ Sarfatti, "I trattati di astrologia," 144.

¹¹⁸ All these Greek terms are used repeatedly by Ptolemy. For a complete list of Ptolemy's technical terms, among which are also those used by Donnolo, see Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Feraboli, ed., 479–482.

¹¹⁹ See for example *Barayta de-mazzalot*, Wertheimer, ed. 30–32. גבול appears also in §47 of SY (see Hayman, *Sefer Yešira*, 149–151) but its meaning there is far from clear. Donnolo does not comment on that chapter of SY and therefore there is no evidence that he interpreted SY's use of the word in astrological terms.

from ὑψωμα [“elevation”];¹²⁰ בית חייו, from βιοδότης, which is a compound of βίος [“life”] and δότης [“giver”];¹²¹ חלק היפה and גורל היפה¹²² from the Greek κληῆρος τύχης [“lot of fortune”] or the Latin *sors/pars fortunae*.¹²³

A few astronomical names drawn from Greek and Latin are transliterated in *Sefer ha-mazzalot*: פלימדה [“Pleiades,” from the Greek πλειάδες/πλειάς or Latin *Pleias*] and פלכי [probably from the Latin *falx* (sickle)].¹²⁴

Only four non-Hebrew terms appear in SH. None of them occurs in Donnolo’s other works and all have identical phonemes in Greek and in Latin: סטומכוס [“stomach,” from the Greek στόμαχος and Latin *stomachus*]; איסקה [“spurge,” from the Greek ἴσκα/ἴσκα(ι) and late Latin/early vulgar *esca*]; מוליארין [“copper vessel,” from the Greek μιλιάριον and Latin *milliarium*] and טרטרון [“sedimentation,” from late Greek τάρταρον and Medieval Latin *tartarum*].¹²⁵

It is also worth noting that in SH Donnolo employed only some of the technical astrological terms mentioned above.¹²⁶ Astrological issues certainly played an important role in SH, but the more technical problems associated with them were not the main focus of the work. The omission of specialist terminology could also have been a deliberate choice by the

¹²⁰ Donnolo ascribes these meanings to the terms only in *Barayta de-mazzalot* (see *Barayta de-mazzalot*, Wertheimer, ed., 20), while in *Sefer ha-mazzalot* and SH they have the meaning of northern and southern parts of the celestial vault. See Luzzatto, “Mikhtav gimel,” 66 and below, English Translation, 345 n. 160.

¹²¹ See *Barayta de-mazzalot*, 32. In astrological birth-charts this term is used of a planet whose position (known also as *hyleg*) can have influence upon one’s longevity. See Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 247. The Hebrew term is not a transliteration or a direct semantic adaptation of the Greek word, but a sort of explanation and the emphasis is on the position (the *beit*, literally, “the house”) of the planet determining the length of one’s life.

¹²² See *Barayta de-mazzalot*, 32.

¹²³ See for example, Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 243, 255, 373 ff. and Manilius, *Astronomica*. Goold, ed., 170. See also Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 366–367.

¹²⁴ See *Sefer ha-mazzalot* in Luzzatto, “Mikhtav gimel,” 64–65. The etymological explanation of the name of the Pleiades as given by Donnolo in *Sefer ha-mazzalot*, reveals that his knowledge of Greek was not superficial. He derives the name of the constellation from the Greek adjective πλείων [big]: ופתרונו ראש השור ובלשון יוון פלימדה [big]: ופרשונו רבה [“it means the head of the Taurus, which in Greek is Pleiades, which means big”].

¹²⁵ For more information about these terms, see below, English Translation, 263 n. 35; 275 n. 69; 276 n. 71; 277 n. 72.

¹²⁶ See above, 30–31.

author whose main purpose was, as he stated in his first introductory section, to offer the Hebrew reader clear and accessible explanations of astrological and astronomical science.¹²⁷

Probably under the influence of Latin, Greek or the neo-Latin vernacular, the text of SH commonly presents gender discordances between noun and adjective. In the passage dealing with God's omniscience,¹²⁸ for example, Donnolo affirms that the deity made a series of calculations in order to know כל הדורות העתידות ["all the generations that were to be"], qualifying the masculine noun הדורות with the feminine adjective העתידות. This may well have resulted from the influence of either the Latin (*generatio*), the Greek (*γενέα*) or the vernacular (*generazione*), all of which are feminine. A further example occurs in the introductory section of SH, where Donnolo claims to have verified his teacher's knowledge after נסיונות רבות ["numerous experiments"], qualifying the masculine noun with a feminine adjective.¹²⁹

Likewise, the shape of the two celestial dragons is said to be כשני טבעות—like two rings¹³⁰—the masculine numerical adjective qualifying a feminine noun, once again, probably under the influence of either the Latin (*anulus*), the Greek (*δακτύλιος*) or the Italian vernacular (*anello*), all of which are masculine. By the same token, Donnolo speaks of בטן התחתון ["the lower belly"],¹³¹ again qualifying a feminine noun with a masculine adjective, probably under the influence of the masculine Latin *ventris* or Italian *ventre*.¹³² Probably under Greek influence, he also employs the personal pronoun instead of the demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

¹²⁷ Donnolo states that his aim was "to explain ... better than my predecessors have managed to explain the recondite knowledge [contained in] abstruse, inaccessible and profound books." See below, English Translation, 223. Among these was also the work (namely, the *Barayta*) of Samuel, who "has made his book very difficult to understand." See below, *ibid.*, 230.

¹²⁸ See below English Translation, 283.

¹²⁹ We cannot rule out the possibility that, at least in the cases of הדורות העתידות and נסיונות רבות these inversions of gender were simply due to a misunderstanding by Donnolo or of the scribe who considered plural masculine nouns terminating with *ot*—the standard feminine plural—to be feminine. It should be noted, however, that the correct form is not attested in any of the extant manuscripts. See below, Hebrew Text, 168, 199.

¹³⁰ See below, Hebrew Text, 202.

¹³¹ See *ibid.*, 148, 156. Donnolo alternates this with הבטן התחתון (*ibid.*, 196) which clearly negates the possibility that he conceived this expression as a genitival construct.

¹³² But not of the Greek in which all the terms for belly [e.g. γαστήρ, κοιλία, φύσση] are feminine. See on this s.v. "Hebrew Language," in *EJ*, XVI, 1634 and Eldar, "R. Shabbetai Donnolo," 9.

והם הספרים, instead of ואלה הספרים¹³³ and the term טרם in the sense of “first [of all].”¹³⁴

This linguistic characteristic is by no means unique to Donnolo’s work. Similar gender discrepancies between Hebrew nouns and their qualifying adjectives have been observed in much greater number in other works written in southern Italy shortly after SH, particularly in the *Sefer Yosippon* (10th century) and *Sefer Yuhasin* (mid 11th century). Under the influence of Latin (but not Greek, which he did not know),¹³⁵ the author of *Sefer Yosippon* produced a series of grammatical incongruities, treating masculine nouns such as חיים [“life”], מות [“death”], and בשר [“flesh”] as if they were feminine, as in Italian and Latin, e.g. המות הזנועה [“this honourable death”], מות אין בה מות [“life, wherein there is no death”] and בשרכם אשר נזבחה [“your flesh that was sacrificed”],¹³⁶ the latter discrepancy also being attested in *Sefer Yuhasin*: והבשר שבה לעפרה [“and the flesh returned to its dust”].¹³⁷

¹³³ As in e.g. ἐξείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ [“on that day”].

¹³⁴ Probably from the Greek πρῶτος/πρῶτον and ἐν πρώτοις. See de Lange, “A Thousand Years of Hebrew,” 153 n. 20 and 158.

¹³⁵ See Flusser, “The Author of the Book of Josippon,” 109–126, particularly 115–116; idem, “Der latinische Josephus,” 122–132 and Zeitlin, “Josippon,” 277–297.

¹³⁶ These and further examples are listed in Flusser, ed., *The Josippon*, I, 73; II, 85–86. On *Sefer Yosippon* in the literary context of Jewish southern Italy, see Bonfil, “Cultura ebraica e cultura cristiana,” 115–160, particularly pp. 133–134.

¹³⁷ See Salzman, ed., *The Chronicle*, 5, 66.

DONNOLO'S "LIBRARY"

Donnolo's linguistic range comprised Hebrew and Aramaic, Greek and Latin as well as Italian vernacular, but probably not Arabic, which appears no more than four times throughout his body of works.¹ An awareness of this allows us to limit the range of literary sources which might have been available to him. The intellectual traditions to which he had direct access were the Jewish and the Greco-Roman, especially in its Byzantine form, while those elements of his thought that might be deemed to be of Arabic origin were probably mediated to him by other sources, which may not have been literary, such as his notion of the Dragon, and the roles of the two lunar nodes (see below 72, and English Translation, 346 n. 162), which he may have acquired by oral instruction from his teacher B-g-d-ṭ.

Donnolo clearly drew his knowledge of medicine, astrology and astronomy from the standard scientific texts available to Byzantine scholars,² while the origin of his philosophical ideas—a form of Neo-Platonism informed by traditional Jewish notions of Creation and perhaps some awareness of Patristic sources—is far more difficult to ascertain.

The main source of Donnolo's astronomical and astrological knowledge is Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, one of the most influential texts of late antiquity.³ As he explicitly states in the introductory section to SH,⁴

¹ Arabic terms occur three times in the *Practica*, as the names of two medical compounds (see Sharf, *The Universe*, 96) and once in *Sefer ha-mazzalot*, where Donnolo refers to the Arabic name of the constellation of the Great Bear as בְּנִינָשׁ (*Bentenash* or according to an alternative spelling, *Benetnash*). This is indeed a name of Arabic origin (deriving from a contraction of *al-qāid al-banat al-nash* ["the leader of the daughters of the bier"]) but it was already known to Ptolemy, who listed it as the η star [namely, the seventh star of the constellation of the Great Bear] in his *Catalogue of the Stars*. See Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 67. None of these offers cogent proof that Donnolo knew Arabic.

² Namely, the text of the Hippocratic-Galenic medical tradition, the pharmaceutical works of Dioscorides, and the tradition of Ptolemaic astrology, particularly his *Tetrabiblos*. See Sharf, *The Universe*, 14–15, 94–97; Scarborough, "Symposium on Byzantine Medicine," xi–xiv and Riddle, "Byzantine Commentaries."

³ See Tester, *A History*, 3.

⁴ See below, English Translation, 230.

Donnolo considered the *Barayta di-Sh^e mue'el* to be a repository of Israel's lost knowledge of the celestial bodies, and thus the last witness of an indigenous Hebrew astrological tradition. The *Barayta* itself, however, relies heavily on Ptolemy, particularly on his *Tetrabiblos*.⁵

Further proof of Donnolo's dependence on the Ptolemaic astronomical tradition comes, as we have seen, from the many calques and transliterated Greek and Latin words which appear to varying extents in all the astronomical and astrological texts attributed to Donnolo. Other Ptolemaic works which Donnolo may well have known are the *Almagest*—probably the most highly regarded astronomical work of the time, the *Catalogue of the Stars*, as well as the Latin *Astronomica* of the 1st-century Latin astrologer Manilius, and works by a number of pre-Ptolemaic astrologers, such as the 3rd-century BCE *Phaenomena* of Aratus of Soli⁶ and the *Carmen Astrologicum* of Dorotheus of Sidon (ca. 1st century CE).⁷

As for Donnolo's medical knowledge, as Sharf has already shown,⁸ in common with many other Byzantine doctors of his time, he drew on the Hippocratic-Galenic corpus (particularly *Prognosis* and *Epidemics*) and the works of the 1st century Dioscorides, from which he occasionally departs when he feels that their views are incompatible with his notions of the correspondence between the micro and the macrocosm.⁹ Another major source of Donnolo's medical knowledge is the Hebrew work attributed to the 6th-century CE Asaf ha-rofé. Donnolo refers to Asaf time and again in his medical texts and particularly in *Sefer ha-mirqaḥot*, and he occasionally quotes him verbatim in SH.¹⁰

Some of Donnolo's scientific ideas are too commonplace to trace back to any particular source. For example, he refers to the process of

⁵ Particularly in the use of astrological terms, most of which seem to calque from Greek words employed by Ptolemy, and in the theory of planetary aspect and house. See *Barayta di-Sh^e mue'el*, Eisenstein, ed., 545–546.

⁶ See below, 72–73.

⁷ For Donnolo's acquaintance with the *Tetrabiblos*, see below, e.g. pp. 232 nn. 64–65; for the *Almagest*, see below, note of p. 238; for Manilius's *Astronomica*, Aratus's *Phaenomena* and Dorotheus's *Carmen Astrologicum*, see below, English Translation, 72, 326 n. 116. Among the astrological sources that Donnolo discusses in his work is a passage of the Babylonian Talmud concerning the movements of the constellations and more precisely the role played in it by the constellation of the Great Bear (*bBerakhot* 58b–59a). See Luzzatto, “Mikhtav gimel,” 65.

⁸ See Sharf, *The Universe*, 95.

⁹ See e.g. below, English Translation, 317 n. 99.

¹⁰ See below, *ibid.*, 265 n. 43; 266 n. 47; 268 n. 51.

spontaneous generation of life from inanimate natural elements such as water in puddles exposed to the sun, which generates living creatures. This theory was first proposed by Archelaus of Athens (5th century BCE) but it was also well known to other classical Greek and Latin authors, including Aristotle who mentions it time and again in his works on physics¹¹ as well as the 1st-century Roman Lucretius, who refers to it in his *De Rerum Natura*.¹² While it seems plausible that Donnolo, in common with many other Byzantine savants of his time, was familiar to some degree with the original classical sources, it is impossible to determine whether they reached him as full texts in their original versions or in anthological compendia.

An important source for Donnolo's exegesis of Scripture is the rabbinic tradition, comprising the Babylonian Talmud and the midrashim. He often echoes or quotes directly from either haggadic or halakhic midrashim, particularly the *Rabbot* to the Pentateuch, Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, as well as the *Mekhilta de-rabbi Sim'on* and *Mekhilta de-rabbi Ishma'el*, the *Midrash on Psalms*, *Pirqa de-rabbi Eli'ezer*, *Pesiqta Rabbati*, *Avot de-rabbi Natan*, the *Babylonian Talmud*.¹³

Donnolo also knew the *Wisdom of Solomon*, an apocryphal text to which he explicitly refers in his commentary on SY.¹⁴ He does not introduce his reference to the work as one would introduce a Scriptural reference, and there is nothing to suggest that he considered it a part of the biblical canon. His interest in the work—which resembles in genre

¹¹ Namely, the physical and scientific writings of Aristotle such as *De Generatione Animalium*, *Historia Animalium*, *De insomnis* as well as *On Philosophy* to which Donnolo seems to refer in different passages of SH. See e.g. below, English Translation, 261 n. 30. Another work of Aristotle to which Donnolo often refers in SH (see below, *ibid.*, 292 n. 48) is the *Meteorologica*, a treatise on earth sciences and natural phenomena from which he probably derived the theory of water evaporation.

¹² For further details, see below, English Translation, 330 n. 134.

¹³ See e.g. below, English Translation, 244 n. 89; 272 n. 60; 308 n. 83. This is noteworthy, given the strong historical ties between Palestine and southern Italian Jewry, although the predominance of the Babylonian Talmud in Italy was already in evidence by the 9th century, as observed by Bonfil ("Tra due mondi"). Inasmuch as it was possible to ascertain, Donnolo does not appear to quote or refer to the Palestinian Talmud.

¹⁴ "Since it is written that observing them is like seeing a flash of lightning, man is not allowed to think about them, not even for a fleeting moment ... This flash of lightning is of a type comparable to the types of lightning referred to in the Book of Wisdom. It descends from the sky on a rainy day, seeming like a cord spun out of fiery metal or a metallic cord smelted by fire." English Translation, below, 287–288. In the Greek Bible the book is called *Σοφία Σαλωμῶνος* [lit. *Wisdom of Solomon*] while in the *Vetus Latina* (the Latin translation in use until the 4th century) it is entitled simply *Sapientia*. "Book of Wisdom" seems to be a literal translation of the *Liber Sapientiae*, the title the *Book of Wisdom*

the canonical books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes¹⁵ from which Donnolo quotes extensively—probably sprang from its Neoplatonic character whereby, in perfect consonance with Donnolo's own philosophical outlook, wisdom is the medium by which human beings can gain comprehension of the divine design governing the universe.¹⁶

As observed by Sermoneta,¹⁷ what informs Donnolo's philosophical outlook is an elaborate but unsystematic form of Neoplatonism. It is focused primarily on the correspondence between micro and macrocosm, a notion which is in line with the midrashic as well as the Philonic view of the pre-existent Torah, which served as the blueprint for God's creation of the empirical world.¹⁸ The probable midrashic sources of this view are chapter 31 of version A of *Avot de-rabbi Natan* and *Aggadat 'olam ha-qaṭan*),¹⁹ but Donnolo may well have had access also to the Neoplatonic writings attributed to the 6th-century Olympiodorus,²⁰ while a considerable part of his commentary on Genesis 1:26 might have been drawn from or inspired by such Christian exegetical works as *De Creatione Hominis* and *De Opificio Hominis* attributed to Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 335/340–394), the last of the three 4th-century Cappadocian Church Fathers.²¹ As pointed out by Sermoneta,²² there are striking similarities

was given in the Latin version of the Vulgate of the 4th century. This was commonly considered the most authoritative version (see Schökel *et al.* eds., *La Bibbia*, 464–467). *Wisdom of Solomon* is also quoted in *Sefer Yosippon* whose author certainly knew no Greek and must have read it in Latin translation. The quotations and references to *Wisdom of Solomon* in Donnolo's SH and *Sefer Yosippon* suggest that this text, in spite of being non-canonical, was diffused among the Jews of southern Italy, probably due to its fame during the first centuries of the common era, long before the closure of the Hebrew canon. See Horbury, "The Christian Use and the Jewish Origins," 183, 195–196.

¹⁵ On wisdom literature and the relations between *Wisdom of Solomon*, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, see Murphy, "Hebrew Wisdom," 24–25.

¹⁶ On the Neoplatonism and the cosmology of *Wisdom of Solomon*, see Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation," 125–126 and *idem*, "La reinterpretazione," 167–170. According to Wolfson ("The Theosophy of Shabbetai Donnolo," 295 and *Through a Speculum*, 135 n. 38) it was probably from *Wisdom of Solomon* 7: 25 that Donnolo derived the notion of wisdom as a manifestation of God's power.

¹⁷ See Sermoneta, "Il neoplatonismo," 872.

¹⁸ See on this, 64 ff.

¹⁹ See below, 54.

²⁰ See below, 59 n. 11.

²¹ *De Creatione Hominis* was traditionally attributed to Gregory, but its authorship is now a matter of some controversy. One of the most plausible suggestions is that it was written by Saint Basil (329/330–377/379), Gregory's elder brother. See Basil of Caesarea, *Sur l'origine de l'homme*, Snets and Esbrock, eds., 205 n. 1.

²² Sermoneta, *Il neoplatonismo*, 912.

between Donnolo's exegesis in SH and the *De Opificio Hominis*. Both share the common assumption that the study of anatomy and observation of the human body engender an understanding of the principles by which God governs the whole of creation, and this prompts both authors to insert in their respective commentaries a long section on human anatomy which corroborates their exegesis of Genesis 1:26 in virtually identical terms.²³

It is not clear how and in what context Donnolo might have come to know the works of Gregory, one of the cornerstones of Patristic literature. As a Jew who was fully integrated in the fabric of Byzantine society, he may well have been introduced to them through his personal acquaintance and shared intellectual interests with such Christian dignitaries as Nilus, and possibly other members of his class and religious vocation. He might also have gained knowledge of the *De Creatione Hominis* and *De Opificio Hominis* during his *cursus studiorum* of medicine and astrology, when as a young man striving for knowledge, he devoted himself to the study of non-Jewish sciences.²⁴

The possibility that Donnolo's knowledge of Patristic exegesis was not limited to the works attributed to Gregory but entailed also some knowledge of other Christian theological works was suggested by Sermoneta²⁵ in relation to the notion of *teshuvah*—repentance—which Donnolo employs in order to mitigate the rigid predeterminism of the Neoplatonic scheme.²⁶ Conceived as "a cosmic and atemporal process which is reflected in the possibility of free will granted to man,"²⁷ Donnolo's concept of *teshuvah* is comparable to the idea of *reditus* ["return"], which in Christian Neoplatonism, and particularly in the *De Divisione Naturae* of the 9th-century John Scotus Eriugena²⁸—one the leading thinkers of the so-called Carolingian renaissance in Christian Europe—is said to be the process by which man and all souls return to their Creator.²⁹ Sermoneta does not claim that Donnolo necessarily had direct knowledge of Eriugena's works (for which there is no evidence in SH), but he suggests

²³ For the relevant passages, see below, 61 n. 15.

²⁴ See above, 12, 17–18.

²⁵ "Il neoplatonismo," 898.

²⁶ For *teshuvah* in Donnolo's Neoplatonism, see below, 64–66.

²⁷ Sermoneta, "Il neoplatonismo," 898 [my translation P.M.]

²⁸ See Eriugena, *De Divisione Naturae*, 743.

²⁹ For a detailed explanation of Eriugena's notion of *reditus*, see Dal Prà, *Scoto Eriugena*, 215–252 and Otten, "The Dialectic of Return," particularly 403–406.

the possibility of a shared reliance on common sources, and an independent elaboration by each one of the ideas contained in the *De Opificio Hominis*.³⁰

³⁰ See Sermoneta, "Il neoplatonismo," 912 ff. and Zonta, *La filosofia ebraica*, 43.

SHABBATAI DONNOLO AND SEFER YEŞIRAH

Defined by Gershom Scholem as “the earliest extant Hebrew text of systematic, speculative thought,” SY is a short work consisting, even in its longest version, of less than two thousand words, written in laconic and enigmatic language, and virtually devoid of biblical references.¹

For over a thousand years, SY has been the subject of an almost uninterrupted exegetical tradition which, even after the scholarly investigations of the 19th and 20th century, could not determine the true nature of the work, its place and time of composition.² According to Scholem, SY was composed in a Palestinian milieu between the 3rd and the 6th century,³ and most scholars assume that it underwent a long process of redaction and stratification until it reached the forms in which it is

¹ Most of the biblical quotation attested in the extant recensions of SY were probably not part of the original but later scribal additions. See Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira*, 34.

² See Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 24.

³ See Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 165–187. The dating of SY is one of the most vexed questions in the study of Hebrew literature. The first hypothesis was put forward by Bacher (*Anfänge*, 20–23) and Graetz (*Gnosticismus*, 102–132) who dated the work to the 8th century, during the Gaonic period in Babylonia. The general trend of later and contemporary scholarship is to antedate the composition of SY to between the 3rd and the 6th century, linking it to the redaction of the Mishnah. See Epstein, “Studien zum Jezirah-Buche,” 37, 266–269; idem, “Recherches,” 61–78; Neumark, *Toldot ha-filosofiyah*, I, 100–106; Baeck, “Zum Sepher Jezirah,” 371–376; idem, “Die Zehn Sephirot,” 448–455 and Allony, “The time of composition,” 41–50. Pines underlined the similarities between SY and the pseudo-Clementine Homilies, a sectarian Christian work written in the 3rd century. See Pines, “Points of Similarity,” 63–143. A good case against dating SY any earlier than the 6th century is offered by Fleischer, who invalidated the alleged quotation from SY in the works of the 6th-century poet Eleazar Qilir. See Fleischer, “On the Antiquity of *Sefer Yezirah*,” 405–432. Kraus, *Jābir Ibn Hayyan*, II, 266–267, on the basis of some similarities between SY and Islamic gnosis, dated the work to the 8th century. Similarly Wasserstrom, “*Sefer Yezirah*,” 1–30, in the light of analogies with early Islamic traditions, suggests that SY was composed in the 9th century. Departing from all previous hypotheses, Liebes antedates the composition of SY to the mid 1st century CE. See Liebes, *Ars Poetica*, 229–237. His hypothesis encountered widespread criticism. See Langermann, “On the Beginning,” 169–189; Shulman, “Is There an Indian Connection,” 191–199 and Wasserstrom, “Further Thoughts,” 201–221. For complete bibliographical details about the edition, the translations and the scholarly literature on SY, see Busi and Loewenthal, eds., *Mistica ebraica*, xxiv–xxxv; xliii; 658–659.

extant today.⁴ There is no plausible suggestion about the authorship of SY which, at least since the middle of the 10th century, has been pseudo-epigraphically attributed to the Patriarch Abraham.⁵

The text of SY was transmitted in three different recensions: the Sa'adiah Recension, the Long Recension and the Short Recension.⁶

The so-called Sa'adiah Recension is named after Sa'adiah ben Joseph Gaon (882–942), one of the leading authorities of Babylonian Jewry and author of the first known commentary on SY, entitled *Tafsir Kitab al-Mabadi* (*Book of Primary Principles*) and composed in Arabic around the year 930.⁷ Until recent times, the Sa'adiah Recension was thought to be the product of editorial interventions made by the Babylonian Gaon to the text of the Long Recension. As pointed out by Hayman,⁸ however, a comparative analysis of the variations found in all three recensions suggests that Sa'adiah's version had been produced long before his composition of *Kitab al-Mabadi*, by an unknown earlier editor.⁹

The earliest attestation of the Long Recension is to be found in the commentary on SY by Shabbatai Donnolo (912/13–after 982). Just as Sa'adiah was considered the editor of this recension, so the hypothesis

⁴ As observed by Wolfson, "Jewish Mysticism," 463, this process lasted at least until the first half of the 10th century, when SY was commented on by Sa'adiah Gaon, Dunash ibn Tamim, and Donnolo. For further details about the different recensions of SY and the composition of the 10th-century commentaries, see below 56–67.

⁵ Dan, "The language of Creation and Its Grammar," in idem, *Jewish Mysticism*, 143, rightly observes that there is no explicit statement in SY attributing the composition of the work to Abraham, who is simply indicated as the recipient of its secrets. On this pseudo-epigraphic attribution and the role of Abraham in SY, see Liebes, *Ars Poetica*, 73–110.

⁶ A fourth recension, the so-called Gra-Ari recension, was edited in the 18th century by Elijah, the Gaon of Vilna (known by the acronym Gra [Gaon Rabbi Eliyahu]—1720–1797) on the basis of the text of SY used in the commentary on the work by Isaac Luria (1534–1572). See Kaplan, *Sefer Yetzirah*, xxv. The text of the Gra-Ari version is in large part identical to the Long Recension and not unanimously considered to be an independent recension of SY.

⁷ The Arabic text with a Hebrew translation was published by Qafih, ed., *Sefer Yeşirah im perush rabbenu*, Jerusalem, 1972. The text was translated into French by Lambert, ed., *Commentaire sur le Sefer Yesirah*, Paris, 1891. See also Vajda, "Le commentaire de Saadia," 64–86. A preliminary critical edition of the text of SY was published by Gruenwald, "A Preliminary Critical Edition." See also idem, "Some Critical Notes." A synoptic edition of the text of the three recensions of SY was recently published by Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira*. All quotations and references in the present work to the text of SY are to that edition.

⁸ Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira*, 31.

⁹ See Hayman, *ibid.*, 28. An otherwise unattested Byzantine redaction of SY, based on the text of the Sa'adiah Recension, was recently published by Langermann, "A New Redaction," 49–64. An ancient and short Arabic commentary on SY, partly following Sa'adiah's text, was published recently by Fenton, "Ancient Commentary."

was advanced that Donnolo had similarly intervened in the text of SY and that he was the editor of the Long Recension.¹⁰ Epstein analysed the quotations from Donnolo's SH in the commentary on SY by the 11th–12th-century Spanish exegete, Yehudah ben Barzillai.¹¹ He observed that Barzillai seemed to be well aware of the differences between the various recensions of SY, and that while he gave full acknowledgment of the passages he cited from the commentaries of Sa'adiah and of Dunash ibn Tamim,¹² when dealing with the text of the Long Recension, he quoted Donnolo's work anonymously, as if he considered it to be the text of the Long Recension *tout court*.

Epstein's hypothesis can be criticised on two counts. Firstly, according to all the manuscript witnesses of SH, Donnolo's commentary omits some passages of SY (most of which concern astrological-astronomical matters).¹³ These passages, however, are well attested in the vast majority of the manuscripts of the Long Recension of SY, as well as in most of the subsequent commentaries on the Long Recension. This makes it most unlikely that Donnolo was the editor of the Long Recension or that his commentary was its source.

Secondly, Donnolo comments on the text of SY by inserting within the body of the text single words or short explanations by which he intends to clarify its meaning. In many cases these additions are woven into the text of SY so naturally that they cannot be easily distinguished from it.¹⁴ If Donnolo's commentary, as suggested by Epstein, was the

¹⁰ See Epstein, "Studien zum Jezirah-Buche," 458–462.

¹¹ Barzillai's text was published by Halberstam, ed., *Commentar zum Sepher Jezira*. Berlin, 1885. See also Dan, "The Commentary on Sefer Yezirah," 99–119.

¹² On which see below, pp. 47–55.

¹³ This is paragraph 62 in Hayman's edition. As suggested below (English Translation, 315 n. 92; 318 n. 102) these paragraphs are at odds with some of the basic principles of Ptolemaic astrology and were probably consciously omitted by Donnolo. See Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 143.

¹⁴ See, for example, SH on SY § 15, where SY states that the six last *sefirot* were created by the six different combinations of the letters *yod*, *he* and *waw*, but provides no explicit information about the process of their creation, nor on how or who had combined the letters. Donnolo makes it explicit and, anticipating what SY will say in §§ 18 and 19, adds to every passage dealing with the creation of each *sefirah* an equally long statement in which he explains that God combined the letters with one another making up the six words out of which the *sefirot* were created: "Five. He sealed the height, selected three out of the simple letters and fixed them in His great Name, and they are *yod*, *he*, *waw* [namely] *y-h-w*. He sealed with them the six edges of the world. He sealed the height, turned upwards, and sealed it with *yod*, *he*, *waw*. The Holy One—blessed be He—[then] turned these three letters round and made them His great and awesome name of *yod*, *waw*, *he*. Six. He sealed the depth, turned downwards and sealed it with *yod*, *waw*, *he*.

source of the Long Recension, this recension would have included at least some of Donnolo's numerous explanatory additions while at the same time lacking those passages of SY which are not attested in Donnolo's commentary. Moreover, the order of the paragraphs of SY as it appears in SH is not attested in any of the later commentaries on the Long Recension of SY. This is evident throughout SH but particularly in the first eight paragraphs of SY, which all the manuscripts of SH have in the following sequence: § 1, § 2, § 3, § 7, § 8, § 5, § 4, § 6.¹⁵

The earliest attestation of the Short Recension of SY is to be found in the Arabic commentary on the work by the North African polymath, Dunash ibn Tamim (ca. 890—after 955–956).¹⁶ He was a pupil of Isaac Israeli (ca. 855–955), the first Jewish Neoplatonic philosopher and a physician, to whom the commentary of Dunash had long been attributed.¹⁷ This is the shortest recension of SY.

He again turned these three letters round and made them His great and awesome Name of *he, yod, waw*. **Seven. He sealed the east, turned forward**, in front of God, **and sealed it with *he, yod, waw***. He again turned these three letters round and made them His great and awesome Name of *he, yod, waw*" (see below, Hebrew Text, 172; English Translation, 294). To distinguish Donnolo's explanations from the text of SY, the latter is reproduced in bold typeface. See below, Abbreviations and Preliminary Notes, 127.

¹⁵ The other paragraphs of SY appear in Donnolo's commentary in the following order: 10, 12, 9, 12, 16, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 36, 25 [it is not clear whether this paragraph 25 is missing from the commentary or was so radically modified by Donnolo that is no longer recognisable; see below, English Translation, 301 n. 68], 28, 29, 30, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43b, 43a, 43c, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48a–b, 49, 52, 43a–53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64. A different order of the first eight paragraphs is attested in ms. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 44.14 (F in the critical apparatus of the Hebrew text) which has § 1, § 2, § 3, § 4, § 7, § 8, § 6, § 5, as in almost all the manuscripts of the Short Recension of SY. See Hayman, *Sefer Yešira*, 46.

¹⁶ The Hebrew translation of the commentary was published for the first time by Grossberg, ed., *Sefer Yeširah ha-meyuḥas le-Avraham avinu*. London, 1902. A new edition of the Hebrew translation of the original Arabic text made in the 12th century by Moshe ben Joseph of Lucene, together with an annotated French translation by George Vajda, was published posthumously under the editorial supervision of P. Fenton, *Le Commentaire*. Leuven, 2002. Some fragments of the original Arabic text were found in the Cairo Geniza and published by Goldziher, "Mélanges judéo-arabes," 187–190. Dunash was the author of numerous works on medicine, astronomy and astrology, grammar and mathematics, probably written in Arabic and now lost. His only extant work is a treatise on the armillary sphere, a geocentric model of the universe used for astronomical and astrological calculations. See Stern, "A Treatise on the Armillary Sphere."

¹⁷ As observed by Fenton, the commentary was also attributed to Jacob ben Nissim ibn Shahin (ca. 960–1062). The attribution of the commentary to Dunash is now considered certain, as is the fact that he was strongly influenced by his teacher's Neoplatonic thought and that Israeli himself probably wrote a commentary on SY, part of which is preserved in Dunash's work. See Vajda, "Quelques notes," 110; idem, *Le Commentaire*, 32–36; idem,

The text of SY attested in Dunash's commentary apparently did not suffer any intervention and is therefore well preserved.¹⁸ It is important to note, however, that this text does not correspond completely to the Short Recension of SY used by later commentators and attested by the vast majority of SY manuscripts. There is thus no evidence that Dunash's commentary was the source of the Short Recension.¹⁹

According to Hayman,²⁰ the texts of SY which Sa'adiah, Donnolo and Dunash respectively had commented on, share, in spite of the numerous differences between them, a series of common variants which the later manuscript tradition attributed only to one or the other recension of SY. This indicates that at least until the first half of the 10th century, the text of SY maintained a fluid state and that the three recensions had not yet been fully differentiated. Hayman's observation finds further support in the present edition of SH in which numerous variants traditionally attributed to the Sa'adiah Recension or even considered to be Sa'adiah's personal additions are attested in the vast majority of SH's manuscripts.

SY appeared as a complete work, in its extant form, during the 10th century, when Sa'adiah, Donnolo and Dunash ibn Tamim composed their commentaries on it.²¹ It is still unclear why all three authors, roughly

"Nouveaux fragments arabes," 36–61. For an exhaustive study of Israeli's philosophical thought, see Altmann and Stern, *Isaac Israeli*. Oxford, 1958. On the cultural environment of the city of Qairawan and its influence on Dunash's work, see Fenton, "Un monument," 67–71.

¹⁸ See Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 29–30. This is in contrast to what has been observed in the commentaries of Sa'adiah and Donnolo, in which the text of SY was variously modified. In Sa'adiah's commentary some parts of SY are omitted, their order is changed, and some passages were probably emended. In spite of this, however, the distinction between the text of SY and the commentary is absolutely clear. In fact, in both Sa'adiah's and Dunash's commentaries, each section of SY is presented in original form and only then followed by the author's exegesis. For Sa'adiah and Dunash, who commented in Arabic on the Hebrew text of SY, this was probably inescapable. It is radically different from Donnolo's method in SH, where, as pointed out above, he inserts his comments (ranging from a few words to long sentences) into the syntax of SY.

¹⁹ As observed by Hayman (*Sefer Yeṣira*, 30), the text of SY preserved in the commentary of Dunash is, in fact, shorter than the text of the so-called Short Recension.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

²¹ According to Dan ("The Three Phases," 155–187, particularly 161–162), this implies the absence of any exegetical tradition of SY before the 10th century. The apparent lack of any certain knowledge of SY prior to the composition of these commentaries supports Wasserstrom's argument ("Sefer Yezirah," 1–30) that the work could not have been composed before the 9th century. The possibility that SY was read and interpreted as a mystical text before the 10th century is groundless. The hypothesis that the aim of Sa'adiah's commentary was to free SY from its original mythical and magical context and to establish it within the framework of philosophical speculation presupposes the

at the same time but in different cultural milieux, produced such extensive commentaries on SY.

According to Dan,²² more than any other Hebrew work available at that time, SY appeared to be a speculative work coinciding with their own rationalistic attitudes. It could have offered them the opportunity to deal with subjects which were not traditionally discussed in rabbinic literature. Dan observes that, in contrast to the various homiletic interpretations of the biblical creation narrative (e.g. *midrash Genesis Rabbah*), SY comprises a series of “statements and conclusions on observation and analysis,” whose legitimacy is not endorsed either by scrutiny of the Biblical text or by the authority of rabbinic tradition. They can, therefore, be pondered afresh and lend themselves to novel interpretations. Moreover, God’s creative activity, according to SY, is governed by a coherent system of laws which are conceived of as intrinsic to the processes of Creation themselves. This, together with SY’s combination into a unified whole of all the elements of existence, would have been attractive to the medieval scholars who strove to explain reality as a coherent scheme.

existence of an earlier exegetical tradition for which, however, there is no evidence. See Ben Shammai, “Saadia’s Goal,” 1–9, especially 3; Liebes, “Rabbi Solomon ibn Gabirol” 76–80, and Jospe, “Early Philosophical Commentaries,” 376–377.

²² See Dan, “The Three Phases,” 169–170.

THE EARLIEST COMMENTARIES ON SEFER YEŞIRAH

Sa'adiah Gaon

The first known commentary on SY was written in Arabic by Sa'adiah Gaon, probably around the year 930 under the title *Tafsir Kitab al-Mabadi* (*Book of Primary Principles*). As observed by Malter,¹ what characterises Sa'adiah's attitude to SY is his critique and rejection of what he presents as the work's notion of the Creation. As in his *Kitāb al-amānāt wa'l I'tikādāt* (*Book of Philosophic Doctrines and Religious Beliefs*), written a few years later, Sa'adiah devotes most of his commentary to demonstrating the validity of the biblical idea of *creatio ex-nihilo*, which he evaluates in the light of other cosmogonic conceptions.

In the introductory section of his commentary, Sa'adiah lists nine theories concerning the origin of the universe, starting with what he considers to be the most questionable and continuing all the way through to the most plausible.

The first is the theory which affirms that the universe had neither beginning nor end.² According to the second theory, following the views of Leucippus, Democritus and Epicurus, the world was created out of eternal, uncreated atoms. The third is the theory of the philosophers who accept the idea of a creation of all extant things but "do not extend their investigation to what was before this beginning."³ The following three theories can be seen as pre-Socratic, regarding the elements of water, air and

¹ Malter, *Saadiah Gaon*, 178.

² It is not clear to which philosophical theory Sa'adiah is referring. According to Malter, *Saadiah Gaon*, 180, 203–204, Sa'adiah probably means the pre-Islamic atheistic *dahriyya*, while according to Qafih (*Sefer Yeşirah im perush rabbenu*, 19 n. 26), the passages refer to Aristotelian doctrine. See also Jospe, "Early Philosophical Commentaries," 377–378.

³ *Sefer Yeşirah im perush rabbenu*, Qafih, ed., 24. This view is based on *mḤagigah* II, 1 which says: "Whosoever speculates upon four things, a pity for him! He is as though he had not come into the world, [to wit], what is above, what is beneath, what before, what after." Sa'adiah does not deny the legitimacy of the Mishnaic passage but criticises

fire as the origin of the world.⁴ The seventh theory is that of Pythagoras (ca. 571/70–497/96) according to whom everything originated in numbers. The eighth is the theory of SY, which according to Sa'adiah's interpretation of the term *sefirot* as mathematical units, presents the world as having emerged out of “ten cardinal numbers and twenty-two letters.” Sa'adiah does not accept this cosmogonic theory which, in his view, implies gradual creation, an idea which is incompatible with the ninth theory, the biblical notion of *creatio ex-nihilo*.

Sa'adiah's main exegetical endeavour consisted in the reinterpretation of the creative processes described in SY so as to harmonise them with the biblical assumption that everything came into existence through the will of the Creator and all at once. SY's *sefirot* (numbers) and *otiyot* (letters) do not, according to Sa'adiah, represent entities endowed with independent existence, predating the Creation of the world. Rather, they are “underlying principles of order and symmetry in all nature” which came into being at the same time as the Creation of the universe.⁵

The *sefirot* are the ten fundamental numbers which, together with the letters, define the nature of all existing things. In relation to man, the numbers are infinite and their possible combinations and permutations are endless. This is the reason why, according to Sa'adiah, SY claims that “their measure is ten but they have neither beginning nor end.”⁶ The *sefirot* are infinite in relation to everything that can be created and to the intellectual capacities of human beings, but in relation to God, who knows the beginning and the end of everything, “they have an end.”⁷

The *sefirot*, as the principles which underlie reality, are also the ten categories⁸ which define the existence of everything in the created world, except for God whose nature is beyond human comprehension: “... they

those who interpret it wrongly and prohibit investigation into the Creation. See Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, 181.

⁴ These were the theories of Thales (ca. first half of the 7th century BCE), Anaximenes of Miletus (ca. mid 6th century BCE) and Heraclitus of Ephesus (ca. 6th century BCE). For a detailed analysis of these cosmogonic theories in Sa'adiah's commentary on SY and in his *Kitāb al-amānāt wa'l I'tikādāt* (*Book of Philosophic Doctrines and Religious Beliefs*), see Ventura, *La philosophie*, 92–171, particularly 113–153.

⁵ See Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, 181–182.

⁶ See Hayman, *Sefer Yešira*, 69–70.

⁷ *Sefer Yeširaḥ im perush rabbenu*, Qaḥi, ed., 54. See also Wolfson, “The Theosophy of Shabbetai Donnolo,” 288.

⁸ These clearly correspond to the ten categories which according to Aristotle define the existence of anything. See *Sefer Yeširaḥ im perush rabbenu*, Qaḥi, ed., 46, n. 16. See also *Commentaire sur le Sefer Yeširaḥ*, Lambert, ed., 40 n. 1.

[the sages] found ten categories, no more no less, which are: substance, quantity, quality, relation, place, time, possession, position, activity and passivity. Since the sages derived these ten categories, no rational concept in the world is left over, except for the idea of [the] Creator.”⁹ Sa’adiah adds that “the ten commandments which the fathers heard in front of Mount Sinai correspond to these ten categories, so that there is no precept which is not included in them.”¹⁰

Sa’adiah’s only concession to what he considers the emanationism of SY is to postulate that God’s first created thing was an intangible and rarefied air, a sort of ether permeating all existence, which he distinguishes from natural atmospheric air by defining it as a “second air.” He identifies this “second air” with the *kavod* [“glory”] of the Torah, the *Shekhinah* [“God’s indwelling presence”] and the *ruah elohim hayyim* [“the spirit of the living God”], identical with SY’s first *sefirah*. The “second air” thus represents God’s self-manifestation and indwelling presence in the world, the image which He presented to the biblical prophets:

Scripture calls the second, fine air *kavod* ... the community [of the Jews] calls it *Shekhinah* ... and the author of this book [SY] calls it “spirit of the living God” ... It is in this fine, second, created air, which is within the world just as man’s life is within man, that Moses heard the created things that he heard in the visible air, and that the ancestors heard the commandments in the visible air. It is called “voice of the living God” [Deut. 5:23] ... this is what the sages call “holy spirit.” (my translation. P.M.).¹¹

It was out of this *ruah elohim hayyim*, the first *sefirah* and the “second air,” that God created the second *sefirah* (*ruah me-ruah*), in which He carved out the forms of the letters. God combined the letters which SY, according to Sa’adiah, understands as symbolising the elements,¹² with one another, thus bringing everything into existence.¹³ This, according to Sa’adiah, is the core of SY’s cosmogonic theory, which he rejects as failing to describe

⁹ *Sefer Yeşirah im perush rabbenu*, Qafih, ed., 46.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹¹ Hebrew text in *Sefer Yeşirah im perush rabbenu*, Qafih, ed., 108–109. For an exhaustive study on Sa’adiah’s idea of prophetic revelation, see Altmann, “Saadya’s Theory of Revelation,” 140–160.

¹² See *Sefer Yeşirah im perush rabbenu*, Qafih, ed., 30, 120.

¹³ Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, 185. Toward the end of the 3rd chapter of his commentary, Sa’adiah draws a comparison between the universe, the Tabernacle and man, which he defines as macrocosm, mesocosm and microcosm respectively. He refers to a series of eighteen similarities between them, which he had explained in a work, now lost, entitled “Commentary on the construction of the Tabernacle.” This was probably the earliest Hebrew work devoted to the notion of the relation between the micro and the

the real process of creation, offering instead a symbolic representation by which the human intellect strives to portray the process of creation *ex-nihilo*: “When we affirm that God pressed, purified, erected ... we do not mean to say that He did everything separately, one thing before the other. We want to direct our mind to imagine all this and to bring it back to the idea of creation out of nothing (my translation. P.M.)”¹⁴

Sa’adiah’s commentary on SY is based on philosophical grounds which, as we will see below,¹⁵ differ from the speculative premises on which Donnolo, a few years after him, conducts his analysis of SY. While Sa’adiah’s most important exegetical effort is to correct what he considers to be the emanationism of SY, conceiving and defining the *sefirot* and the letters as intellectual categories by which the human mind tries to grasp the meaning of *creatio ex-nihilo*—the only true theory of Creation—Donnolo does not attribute any allegorical or symbolic intent to the narrative of SY where, on the contrary, he finds the description of the actual events that took place in the sphere of eternal ideas—the metaphysics of Creation—which were the necessary ontological conditions for the manifestation of empirical reality. Between SY and the biblical book of Genesis, therefore, there seems to be in Donnolo’s mind perfect contiguity and, as we will see later in detail,¹⁶ substantial identity, each of them describing one of the two phases (the creation of ideas and eternal patterns, and out of them the creation of empirical reality) which, according to the Neoplatonic view, make up the process of Creation.

Dunash ibn Tamim

Dunash ibn Tamim composed his commentary on SY in Arabic, between the years 950–955, some ten years after the death of Sa’adiah. He probably became familiar with the text of SY long before 950, since, as a pupil of Isaac Israeli, he was introduced to the philosophical and scientific issues on which his teacher had corresponded with Sa’adiah Gaon.¹⁷

macrocosm which, as we will shortly see, became the central issue in Donnolo’s exegesis of SY. Unfortunately, this is the only instance in which Sa’adiah refers to the idea, and it is not possible to say what influence his work might have had on later authors. See *ibid.*, 186.

¹⁴ *Sefer Yeşirah im perush rabbenu*, Qafih, ed., 125.

¹⁵ See below, Donnolo’s *Sefer Hakhmoni*, 57–58.

¹⁶ See below, The Commentary on *Sefer Yeşirah*, 74–76.

¹⁷ None of these letters, which in the introductory section of his commentary on SY,

Dunash wrote his commentary with the explicit aim of correcting Sa'adiah's interpretation of SY, the study of which, he affirms, requires a fluent knowledge of philosophy, mathematical and natural sciences:

We have seen that many of our colleagues have erred in knowing (this book's) subjects ... one can only become sufficiently prepared to understand what is included in its allusions if one has become fluent in philosophy in general, so that one's knowledge incorporates the principle of its various parts, beginning with the mathematical sciences, and then the sciences of physics, and third the science of unity and the spiritual beings.¹⁸

As pointed out by Vajda,¹⁹ at the basis of Dunash's exegesis of SY lies a rational approach which, unlike Sa'adiah's commentary, does not seem to find any contradiction between the idea of creation described in SY and the biblical notion of *creatio ex-nihilo*. Dunash does not define in his commentary an original philosophical or theological system concerning the origin and creation of the universe, but simply affirms that the origin and cause of everything is God, incorporeal and transcendent,²⁰ whose Creation is the supreme good, and the manifestation of His omniscience, in which all created things are combined together in perfect harmony.

In order to explain this, Dunash embarks on a detailed analysis of the human body, which he shows to be in perfect correspondence with all the other elements of Creation, relying largely on some of the most important sources of Arabic Neoplatonic thought, such as the *Theology of Aristotle* and the *Encyclopaedia of the Brethren of Purity*.²¹

Dunash claims to have read and studied, have survived. See Vajda, "Le commentaire kairouanais [I]," 114.

¹⁸ English translation from Jospe, "Early Philosophical Commentaries," 382.

¹⁹ Vajda, "Le commentaire kairouanais [III]," 13, 23.

²⁰ Fenton, ed., in Vajda, *Le Commentaire*, 13.

²¹ The *Theology of Aristotle* was an Arabic paraphrase of Books 4–6 of Plotinus's *Enneads*, written by 'Abd al-Masih Ibn Nā'ima al-Ḥimṣī in Baghdad in the first half of the 9th century. The *Encyclopaedia of the Brethren of Purity* (*Ikhwan al-Safa'*) consisted of 52 short treatises which blend Aristotelian doctrines with Neoplatonism and Neo-Pythagoreanism. The other sources informing the Jewish Neoplatonists of the 10th century, which in various degrees also influenced Dunash's thought, were the *Liber de Causis* (or *Kalam fi mahd al-khayr*), an elaboration of the Neoplatonic Proclus's *Elements of Theology*; the pseudo-Empedoclean *Book of Five Substances*, an anonymous text which appeared for the first time in the first half of the 9th century in Pseudo-Ammonium's *Book of the Opinions of the Philosophers*, and *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* (*Aim of the Wise*, known in the Middle Ages in Latin translation under the title of *Picatrix*), composed in Spain and falsely attributed to al-Magrīṭī. All these works were adaptations of Greek texts, most of which were translated in the philosophical milieu of the 9th-century philosopher al-Kindi. For a more detailed analysis of these sources, see Pessin, "Jewish Neoplatonism,"

Dunash accepts the definition of *sefirot* as numbers as previously affirmed by Sa'adiah²² but, as observed by Wolfson,²³ he seems to hint, probably under the influence of Israeli's teachings, that knowledge of the *sefirot* is tantamount to knowledge of the divine world and the unity of ideal reality, thus moving toward a metaphysical understanding of the *sefirot* which, as we will see below in detail, comes close to the definition given by Donnolo in SH. Though apparently very similar, there is however a difference between the two interpretations. While for Dunash the *sefirot* represents part of the metaphysical world and, as observed by Wolfson, the way metaphysical reality expresses itself in the empirical world (similar to the hypostasis of many Platonic and Neoplatonic systems), Donnolo claims that the *sefirot* are parts of the Godhead, so that having knowledge of them would be tantamount to understanding, not only the truth of metaphysical reality, but the essence of the divine being.²⁴

Dunash's principal criticism of Sa'adiah concerns the meaning of *b^e limah*, which Sa'adiah had interpreted as "closed," deriving it from *b-l-m* (literally, "to stop," "to curb"). *B^e limah*, specifies Dunash, is a compound noun, made up of *b^e li* ["without"] and *mah* ["substance"], which the author of SY had coined in order to indicate the infinite possibilities of mathematical calculation.²⁵

Dunash maintains a twofold conception of the letters, which he conceives as either elements of language or symbols of material substances. The "three mothers," according to him, represent respectively fire (*aleph*), water (*mem*) and *shalom* [literally "peace"], the balancing element (it is not clear from the text if this is material or ideal, even though the latter seems the most plausible in the context) which mediates between the opposing qualities of heat (fire) and cold (water).²⁶ The result of this interaction is the creation of the other two primary elements, earth and air, out of which everything came into existence. The seven double and twelve simple letters are said to correspond, as in SY, to the different elements

91–110, particularly 92–93. For a comprehensive overview of the Islamic context of Jewish philosophy, see Kraemer, "The Islamic context."

²² See Vajda, "Le commentaire kairouanais [I]," 115.

²³ Wolfson, "The Theosophy of Shabbetai Donnolo," 288.

²⁴ For further discussion on Donnolo's theosophical understanding of the *sefirot*, see below 66–68.

²⁵ See Vajda, *Le Commentaire*, 53–54.

²⁶ See Vajda, "Le commentaire kairouanais [III]," 7–8.

of Creation, such as the seven orifices of the body, the seven days of the week, the twelve months of the year and the twelve constellations of the Zodiac.

Dunash, like Sa'adiah, sets out in his commentary a theory of prophecy, which he derived from a similar theory outlined by his teacher Israeli in his *Book on the Elements*,²⁷ and based on the analysis of three terms, *qol* ["voice"], *ruah* ["spirit"] and *dibbur* ["speech"] used in SY. *Qol* is the voice created in the air, by which God spoke to human beings. As observed by Sirat, the idea of *qol* is identical to the notion of "second air" in Sa'adiah's commentary, from which Dunash probably derived it. *Ruah* ["spirit", "wind" or "breath"] is the way in which God manifested Himself to the prophets, who perceived Him as an internal vision; *dibbur* ["speech"] is the highest level of prophecy and the utmost attainable level of knowledge which only Moses, whose intellect was united with the supernal world, could experience.²⁸

What is clearly apparent from this brief survey of Dunash's commentary is its substantial independence of and distance from the work of Donnolo. Even though there seem to be some exegetical similarities between Dunash and Donnolo—particularly the metaphysical understanding of the *sefirot*, as observed above—these are not sufficiently clear to suggest a direct relationship between SH and the commentary of Dunash who, on the contrary, displays a good knowledge of the commentary of Sa'adiah (either criticising it or sharing some of its exegetical positions). Although he follows a Neoplatonic scheme largely compatible with Donnolo's exegesis of SY, Dunash's position toward SY is somewhat ambiguous. While, on the one hand, he seems to consider the explanation in terms of micro and macrocosm in SY a true definition of the link between the ideal and the empirical worlds as well as of the mechanisms which underlie the creation of material existence, on the other hand, like Sa'adiah, Dunash defines the letters and the *sefirot* in more abstract terms as intellectual categories by which the human intellect can attempt to comprehend the phenomenon of Creation. From this it follows that for Dunash two definitions of SY are possible: an account of the creation of ideal patterns, a text which, ideally speaking, can be positioned before the biblical book of Genesis, but also, as for Sa'adiah, an allegorical representation of the process of Creation.

²⁷ See Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy*, 66–67.

²⁸ Altmann and Stern. *Isaac Israeli*, 158; Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy*, 67 and Rudavsky, "Medieval Jewish Neoplatonism," 155.

The reasons why Donnolo did not assimilate the fruits of an exegetical tradition that started long before the composition of the SHI with the commentary of Isaac Israeli and which, at the beginning of the 10th century, had developed further with the commentary of Sa'adiah, are twofold. One is linguistic in nature: since the time of Israeli, the debate on SY was conducted in Arabic, a language that Donnolo and probably most of his Byzantine fellow Jews did not know. The second can be attributed to the fact that Donnolo operated, as observed by Sermoneta,²⁹ in an intellectual milieu which was quite different from the one in which Israeli, Sa'adiah and Dunash operated. His was a Jewish environment which, as pointed out by Colorni,³⁰ was sympathetic to Greco-Roman and Hellenistic-Byzantine traditions and, until the 9th century, as shown by Bonfil,³¹ maintained strong connections with the Palestinian Jewish community, while being unaware of an important part of the Jewish cultural tradition—particularly the Babylonian Talmud—which informed the religious and intellectual life of the Jewish communities under Babylonian influence, where Sa'adiah and Dunash lived.³²

While Donnolo's attachment to this cultural milieu is self-evident if considered from a mere geographical standpoint, it can be demonstrated in more substantial terms as well. Firstly, he appears to have drawn on and elaborated sources derived from late Christian Patrology, particularly in his commentary on Genesis 1:26 which, as shown by Sermoneta, was modelled on the anthropological works of Gregory of Nyssa. Secondly, his interpretation of Neoplatonism derives not from Arabic elaborations of the classical sources, such as were available to Dunash, but from Hebrew sources, such as the *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*, composed in southern Italy or in other parts of the Jewish world under Byzantine and Palestine influence.

In allowing for the distinctive character of southern Italian Jewry in the 10th century,³³ we are better able to locate SHI within the broader

²⁹ "Il neoplatonismo," 873–874.

³⁰ See Colorni, "L'uso del greco."

³¹ Bonfil, "Tra due mondi," 147.

³² It is not my intention to claim, as was once commonplace and is becoming increasingly evident to be wrong (see de Lange, "Qui a tué les Juifs"), that Byzantine Judaism and the Jewish communities living within the borders or under the influence of Byzantium were in some way peripheral to the major developments of Judaism taking place in the regions under Babylonian influence.

³³ On this see above, Apulian Jewry, 6–11.

context of the textual exegesis of SY, particularly in relation to the near-contemporary commentaries of Sa'adiah and Dunash.

The aim of the next section of this chapter is to offer a detailed analysis of SH. I shall draw attention to the coherence of the Neoplatonic scheme which Donnolo applied to the interpretation of the text, highlight and clarify some of the most obscure passages of the work, and where necessary, offer a more detailed comparative analysis with the commentaries of Sa'adiah and Dunash.

DONNOLO'S *SEFER ḤAKHMONI*:
A NEOPLATONIC INTERPRETATION OF *SEFER YEṢIRAH*

Donnolo composed SH in 946, sixteen years after the composition of Sa'adiah's *Tafsir Kitāb al-Mabādi* and less than a decade before Dunash's commentary on SY. The criticism which Dunash levels at Sa'adiah's interpretation of SY throughout his own commentary testifies to the existence of an intense debate on SY, which directly involved Sa'adiah, Dunash and probably also Isaac Israeli. While Sermoneta's definition of SY's standing in the 10th century as "the official philosophical text of Judaism" is probably an overstatement, his suggestion that Donnolo may have received the text of SY from North Africa cannot be ruled out. The Neoplatonic ideas which, to varying degrees, inform the commentaries of Sa'adiah, Dunash, and particularly Donnolo, may well represent the lowest common denominator of an emergent exegetical tradition.¹

This notwithstanding, the philosophical and exegetical scheme underlying Donnolo's commentary on SY is primarily an elaboration of the Neoplatonic outlook which rabbinical tradition, without moulding it into a specific philosophical framework, had incorporated in its midrashic and aggadic traditions.²

In all likelihood, Donnolo did not know Arabic and could not have had direct knowledge of Sa'adiah's commentary or the writings of Israeli, which in the Arabic speaking Jewish world, had contributed to the debate on SY and its interpretations.³ Both Sa'adiah and Dunash attribute to SY's letters, *sefirot*, and the creative processes in which they are involved a symbolic meaning aimed, particularly in the case of Sa'adiah, at obliterating the apparently emanationist character of the process of creation described in the text in favour of what they took to be the biblical-

¹ Sermoneta takes this line in "Il neoplatonismo," 873 n. 9. Members of Donnolo's family were deported to North Africa ("Ifriqiya", which corresponds to modern-day Tunisia), to the Aghlabid kingdom and its capital Qairawan, after the Saracen raid on Oria in 925 (see above, 12-13).

² See Sermoneta, "Il neoplatonismo," 872.

³ Scholem's claim that "Donnolo was indisputably influenced by the commentary of Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon" (Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 33-34) is difficult to justify.

rabbinic notion of *creatio ex-nihilo*. In contrast, Donnolo inserts the events of creation as described in SY into a coherent Neoplatonic scheme in which the *sefirot* and the combinations of letters are involved in a sequence of actions in the metaphysical world which are the necessary premise for the creation of empirical reality and material existence.

The Commentary on Genesis 1:26

As pointed out by Sermoneta, there is a close relation between the commentary on SY and this section of the work, where Donnolo, by analysing Genesis 1:26, and above all by resolving the apparent paradox of man created in the image of an imageless God, defines the principles of a philosophical system where he can find “satisfactory answers to the problem of the outcome of reality from the First Cause” (my translation, P.M.).⁴ At the same time he outlines an interpretative scheme—that of the correspondence between micro and macrocosm—which he consistently applies to the entire analysis of SY.

The essential idea that Donnolo outlines in the first part of this section is man’s inability as a creature of limited understanding to have perception of God’s true countenance (*d’ mut*), “light that has neither measure nor size”.⁵ Man can perceive, albeit only dimly, God’s Glory (*kavod*), which Donnolo, using an expression subsequently employed by the 12th–13th-century German Pietists in connection with their theories of prophetic vision, compares to the “hem of a coat.”⁶ Donnolo’s fundamental problem is now to explain the relation between God—perfect and invisible—and man, a caducous creature (“a lifeless corpse [*golem*] ... a perforated vessel”)⁷ that was created in God’s image (*be-šalmenu*) and

⁴ Sermoneta, “Il neoplatonismo,” 880. Castelli (*Il commento*, 9 [Italian section]), on the contrary, does not see any reason to consider the commentary on Genesis part of the commentary on SY which in his view was originally an independent work.

⁵ Hebrew Text, 146 and [English translation], 251.

⁶ The German Pietists of the 12th–13th centuries distinguished between a “first *kavod*,” identical to God’s true image, and a *second kavod*, an independent created light by which God appeared to human beings. As pointed out by Dan (*Esoteric Theology*, 110–113) and Sermoneta (“Il neoplatonismo,” 886), it is not yet clear whether this theory derived from Donnolo’s idea of *kavod* or was an original elaboration of Sa’adia’s conception of the double air. Donnolo, it should be noted, does not conceive of the *kavod* as an independent entity but as the lowest manifestation of God’s *d’ mut*.

⁷ See English translation, 253.

likeness (*ki-d^e mutenu*). He derives his explanation from the midrash,⁸ which deduces from the use of the plural form in the biblical verse—*let us make man in our image, after our likeness*—the existence of a plurality of subjects participating in man's creation which are identified with the Holy Spirit in SY's first *sefirah*, and with the world created before the appearance of man. Man, explains Donnolo, introducing here one of the key concepts of his exegetical scheme, was created in the image and likeness of the Creation, not of God's physical countenance. This implies that all the parts and elements making up the human body (the organs, the limbs, and the four humours, black and red bile, phlegm and blood) are directly related to the elements (air, fire, water and earth) by which the empirical world was created.

Donnolo explains the meaning of the relation between micro and macrocosm devoting most of the rest of the commentary on Genesis 1:26 (almost two thirds of the entire section) to a very detailed and long analysis of the parallelism between elements of the created world (among which are included also the celestial bodies) and the parts of the human body. As observed by Sharf,⁹ this section is modelled on a formal scheme which Donnolo in all likelihood encountered in analogous sections preserved in various segments of aggadaic tradition such as *Avot de Rabbi Natan*, composed between the 7th and the 9th centuries, *Aggadat 'olam ha-qaṭan*, a short text written probably in Palestine between the 9th and the 10th century, as well as *Pesiqta Rabbati*, a midrash which was probably composed in southern Italy in the 8th century,¹⁰ but also a text (a commentary on Zosimos's *Kat'energian*) attributed to Olympiodorus the Young, a Neoplatonist of the 6th century.¹¹ The fundamental difference

⁸ Cf. Gen. Rabbah 8, 3.

⁹ Sharf, "Shabbetai Donnolo as a Byzantine," 173–175; idem, *The Universe*, 52.

¹⁰ *Pesiqta Rabbati* (ed. M. Friedmann [Vienna, 1880], 95b). For further discussion of this midrash, see above, Apulian Jewry, 8.

¹¹ Cited below is the Greek text quoted in Sermoneta and published originally by Berthelot, ed. *Collection*, 100–102: Ἐρημῆς τοῖουτον μικρὸν κόσμον ὑποτίθεται τὸν ἀνθρώπον, λέγων ὅτι ὅσα ἔχει ὁ μέγας κόσμος, ἔχει καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος. Ἐχει ὁ μέγας κόσμος ζῶα χερσαῖα καὶ ἔνυδρα· ἔχει καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος ψύλλον καὶ φθειρας, χερσαῖα καὶ ἔλμινθας, ἔνυδρα. Ἐχει ὁ μέγας κόσμος ποταμούς, πηγὰς, θάλασσας· ἔχει καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἔντερα, φλέβας, ἐξέδρας. Ἐχει ὁ μέγας κόσμος τὰ ἀέρια ζῶα· ἔχει καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος κώνωπας, μυῖας καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Ἐχει ὁ μέγας κόσμος πνεύματα ἀναιδιόδεμα, οἷον ἀνέμους, βροντὰς, ἀστραπάς· ἔχει καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος τὰς φύσας, καὶ τὰς πορδάς, καὶ τὰς ἀσθeneίας, καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Ἐχει ὁ μέγας κόσμος τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας, τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην· ἔχει καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τὸν μὲν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμὸν, ὡς τὸν ἥλιον, τὸν δὲ ἀριστερόν, ὡς τὴν σελήνην. Ἐχει ὁ μέγας κόσμος ὄρην καὶ βουνούς· ἔχει καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος ὀστέα καὶ κρέας. Ἐχει

between these sources and Donnolo's text is the nature of the principles which determine the relations between micro and macrocosm. While in the first case these are set out merely on a figurative and intuitive basis, Donnolo establishes them according to a "set of scientific" criteria which, as it seems, he derived from the rules of Hippocratic-Galenic and Ptolemaic melothesia.

By the same token, Donnolo does not limit the significance of the micro-macrocosm relationship to a simple list of physical, "mechanical" correspondences between the parts of the body and elements of the universe. Man is not only a simple microcosmic projection of the physical structure of the universe but also the creature which rules the world in the image and likeness of God's ruling over the whole of creation. Man's ability to fulfil this role depends on his moral behaviour, and more specifically, on his will to abide by God's will.¹²

ὁ μέγας κόσμος καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας· ἔχει καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰ ὄψα. Ἔχει ὁ μέγας κόσμος τὰ δώδεκα ζώδια τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἦγουν κριόν, ταῦρον, δίδυμον, καρκίνον, λέοντα, παρθένον, ζυγόν, σκορπίον, τοξότην, αἰγόκερον, ὑδροχόον, ἰχθυας· ἔχει καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος αὐτὰ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς, ἦγουν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν, οἱ τινες νομίζονται οἱ ἰχθυες. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ το φημιζόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ κοσμικὸν μίμημα ὃ καὶ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ἀρέτης μέμνηται ὁ Ζώσιμος. Τοῦτό ἐστιν καὶ ἡ γῆ τοῦ κόσμου ["Hermes conceives of man as a microcosm and says that whatever the macrocosm has man also has. The macrocosm has both terrestrial and aquatic animals; man has both terrestrial fleas and lice and aquatic worms. The macrocosm has rivers, springs and seas; man has intestines, sinews and cavities. The macrocosm has animals of the air; man has mosquitoes, flies, and so on. The macrocosm has air disturbances such as winds, thunders and lightnings; man has flatulence, wind, fainting, diseases, and so on. The macrocosm has two luminaries, the Sun and the Moon; man has two luminaries, which are his eyes: the right eye in correspondence to the Sun, the left eye in correspondence to the Moon. The macrocosm has mountains and hills; man has bones and flesh. The macrocosm has the sky and the stars; man has his head and ears. The macrocosm has the twelve animals of the sky, which are Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius and Pisces; man has them from his head down to his feet, which some say are his Pisces. This is what they call the microcosm, which Zosimos mentioned in his Book of Virtue. This is the earth of the cosmos"] (my translation. P.M.). The hypothesis of Olympiodorus's authorship of this passage is rejected by Westerink, *The Greek Commentaries*, I, 22–23. On Olympiodorus's works and the alchemical idea of correspondence between micro and macrocosm, see also von Franz, "Die alchemistische Makrokosm-mikrokosms Idee," 27–38; Conger, *Theories of Macrocosm*, 24–26. As noted by Tonelli, ed., *Zosimo di Panopoli*, 29, 155 n. 54, Zosimos, the 4th-century Greek alchemist mentioned by Olympiodorus, probably derived the notion of the correspondence between micro and macrocosm from ancient alchemic and philosophic hermetism, first attested in a passage from the *Corpus Hermeticum*, Nock and Festugière, eds., VIII, 5, 3–4, which says that man was created κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κόσμου, "after the likeness of the universe."

¹² See below, English Translation, 270. As observed by Conger, *Theories of Macrocosm*,

The source which seems to have contributed the most, not only to the writing of the comparative list but more generally to the whole structuring of this section is, as suggested by Sermoneta,¹³ the *De Opificio Hominis* by Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 335/340–394), one of the oldest texts on human anthropology which also incorporates a commentary on Genesis 1:26.

Similarities between the two works can be divided into those that are “semantic,” involving the shared interpretation of specific subjects and more generally the consonance of certain ideas, and those that are “formal,” concerning the general organisation of the material discussed in both works. Into the first category fall the analyses of Genesis 1:26 and, more specifically, the way in which the two authors, both of them emphasising the human inability to see God’s true image, understand “image” and “likeness” in terms of the body’s resemblance to the created world. Both of them also make good moral conduct a condition of man’s dominance of the created world in the image of God governing the entire universe.¹⁴ There is affinity between the two works, particularly where the two authors employ digressions on human anatomy in order to demonstrate the perfect harmony between the different parts of the human body, which in their view mirrors the programmatic plan underlying the entire Creation.¹⁵

29, the Church Fathers were familiar with the microcosmic theory but never dealt with it systematically and mentioned it primarily in order to refute it. Sharf (*The Universe*, 60) finds some parallels between Donnolo’s text and some Christian Patristic texts such as Ambrose’s (339–397) commentary on Genesis, but observes at the same time that these similarities are occasional and that it is not possible to determine precisely what relation might have existed between them and Donnolo’s text.

¹³ “Il neoplatonismo,” 912, n. 74.

¹⁴ See Migne, ed., *De Hominis Opificio*, 44.

¹⁵ See Sermoneta, “Il neoplatonismo,” 912–913. The following examples are presented in the order in which they appear in Gregory’s text: the principle of human life [τὸν νοῦν] is not confined to a single organ but resides in all parts of the body (Migne, ed., *De Hominis Opificio*, 160; and SH below, Hebrew Text, 158; English translation, 271); the eyelids were created to be shut in order to allow man to sleep; similarly, if man’s ears are dulled, he cannot hear (ibid. 165; SH below 148, 254); just as God is omniscient, so man, by means of sleeping, can know past and future events (ibid. 185; SH below 153, 260); the bones were made to sustain the body and enable man to go wherever he wishes (ibid. 244; SH below 149, 256); if the brain is injured, man immediately dies (ibid. 244; SH below 154, 263); the membrane of the head prevents the brain from becoming dry (ibid. 249; SH below 149, 256). It should be noted that Gregory rejects the simple formulation of the microcosmic theory and the idea that man is created out of the same material things that make up all other animate and inanimate creations. He conceives of man as a microcosm only so long as he “partakes of the divine order,” by means of his body, of his spirit

If, as suggested by Sermoneta, one can assume in the light of these similarities that Donnolo had direct knowledge of Gregory's work, it is equally plausible that the *De Natura Hominis*, a work traditionally attributed to Gregory of Nyssa but written by the 5th century Archbishop of Emesa, Nemesius, was the basis of Donnolo's anthropological notions. The similarity between the commentary on Genesis 1:26 by Donnolo and Nemesius's *De Natura Hominis* is not evident in any shared organisational structure such as was evident in relation to Gregory's work, but it is present in the shared notion of the correspondence between micro and macrocosm, particularly as this is manifest not so much in the parallelism of constituent elements but in the common principles by which the human body and the universe are governed. The relation between micro and macrocosm is the main subject and at the same time the most important exegetical principle of Nemesius's work. Knowledge of the principles governing the relation between micro and macrocosm is said to be achievable through the study of the human body and its anatomy, which Nemesius conducts according to the principles of Galenic medicine.¹⁶

There is no evidence in Donnolo's commentary on Genesis 1:26 of any direct textual relation to Nemesius's *De Natura Hominis*. However,

(πνεῦμα), and his intellect (νοῦς), eventually becoming a link (σύνδεσμος) between the divine realm and the empirical world. In the *De Creatione Hominis*, a theological treatise of uncertain authorship but traditionally attributed to Gregory, it is said (in complete consonance with Donnolo's exegesis) that through the study of the human body one can gain knowledge of higher realities: Μικρὸς γὰρ εἶ, ὡς νομίζεις· μέγαν δὲ ἐπερχόμενος ὁ λόγος εὐρήσει. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ σοφὸς Δαβὶδ εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς ἑαυτὸν ἔξετάσαι, “Ἐθαυμαστώθη;” φησὶν, “ἢ γνῶσις σου ἔξ ἐμοῦ;” τὴν γνῶσιν τὴν περὶ σου θαυμαστώσ ἔξεῦρον. Πῶθεν ἔξ ἐμοῦ; “Ἐθαυμαστώθη ἢ γνῶσις σου ἔξ ἐμοῦ;” καὶ τὴν τέχνην τὴν ἐν ἐμοί, ὅση σοφία κατεσκευάσθη μου τὸ σῶμα κατανοήσας, ἐκ τοῦ μικροῦ τοῦτου κατεσκευάσματος, τὸν μέγαν Δημιουργὸν ἐνόησα. [“You are small, but the following discourse [i.e. about man's body] will manifest Your majesty. For this the wise David, who was capable of examining himself in great detail, says: *Wonderful is the knowledge that I can get from me* [Ps. 138:6]. And surprisingly, I found out the knowledge that I have of You. Why [is it said] *that I can get from me?* *Wonderful is the knowledge that I can get from me:* by learning the technique which is in me and with which science my body was made up, from that small organism I gained knowledge of the great Maker” (my translation. P.M.). Greek text in Migne, ed., “Faciamus Hominem,” cols. 257c–260. In a number of passages, *De Creatione Hominis* seems to depart from Gregory's interpretation and come closer to the exegesis of Genesis by Saint Basil, Gregory of Nyssa's elder brother, to whom the work is also attributed. See Basil of Cesarea, *Sur l'origine de l'homme*, Snets and Esbrock, eds., 205 n. 1. According to Sermoneta (“Il neoplatonismo,” 913, 929), one cannot rule out the possibility that for the composition of the commentary on Genesis 1:26, Donnolo may have made use of Gregory's commentary or some other, similar Christian sources.

¹⁶ See Siclari, *L'antropologia*, 18.

the shared reliance on the notion of correspondence between micro and macrocosm and above all, the important role that both Nemesius and Donnolo attribute to medical investigation as capable of providing proof of this relation, together with the fact that *De Natura Hominis* was by tradition attributed to Gregory (an attribution that was current in the 10th century)¹⁷ to whose works Donnolo probably had access, suggest the possibility that there was a certain relationship between the two works, and that Nemesius's work may have contributed, perhaps only indirectly, to Donnolo's anthropological thought.

What is important to underline here is the possibility that the intellectual background of SH consisted, alongside the rabbinical sources, of an important segment of the Christian exegetical tradition. This helps to explain the distance between SH and the exegetical tradition on SY evident in Sa'adiah's and Dunash's commentaries, and the principles underlying Donnolo's notion of the correspondence between micro and macrocosm as the basis of his analysis of Genesis 1:26 and SY.

Although the creative power given to man as a creature made in the image of God is incomparably limited in relation to that of the Creator, God distinguished man from all other creatures by endowing him with "knowledge, understanding and intellect" with which he can activate, albeit to an infinitesimally small degree, the creative process by which God gave form to His world.

Anticipating what he will explain in detail in the section on SY, Donnolo explains how man can have practical understanding of natural phenomena by which "air [comes] from air, water from air and fire from water":¹⁸ the sun's rays passing through a glass vessel filled with water can inflame a dry substance (fire from water) and through boiling water in a kettle for a long time it is possible to obtain a solid substance (earth from water).

¹⁷ See Welfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius*, 216–217. As observed by Siclari, *L'antropologia*, 22, the 9th-century monk Meletius of Phrygia composed a compendium of *excerpta* of doctrines on man and human anthropology, ranging from Hippocrates to Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, which was often cited in medical literature and which probably enjoyed some success in Byzantium, so as to become a sort of standard medical text. See Temkin, "Byzantine Medicine," 110 and Renehan, "Meletius," 159. The text is edited by Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca*, 1–157 and Migne, ed., *Patrologia Graeca*, 64, 1075–1310.

¹⁸ See below 329. In SY this refers to the creation of the second, third and fourth *sefirot* out of the first one, the "holy spirit."

The Introduction to the Commentary on Sefer Yeşirah

In the opening part of this section Donnolo gathers a series of verses selected from the book of Proverbs, all of which hint at the existence of Torah prior to the Creation of the world. Drawing from the midrash¹⁹ but, as observed by Sermoneta,²⁰ also perfectly in line with the Neoplatonism of Philo who identifies the world of eternal ideas with Wisdom,²¹ Donnolo affirms that two thousand years before the Creation, God, by gazing at and combining the letters of the Torah, arranged all the elements of the future Creation in front of Him, so that everything that was to take place in the empirical world would thus be a manifestation of what God had outlined.

Probably conscious that such a predeterministic explanation would deny man's free will and the value of religious choice, Donnolo states, again elaborating on the midrash,²² that together with all other elements of the preordained scheme of Creation, "God ... set out and established repentance [*teshuvah*] since before the Creation of the world."²³ Donnolo, however, goes beyond the notion of repentance preserved in

¹⁹ See Gen. Rabbah 8:2, but also Lev. Rabbah 19:1; Song Rabbah 5:10; Midrash Tehillim, 90:17–18.

²⁰ "Il neoplatonismo," 890–891 n. 40.

²¹ See Wolfson, *Philo*, 253–261 and Radice, *Platonismo e Creazionismo*, 202–209. As observed by Wolfson, *ibid.*, 256, Philo bases this conception of Wisdom on scriptural passages such as Prov. 8: 22–25, which also Donnolo bears in support of this idea, and the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon* that Donnolo explicitly refers to in the commentary on SY. See below, English Translation, 342, n. 200.

²² Gen. Rabbah 1:4: "Six things preceded the creation of the world ... the Torah and the Throne of Glory ... R. Ahabah b. R. Ze'ira said: Repentance too, as it is written: *Before the mountains were brought forth, [before you had formed the earth and the world, from everlasting to everlasting, you are God. You turn man back to dust; and say, Turn back, O children of men!]* (Ps. 90:2–3)"; *Pirkê de-rabbi Eli'ezer* (chapter III), says similarly: "Before the world was created, the Holy One, blessed be He, with His name alone existed, and the thought arose in Him to create the world. He began to trace (the foundation of) the world before Himself, but it would not stand ... Likewise the Holy One, blessed be He, was tracing (the plans of) the world before Himself, but it did not remain standing until He created repentance." English translation in *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer*, Friedlander, ed., 10. See also Urbach, ed., "Seride Tanhuma," 9: "Rabbi Shim'on ben Laqish said: 'Seven things came up to His mind before He created the world. These are the Torah, repentance, the fathers of the world and Israel, the throne of glory, the Temple and the name of the Messiah ... whence is it proven? *Before the mountains came into being* [Ps. 90:2] etc., and then [the verse] says: *You return man to dust*'" [Ps. *ibid.*, 3] (my translation. P.M.). On the idea of the pre-existence of repentance in Rabbinic literature, see Urbach, *The Sages*, 462–471, 685.

²³ See below, 165 [Hebrew text], 284 [English translation].

the midrash—a moral act where human beings exert their free will—considering it also an action which can have direct repercussions on the natural universe, for example, by making the constellations retrocede.²⁴ Since the divine plan finds perfect expression in the eternal and immutable movement of the stars and constellations, Donnolo assigns repentance to the Moon, the planet which has a twofold nature:²⁵

Since in the first hour of the eve of Friday, the earth brought forth every kind of living being ... and since in the same hour it occurred to God to create man, who knows [how to distinguish between] good and evil, the moon was appointed over good and evil as well as over beauty and ugliness, and its importance to all creatures is that it sets them up for better or for worse. For this reason, the moon was appointed to govern the first hour of the eve of Friday. From this you learn that the creatures were granted permission to act either malignly or benignly.²⁶

What lies behind the development of the idea of *teshuvah* seems to be, as observed by Sermoneta,²⁷ the notion of *reditus* (literally, “return”), which Christian Neoplatonism, especially John Scotus Eriugena (ca. 810–after 877) in his *Divisione Naturae*, had conceived of as a universal event, “the means whereby the whole of Creation ... will be transformed into God.”²⁸ Donnolo elaborates and “expands” the traditional Jewish meaning of *teshuvah* but, it is important to note, does extend its definition to embrace the whole of the idea of Eriugena’s *reditus*. This, an eschatological event which takes all reality back to its source, is not an expression of human choice and man’s free will but an expression of the ineluctable laws governing the universe. Therefore, while there indeed seem to be some points of contact between the *teshuvah* and *reditus*—especially in relation to the idea of the return of creation to a previous state—Donnolo’s *teshuvah* is, either in relation to the traditional idea of *teshuvah* or to the Christian *reditus*, an original formulation of the idea of return, which harmonises the law of necessity and man’s free will.

²⁴ Donnolo does not speak of planets which, to an observer on earth, indeed seem to stop and move back, but of *mazal*, a Hebrew term by which Donnolo indicates either the fixed groups of stars, better known as constellations, or sections of the zodiacal belt, whose retrogression could certainly be considered an extraordinary event.

²⁵ Namely, as either new or full moon. See e.g. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 207, 231.

²⁶ See below, 193 [Hebrew text], 331 [English translation], and Sermoneta, “Il neoplatonismo,” 897.

²⁷ “Il neoplatonismo,” 896–898.

²⁸ See Carabine, *Scottus Eriugena*, 93; Gregory, “L’escatologia,” 497–535; Otten, “The Dialectic of Return” and idem, *The Anthropology*, 190–219.

Once the ideal world had been established and man granted the ability to practice free will, God “immediately embarked on the creation of the [material] world with His great might.” As observed by Sermoneta,²⁹ throughout the text Donnolo consistently uses the expression “great might” (*koḥo ha-gadol*)—probably a calque from the original Greek δύναμις μεγάλη in connection with the creation of the empirical world and the creation of man. It is, as Sermoneta suggests, “a hypostasis, an intermediate entity which allows the realisation of the creation; it acts as intermediary between the ideal and this world”³⁰ [my translation. P.M.]. Wolfson,³¹ following Sermoneta (whom, however, he does not mention) observes that the same expression occurs with the same meaning in many other Hebrew and Greek sources such as the Jewish apocryphal *Vita Adae et Evae* § 21, *Wisdom of Solomon*, and *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Shim'on bar Yoḥai*.³²

The Commentary on Sefer Yeṣirah

In the first part of the commentary Donnolo discusses at length the problem of the *sefirot*, which he defines simply as something that lies beyond human understanding and of which there can be no positive knowledge. The *sefirot* represent “the depth of the beginning which preceded the Creation of the world, or the depth of the end, which will follow the final end of the world.”³³ They are things about which “no man can speak [about them], or satiate his eyes with seeing and fill his ears with hearing them”³⁴ since “their beginning is God and their end is God.”³⁵ The *sefirot* are “fixed in His great might,” *koḥo ha-gadol*, by means of which, as Donnolo indicated in the conclusion of the previous section, God had concretised the forms of the ideal world. Knowledge of the *sefirot*, which are said to be part of God, would therefore amount to knowledge of God’s mind: “The fact that it is written that they have no end

²⁹ “Il neoplatonismo,” 900.

³⁰ Sermoneta, *ibid.*, 901.

³¹ “The Theosophy of Shabbetai Donnolo,” 294.

³² Donnolo seems to refer to the latter two more than once in SH. See e.g. below, English Translation, 243 n. 89; 287 n. 31. There is no evidence for his familiarity with the *Vita*, which he never mentions explicitly.

³³ See below, 167 [Hebrew text], 286 [English translation].

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 168 [Hebrew text], 286 [English translation].

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 169 [Hebrew text], 289 [English translation].

teaches you that there is no sage in the world who can know, understand and delve into the mind of God ...”³⁶

Just as Donnolo discusses at length God's unknowability and the invisibility of His image in the commentary on Genesis 1:26,³⁷ so he stresses in this section the unknowability of the *sefirot* and their ungraspable images. This represents a major departure from Sa'adiah's and Dunash's numerical understanding of the *sefirot*, and constitutes the first manifestation of their theosophical understanding, which will later become an exegetical cornerstone of the Kabbalah.³⁸

What is probably more important to underline, however, is not only the distance between Donnolo's exegetical position and those of Sa'adiah and Dunash, but also the discrepancy between the general rationalistic character of Donnolo's interpretative scheme and his theosophical position with regard to the *sefirot*. It seems that Donnolo is not able to apply to

³⁶ Ibid., 167 [Hebrew text], 286 [English translation].

³⁷ See above 58–59.

³⁸ See Wolfson, “The Theosophy of Shabbetai Donnolo,” 294–300 and idem, *Through a Speculum*, 127–144, particularly 141–143. This was first suggested by Neumark, *Toldot ha filosofiyah*, I, 121, 188, 190, who pointed out the differences between the philosophically oriented interpretations of Sa'adiah and Dunash and that of Donnolo who recognised exegetical elements oriented toward the Kabbalah. There are no grounds for Tirosh-Samuelson's claim (“Philosophy and Kabbalah,” 225) that Donnolo, as well as all other commentators on SY before the age of Maimonides, conceived of the *sefirot* of SY as numbers. Neither is Wolfson's claim convincing, whereby God's “great might”—the beginning and the end of the *sefirot*—is identical to His *demut*, God's true image. Donnolo consistently refers to God's great might, as already observed by Sermoneta (“Il neoplatonismo,” 901), only in relation to the empirical creation and not in relation to the *demut*. Joseph Dan raised objections to Wolfson's interpretation, remarking that Donnolo's understanding of the *sefirot* is much closer to the true meaning of SY: “A recent attempt by E. Wolfson to discover a Kabbalistic concept of *Sefirot* ... is completely unconvincing. Donnolo was the only Hebrew-language commentator on this work at that time and his exegesis is therefore much closer to the Hebrew text. This is what explains the differences between him and the Arabic commentators.” See Dan, *The Unique Cherub*, 38 n. 11 and 40 n. 19. Dan reiterates his criticism in “La cultura ebraica,” 345 n. 12 (the articles were published in English translation in Dan, *Jewish Mysticism—The Middle Ages*, 333–355). Even though some aspects of Wolfson's interpretation are not entirely convincing (particularly the identification of God's great might with His *demut*), most of his analysis seems to rely on a careful reading of the text and a plausible interpretation of Donnolo's exegesis. To what degree Donnolo's or Sa'adiah's commentaries are closer to or further from the original meaning of SY is, in the light of extant documentation, impossible to determine. At any rate, even if we assume that no theosophical understanding of the *sefirot* is evident in Donnolo's work, Wolfson's interpretation offers a key to the interpretation of Donnolo's SH by the 12th–13th-century German Pietists and the later Kabbalistic tradition. On the role of Donnolo's work in 12th–13th-century esoteric and Kabbalistic literature, see Epstein, *Mi-kadmoniyot*, 206–211, 214–216 and Vajda, “Quelques traces de Sabbatai Donnolo,” 92–94.

the *sefirot* the same rationalistic principles that inform his interpretation of SY as a whole.³⁹ This, as suggested by Wolfson,⁴⁰ may well have been due to the influence of Jewish mystical and esoteric traditions—especially the study of the *Hekhalot* and the *Merkavah* literature—well attested in 10th-century southern Italy. The problem with this suggestion, however, is that there is no evidence of any mystical interpretation of the *sefirot* that might have been available to Donnolo in his southern Italian milieu, where the esoteric tradition appears to have been confined to the study and transmission of the esoteric traditions concerning the *Hekhalot* and the *Merkavah* literature alone, a body of writings which is represented only feebly in SH,⁴¹ and where the *sefirot*, a neologism of the author of SY, are not mentioned at all.⁴²

The process by which, two thousand years before the creation of the world, God had envisaged the forms of the ideal world, was the combination of the twenty-two letters of the alphabet which make up the Torah. According to SY, the origin of the physical elements was the three “mothers” (*aleph*, *mem* and *shin*) which generated the three “fathers,” the primary elements of air, water and fire, out of which everything came into existence. The totality of creation on earth was derived from the interaction of the three primary elements, but what led to the differentiation of individual items of Creation was a process of permutation by which every single letter of the alphabet was combined with another and endowed with a “crown,” which put it in charge of specific functions in the empirical world:

³⁹ Wolfson, “The Theosophy of Shabbetai Donnolo,” 301.

⁴⁰ Wolfson, *ibid.*, 282–286.

⁴¹ See below, English Translation, 241 n. 84.

⁴² See Dan, “Three Types,” 59 and *idem*, “Three Phases,” 160. On possible linguistic similarities between SY and the *Hekhalot* texts, see Hayman, “*Sefer Yesira* and the *Hekhalot* Literature.” I do not wish to deny the possibility that the mystical tradition developed in southern Italy may in some way have contributed to Donnolo’s theosophical understanding of the *sefirot*. This would be the case if, for example, the southern Italian Jewish milieu had developed an exegetical tradition on SY before the composition of SH, for which, however, there is no evidence. The role that the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies—a 2nd century Judeo-Christian text, in which Pines (“Points of Similarity,” 83–114) has observed some important similarities to SY—has not been fully evaluated in this context. It may have played a part in fostering a theosophical interpretation of the *sefirot*. The author of the Homilies mentions six “extensions” which, in consonance with SY’s idea of the *sefirot* as dimensions of physical space (see Hayman, *Sefer Yesira*, 89–91), are said to be coming forth from and returning to the divine realm of which they are a part. It is difficult to identify a relationship not only between the Homilies and Donnolo’s text, but also with the southern Italian milieu, either Christian or Jewish, for which a broader and more detailed assessment of the sources is needed.

He made the *aleph* king over the air [*ruah*], bound to it a crown, engraved it at the beginning of the word, which is speech, combined the letters with one another, and turned them into two words. He named the first *aleph, mem, shin* and the second *aleph, shin, mem*. He then formed breath [*ruah*] out of His spirit [*ruho*], and with it He formed the atmosphere in the universe, moisture in the year, and the torso in mankind, each one of them male and female, the male with *aleph, mem, shin*, the female with *aleph, shin, mem* ...⁴³

In the commentary on Genesis 1:26 he had already defined a series of such relationships, for example, between the parts of the human body (microcosm) and the universe (macrocosm), which perfectly matched the principles of traditional Ptolemaic astrology and Hippocratic medicine but not the series of micro-macrocosm correspondences of SY. These involved, for instance, the order and relation of the planets to the hours of the day, the relationships between the months of the year and the signs of the Zodiac.⁴⁴

Donnolo does not intervene in the text of SY, which he reproduces with only a few minor additions. Instead he offers right next to it a completely reformulated version of the subject. In §44 of SY, for example,⁴⁵ the correspondences between the planets and the days of the week do not follow the scheme of traditional astrology, where the sun corresponds to Sunday, the Moon to Monday, and so on. Donnolo reproduces it in full, but proceeds immediately to correct it:

With *bet* were formed Saturn, the Sabbath, the mouth, as well as life and death. With *gimel* were created Jupiter, Sunday, the right eye, as well as peace and war ... Even though Saturn, the Sabbath, the mouth, as well as life and death were formed with the letter *bet*, Saturn does not govern life or the mouth but only the Sabbath ... Even though Jupiter, Sunday, the right eye, well-being and calamity were created with the letter *gimel*, Jupiter governs only Thursday ...⁴⁶

Donnolo encounters similar problems in another long passage of SY (§ 54),⁴⁷ which defines the relationship between the zodiacal signs and the months as follows: “With *he* were formed Aries, Nisan, the liver, sight and blindness ...”⁴⁸ thus linking the month of Nisan (corresponding to March–April of the Julian and Gregorian calendars) to the constellation

⁴³ See below, 177 [Hebrew text], 302 [English translation].

⁴⁴ See below, 187 [Hebrew Text], 318 n. 102 [English Translation].

⁴⁵ See Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira*, 141–146.

⁴⁶ Below, 185–186 [Hebrew text], 316–317 [English translation].

⁴⁷ See Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira*, 163–167.

⁴⁸ Below, 198 [Hebrew text], 338 [English translation].

of Aries, and similarly for all the other months and zodiacal signs. What SY describes is not completely erroneous in terms of Greco-Roman and Ptolemaic astrology but certainly not sufficiently accurate, lacking the necessary information with which to define precisely the beginning and the end of the period governed by each sign. Nisan, for instance, is correctly linked to the sign of Aries but without specifying that the relationship begins only from the time of the vernal equinox (roughly corresponding to the second third of March)⁴⁹ and lasts for thirty days. Donnolo reformulates the entire section to bring it in line with the principles of Ptolemaic astrology: “Even though with *he* [the constellation of] Aries and [the month of] Nisan were formed, [the constellation of] Aries does not govern all the days of the month of Nisan but only from the vernal equinox for thirty days and ten-and-a half hours.”⁵⁰

By the same token, Donnolo redefines all the relationships between the organs and their function in the human body which, as outlined in the SY, did not correspond to the Hippocratic-Galenic medical tradition. The liver, for example, which Hippocrates identified as the source of blood, appointed to enable man to see and hear, appears in SY in connection only to sight and blindness, while hearing is attributed to the bile, without any further specification.⁵¹ Donnolo reformulates the entire set of relationships, allotting to each part of the body the function that is normally ascribed to it in Hippocratic-Galenic physiology: “Even though the liver, sight and blindness were formed with *he*, the liver governs sight, hearing, and mercy, since blood is generated by the liver.”⁵²

With this section Donnolo concludes his analysis of the processes which in SY were said to have originated in the triad *aleph*, *mem* and *shin*, the three “mothers” from which the three primordial elements—air, water and fire, sources of everything in empirical world—were derived. SY refers at this point to another triad, parallel to that of the three mothers, made up of the Dragon (*tli*),⁵³ the sphere and the heart, and representing three dimensions—the world, the year and the human body—in

⁴⁹ See e.g. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 67 and Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 534–535.

⁵⁰ Below, 199 [Hebrew text], 339 [English translation].

⁵¹ See below, English Translation, 338 ff.

⁵² Below, 200 [Hebrew text], 341 [English translation].

⁵³ The noun *tli* derives probably from the Assyrian *antaluu* and Syriac *atalu*, meaning “eclipse.” Ancient Syriac and Babylonian astrological traditions, in the absence of knowledge of the real astronomical reason for the phenomenon of both lunar and solar eclipse, assumed that a Dragon had swallowed and then vomited each of the luminaries in turn. See Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 291, 476.

which, by the combination of the three letters, empirical reality had found expression.

While in order to understand the last two elements of this triad—the sphere and the heart—and above all the dominant role they are given in SY, (“**The sphere in the year is like a king in his kingdom. The heart in the body is like a king at war**”)⁵⁴ Donnolo does not need to depart from the principles of Hippocratic-Galenic medicine and Ptolemaic astrology,⁵⁵ in order to explain the nature of the Dragon and the role it is given by SY (“**The Dragon in the world is like a King upon his throne**”),⁵⁶ he embarks on a long and complex analysis. This amounts to what is undoubtedly one of the most original and interesting elements of his astrological scheme—not completely compatible with the Ptolemaic system, and probably derived, as we will shortly see, from a Byzantine cosmological tradition, transmitting a certain trace of Gnostic influence.

In the introductory section of SH as well as in *Sefer ha-mazzalot* Donnolo ascribes to the term *tli* two distinct meanings. Firstly, it is the imaginary line connecting the two points known as “lunar nodes,” along which the orbit of the Moon intersects the terrestrial ecliptic. This is the meaning of *tli* in the calendrical table which Donnolo inserted in the introductory section of SH.⁵⁷ Secondly, in *Sefer ha-mazzalot* Donnolo employs the term *tli* as a synonym of *axis mundi*, the central bar around which, according to the Ptolemaic tradition, the earth and all other celestial bodies rotate.⁵⁸ As observed by Sharf,⁵⁹ in both definitions the *tli* appears as an “inert” astrological and astronomical concept which certainly cannot properly express the power with which SY endows it when it states that all the letters are “adhering to the Dragon.”⁶⁰

The Dragon, explains Donnolo, was created out of water and fire,⁶¹ in the image of a reptile set in the fourth firmament, the abode of the Sun, to which are attached all the celestial bodies and the constellations. It can obscure the light of all the stars and conduct their movements around the earth. Its power, however, and particularly the movement which it

⁵⁴ Commentary on *Sefer Yeşirah*, 205–206 [Hebrew text], 354 [English translation].

⁵⁵ See Sharf, *The Universe*, 33.

⁵⁶ Commentary on *Sefer Yeşirah*, 205–206 [Hebrew text], 354 [English translation].

⁵⁷ This is the meaning ascribed to the *tli* also in the *Barayta de-mazzalot*. See above 24–26.

⁵⁸ See Sharf, *The Universe*, 36.

⁵⁹ Sharf, *ibid*, *ibid*.

⁶⁰ See Hayman, *Sefer Yesira*, § 59.

⁶¹ This, see below, 201 [Hebrew text], 343 [English Translation].

transmits to the celestial bodies, derives from the sphere upon which God stretched the Dragon:

The [celestial] sphere turns the planets, the constellations and the luminaries. This sphere is set within the depth of the firmament, and the constellations are permanently attached to it, never straying from their fixed position. This sphere surrounds the firmament to the south, the north, the east and the west, and the Dragon stretches within it from end to end, like a cross-beam ... stretched out in the middle of the sphere, from the central mid eastern point to the central mid western point.⁶²

As suggested by Sharf,⁶³ this definition of the Dragon does not correspond to any traditional astrological or astronomical concept but seems to be the reformulation of an old Gnostic theme, surviving in 10th-century Byzantium.⁶⁴ According to this, the Demiurge had created a powerful Dragon, which was set to rule over the material world and the celestial bodies, and could obscure the celestial sphere as it moved through it.⁶⁵

Donnolo's discussion of the Dragon presents another difficulty. While speaking of the Dragon and its position in the sphere, he claims that the Wain (that is, the constellation of Ursa Major or the Great Bear) is close to the Dragon, that its extremities are attached to the Dragon's ring, and that it turns both the Dragon and the sphere in which all the constellations are set.⁶⁶

To the Wain, then, are ascribed the powers which Donnolo had previously attributed to the Dragon, and there seem to be many similarities between the two. This, explains Sharf, was probably due to an old astrological tradition, first attested in the *Phaenomena* (*Visible Signs*) of Aratus of Soli (3rd century BCE), according to which Arcturus—the brightest star of the Wain—was termed “the head and the tail.” This is the same as the name of the lunar Dragon with which it was commonly confused.⁶⁷ The astrological concept ensuing from this misunderstanding would eventually result in a composite notion of the Dragon, which

⁶² See below, 202 [Hebrew text], 348 [English Translation].

⁶³ Sharf, *The Universe*, 47–49.

⁶⁴ Sharf, *ibid.*, 48 citing Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, 174–179, 181.

⁶⁵ The notion of Dragon appears in many Gnostic traditions, but particularly in the so-called Ophite doctrine based on the worship of a serpent, considered to be the source of knowledge and the deity governing the universe. See Mastrocinque, *From Jewish Magic*, 32–38.

⁶⁶ See below, English Translation, 348–349.

⁶⁷ Sharf, *The Universe*, 49–50. In the 4th book of his *Philosophumena*, Hippolytus of Rome (ca. 170–236) claimed that the heresiarchs drew inspiration from the works of Aratus. What Hippolytus attributes to Aratus is the heretical belief that “there [in the

was thought to be in the northern hemisphere and able to obscure the luminaries.⁶⁸

What Sharf does not explain, however, is why Donnolo, if he really considers the Wain and the Dragon to be one and the same, nevertheless makes a distinction between them by using two different names. One possible explanation comes from a passage in *Sefer ha-mazzalot*, in which Donnolo discusses the nature of Orion, a constellation of the northern hemisphere, and the Pleiades, a group of stars included in the constellation of Taurus. Orion, says Donnolo as he reports the opinions of the “sages of Babylonia and India,” is the same as the Wain and the Great Bear which moves behind the Pleiades.⁶⁹ Donnolo explains why the Wain, the Great Bear and Orion, even though they bear different names, are in reality the same constellation: the Wain consists of seven stars, two of them called Orion and five called *the cords of Orion*, as in Job 38:31: *Can you bind the chains of the Pleiades (kimah), or loose the cords of Orion (ksil)*. The Pleiades, explains Donnolo, has seven stars called *the chains of the Pleiades*.⁷⁰

In order to explain why the Wain follows the Pleiades, Donnolo refers to an astrological tradition preserved in the Talmud,⁷¹ according to which when God decided to flood the world, He removed two stars from the Pleiades (*kimah*) by which He opened the gates of the sky. By the same token, when He decided to stop the flood, He removed two stars from the constellation of the Great Bear (*‘ash*) with which He replaced the two

sky; my addition, P.M.] towards the Bears, it [the Dragon] turns on itself, like the current of a river, an enormous and prodigious monster, the Serpent; and this is what the devil says to God in the Book of Job: “I have crossed the earth under the sky and have travelled around it.” Quoted from Mastrocinque, *From Jewish Magic*, 160. See also Michelini Tocci, “Dottrine ‘ermetiche,” 287. This serpent, according to Mastrocinque (*ibid.*, 160–161) was identified by Aratus with the constellation of the Dragon fixed at the North celestial pole and thought to exert its power over all other celestial bodies. This is exactly what Donnolo describes in the present passage. There are no other significant similarities between SH and the *Phaenomena* but, at far as the notion of the Dragon is concerned, it is not impossible that Donnolo’s work was dependent, either directly or indirectly, on that of Aratus.

⁶⁸ Sharf, *The Universe*, 47–48, observes that a very similar notion of the Dragon was preserved in the cosmological Gnostic tradition, still surviving in 10th-century Byzantium, which conceived of the Dragon as the first creature of the Demiurge, whose head and tail corresponded to the two lunar nodes, and which the demiurge used to control and dominate—as also SY seems to suggest—the realm of matter.

⁶⁹ See Luzzatto “Mikhtav gimel,” 65.

⁷⁰ Luzzatto, *ibid.*, *ibid.*

⁷¹ See *bBerakhot* 58b–59a but also *bRosh ha-Shanah* 11b.

stars previously taken from the Pleiades.⁷² This passage, says Donnolo, explains why the Great Bear, looking for its lost sons, chases the Pleiades, but also, and most importantly, why the constellations move. Donnolo refers again to the verse in Job 38:31, explaining that the *ma'adannot* ["chains"] and *moshekhhot* ["cords"] mentioned in the verse refer to the twelve constellations (in Hebrew *mazzalot*) which Job mentions using a slightly different spelling in the following verse: *Can you bring forth the Mazzaroth in their season?* (ibid. 38:32).⁷³ This, argues Donnolo, shows that the Great Bear (that is, the Wain) is responsible for the movement of the constellations. All this, he adds, conforms with the hierarchical principle according to which "the constellations are like captains, the Dragon (*tli*) is like a king and the Wain is like the driver, and all are within the Spirit [of God]."⁷⁴

This might explain, firstly, why in his commentary on SY, Donnolo refers to the Wain, even though the Wain is not mentioned in SY, and secondly, why its role is apparently identical to that of the Dragon. As king, the Dragon has dominion over all the constellations and the celestial bodies, but its real power is exercised by the Wain, which acts in the universe on its behalf.⁷⁵

As observed by Castelli,⁷⁶ the analysis of § 55 of SY and the discussion of the Dragon is the last exegetically relevant part of Donnolo's commentary, while on the remaining chapters of SY (§§ 56–63), which offer no more than a plain restatement of some of its previous subject matter, he confines himself to glossing, with no particularly original commentary.

From what we have seen so far, Donnolo adopts a very critical attitude towards SY. He does not fail to identify and emend a series of statements which clash with some of the fundamental principles of his scientific background (e.g. the relations between the zodiacal signs and the months, between the planets and the days), although he does not dismiss the text and its authoritativeness. What, then, did SY represent for

⁷² Donnolo slightly modifies the original version of the Talmudic account where God is said to have first removed two stars from the Pleiades in order to bring the flood upon the world, and then to have taken two stars from the Bear in order to stop it. The aim of the Talmudic sages was to explain with this story why the Bear is referred to alternatively as *'ayish* [עַיִשׁ] (Job 9:9) and *'ash* [עֵשׂ] (Job 38:32), without the *yod* and the *hiriq*.

⁷³ See Luzzatto, "Mikhtav gimel," 65.

⁷⁴ והמזלות כסרנים ותלי כמלך ועגלה כמנהיג וכולם ברוח. Hebrew text in Luzzatto, *ibid.*, 64.

⁷⁵ This is perfectly compatible with the anatomical principle according to which "the heart thinks and counsels, together with the kidneys to guide the body, for better or for worse." See below, 206 [Hebrew Text], 355 [English Translation].

⁷⁶ *Il commento*, 68–69 [Italian section].

Donnolo? A philosophical, a scientific or an inspired text and a segment of the holy canon of Revelation? Donnolo, it is important to note, does not express himself explicitly on this point but, unlike Sa'adiah and Dunash, he never rejects the idea that SY was transmitted by God to Abraham.⁷⁷ Where, how and in what circumstances did he imagine this transmission to have taken place? According to SY,⁷⁸ it happened when God made a covenant with Abraham, that is to say, following the biblical verse quoted in SY (Gen. 15:6), at some indeterminate point after he left Egypt and came into the land of Canaan. Donnolo does not attempt to narrow this down any further, but what he says is significant, particularly as a means of understanding the way in which he viewed SY: "It is written in the Book of Genesis which the Holy One—blessed be He—transmitted to our father Abraham and to Moses our Master on Mount Sinai: *God said: "Let there be the light"* [Gen. 1:3] ..."⁷⁹ Since according to both the biblical and the rabbinical tradition, it was Moses and not Abraham who received the Torah, of which Genesis is a part, on Sinai, the most plausible explanation of the entire passage is that by the "Book of Genesis" Donnolo refers not only to the biblical book of Genesis but to the account of the whole creative process, in both its metaphysical and its physical forms, including the account of SY which, as the text itself claims, was transmitted to Abraham.⁸⁰ This, after all, fits Donnolo's general understanding of SY, which in his view describes, as we have seen, the metaphysical aspect of the Creative process, the formation of the ideal patterns out of which the empirical world came into existence, as described in the biblical book of Genesis.

Although he consistently, throughout the text, emends and reformulates SY according to the principles of Hippocratic-Galenic medicine and Ptolemaic astrology, Donnolo's criticism does not go so far as to deny the veracity of SY and, more specifically, the elements which, while not true in relation to the empirical world, are certainly valid in relation to the metaphysical world. To Donnolo, SY does not represent a

⁷⁷ See below, English Translation, 279, 283–284. On Abraham and SY, see Liebes, *Ars Poetica*, 73–110.

⁷⁸ See Hayman, *Sefer Yešira*, §§ 61, 62.

⁷⁹ Commentary on *Sefer Yešira*, 165 [Hebrew text], 283 [English translation].

⁸⁰ As pointed out by Liebes (*Ars Poetica*, 96), the meaning of "Sefer Yešira" (*Book of Formation*) is very closely related to "Book of Genesis," which is how the Greek—but, it should be observed, also the Latin—translates the Hebrew "Bereshit" (meaning literally "In the beginning"). This, in addition to the fact that SY is a work dealing with the process of Creation, may help us explain why Donnolo—a Greek and Latin speaker (see above, Works, 29–30)—seems to integrate the two texts.

treatise on physical science—of which his critique would probably have been more explicit and much sharper—but the faithful description of the processes which took place in the metaphysical world prior to the processes described in the biblical book of Genesis, which are confined to the empirical manifestation of reality.

PART TWO

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The text of SH was transmitted in thirty-two manuscripts, all of which were scrutinised for the redaction of the critical text, the only exception being ms. Turin—Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria—cat. Peyron CLIX A.V. 39, which was destroyed by fire in 1904. The manuscript was used by Castelli, who recorded its variants in the apparatus of his edition.

The first two fragments out of the three making up ms. G (Oxford—Bodleian Library—ms. Heb.e.26 and Cambridge—University Library—ms. T.-S.K. 21.43; see below pp. 79–82), as well as manuscripts C, H, L, Lo, O, Ox, Oxo, Oxon and T, have been examined in the original, while the remainder (mss. E, F, J, Jt, M, Mo, Ms, Mu, Pg, P, Pr, Q, U, V, W, Z) in microfilm, by high-quality scanned copies (N and K), and by black and white photos (Ps, Pa and Par).

A fragment from the Cairo Genizah belonging to G (see below p. 84) was published by Scheiber (idem, “A New Passage”) in 1952. Since then, the original manuscript has disappeared, and all my attempts—including an investigation *in loco*—to recover the original manuscript have been unfruitful. The text of this manuscript had been studied according to a transcription provided by Scheiber in his article.

The following witnesses are listed in chronological order. The capital letter set at the beginning of each heading is the siglum by which I referred to each witness in the apparatus criticus of the Hebrew text and in the description of the stemma codicum in the next chapter. A detailed analysis of the genetical relationships between the manuscripts, as well as an explanation of the positions of the manuscripts described below in the stemma codicum, will be offered in the next chapter.

1. G. Oxford—Bodleian Library—ms. Heb.e.26.

Neubauer and Cowley, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, II, n. 2762, col. 178; Neubauer, “Un chapitre inédit,” 213–215. Parchment. Byzantine square script. Dated by Neubauer to the 11th–12th century.

This manuscript was probably part of a longer codex, which may have contained the entire text of Donnolo’s work, and to which belonged

also Cambridge—University Library—ms. T.-S. K 21.43 and Budapest—Kaufmann Collection Budapest (Ginze Kaufmann)—ms. Scheiber (see immediately below p. 82). All three fragments have, therefore, been referred to collectively as G.

The Oxford manuscript is made up of eight parchment folios (1a–8b), measuring ca. 17 20cm., written in two different Byzantine scripts by two distinct hands: hand 1 = ff. 1a–5a; hand 2 = ff. 5b–8b. F. 1a contains the last verse of the first introductory poem **בְּנֵי נֹצֵחַ סִלַּע וְעַד אֲמֹן**¹ followed by the autobiographical section (f. 1a line 2—end of f. 2b). The presence of the last verse of the introductory poem at the beginning of the first folio suggests that a folio originally containing the entire text of the poem and set before f. 1a is now missing.² F. 3a contains a calendric and astronomical table,³ followed by a second poetical composition (f. 3b lines 1–21), unattested in any of the other manuscripts, which consists of nineteen biblical quotations taken exclusively from the biblical book of Proverbs.⁴ As in the first poem, the initial letters of each verse form an acrostic, which yields the name and a short eulogy of the author, the latter modelled on an expression that occurs several times in the book of Proverbs.⁵ The poem is followed by a second introductory section (f. 3b line 22–f. 6b line 16),⁶ which, once again, is not attested in any other manuscript, as well as the first part of the commentary on Genesis 1:26,

¹ See below, Hebrew Text, 137.

² See below, Chart 1, 84. It is important to note, however, that the poem consists of only ca. 270 words, little more than are contained in a single folio (ca. 240 words). The only way that such a short text could occupy the space of an entire folio is if it was laid out as poetry or, alternatively, if it was laid out as prose but was preceded by a text that is now missing. The available information is too scant to determine this with any certainty.

³ See below Hebrew Text, 140–141 and English Translation, 236–239.

⁴ The text of this second poem was published by Neubauer, “Un chapitre inédit,” 213–218. His edition is not free from errors, probably arising from misreadings of the original manuscript. Loewenthal, (“L’introduzione autobiografica,” 5–13 and “Per una rilettura,” 345–352), very scrupulously underscored all the errors made by Neubauer and formulated the hypothesis that he had used a transcription of the manuscript made for him by an inexperienced hand. Loewenthal, who claims to have examined the ms. herself, did not, however, mention Neubauer’s most glaring omission, the failure to transcribe the first line of f. 1a containing the concluding part of the last verse of the first poem. The same omission in the description of the manuscript was made by Sharf, *The Universe*, 157. It seems that neither of them had actually examined the manuscript.

⁵ **שְׁבִתִי בֶר אֲבֵרָהִם קוֹנֵה חִכְמָה** [“Shabbatai, son of Abraham, acquiring knowledge”] (f. 3b). See below, Hebrew Text 141.

⁶ See below, *ibid.*, 141–144.

from *להודיעם סוד ה' ליריאי ובריתו להודיעם* [*The counsel of the Lord is for those who fear Him and He makes known to them His covenant*] (Ps. 25:14) (f. 6b line 21) to *עשה לו נקבי העינים ועפעפיהם שיביט ויראה בהם* ["He made for him the orifices of the eyes and their eyelids, so that he may look through them"] (f. 8b last line).⁷

It is important to note that some passages attested only in this manuscript (namely, the second introductory section [ff. 3b–6b]) are quoted verbatim in *Sefer Orḥot Ṣaddiqim* (*Book of the Ways of the Righteous*), known also as *Sefer ha-middot* (*The Book of Ethical Qualities*), one of the most important Hebrew ethical works written by an anonymous Ashkenazi author between the 14th and the 15th century.⁸ *Sefer Orḥot Ṣaddiqim* strongly relies on early ethical works—most of them influenced by medieval Ashkenazi pietism—which the author paraphrases and, as in our case, often quotes verbatim.⁹ These quotations suggest that that

⁷ See below, *ibid.*, 145–148.

⁸ The dating of this work is uncertain. An important *terminus post quem* is offered by a passage that mentions the expulsion of the Jews from France in the 14th century. The Hebrew text was published for the first time in Prague in 1581, following the publication in Yiddish of an abridged version in Isny in 1542. A modern edition of the Hebrew text with vowel points and an English translation was published by Cohen, ed., *The Ways of the Righteous*, 1974. Kaufmann's suggestion (*Rabbi Yom Tov Lipmann*, xx) that the author of this work was Yom Tov Lipmann Muelhasen, has long been rejected. See Neufeld, "Lipmann-Mühlhausen"; Sadek, "Yom Tov Lipman Muelhausen," and *idem* "Medieval Jewish Scholars."

⁹ Among the sources the anonymous author resorted to for the composition of his work are Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Hovot ha-levavot*, Yeḥi'el ben Yequti'el Anav's *Ma'alot ha-middot*, and, above all, the teachings of Ḥasidei Ashkenaz—the pietistic school founded in northern Europe by members of the Kalonymous family—particularly *Sefer Ḥassidim* and El'azar of Worms' *Sefer ha-roqeah*. The latter probably acted as the medium by which the anonymous author of *Sefer Orḥot Ṣaddiqim* was introduced to the "works written in Italy which he copied verbatim"; see "Orḥot Ṣaddikim," *EJ*, XII, 1459. The *EJ* entry does not provide any further information about the author's Italian sources, but Donnolo's text must be at least one of them. There is at present no exhaustive and comprehensive study of *Sefer Orḥot Ṣaddiqim* and its sources. The work is arranged in 28 short *she'arim* (literally, "gates"—i.e. chapters), each dealing with the merits and demerits of a specific moral quality. The author drew on Donnolo's SH, particularly in the last section of his work entitled *sha'ar yir'at ha-shamayim* (*Chapter on the Fear of Heaven*, 105–113), which was strongly influenced by the theology of Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. See Heller, *The Sixteenth Century*, II, 709. All the quotations from the work of Donnolo are noted below in the footnotes to the English translation of SH; see below, English Translation, 242 n. 87; 260 n. 25; 262 n. 33; 266 n. 47. These quotations raise the question of the role played by the work of Donnolo in the formation of the ideological and literary background of medieval Ashkenazi pietism, on which the author of *Sefer Orḥot Ṣaddiqim* largely depends. The first to address this issue was Scholem (*Major Trends*, 80–118), followed by Dan in his

part of Donnolo's text which is attested uniquely in the Cairo Genizah fragment was known in northern Europe, whether directly or indirectly from later chrestomathies is impossible to tell, at least until the 14th century, when *Sefer Orhot Šaddiqim* was apparently composed.¹⁰

G. Cambridge—University Library—ms. T.-S. K 21.43.

Scheiber, "Additional Pages". Parchment. Byzantine square script. Uncertain dating, probably 11th–12th century.

The Cambridge fragment consists of two parchment folios and contains some sections of the commentary on Genesis 1:26 (f. 1a line 1 beginning with ... לכסות את כל הגוף ["to cover the whole body"]¹¹ and concluding with [See, the guardian of Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps] (Ps. 121:4),¹² and some of the initial passages of the introductory section to the commentary on SY beginning with אל עושי [הן] ועיניו [אל] [... to his Maker and his eyes shall have regard to the Holy One] (Is. 17:7), (f. 2a line 1) and concluding with ויאמר אלהים יהי אור יאמר [כן] אלהים יהי [God said: "Let there be the light". God said: "Let it be so"] (Gen. 1:3) (f. 2a last line).¹³

seminal studies of German pietism; see Dan, "The Beginning of Jewish Mysticism," 282–290; idem, *Jewish Mysticism and Jewish Ethics*, 46; idem, "La cultura ebraica," 339–358; idem, *Esoteric Theology*, 23, 213–214; idem, "Sefer ha-ḥokhma," 168–181. Donnolo's work was particularly influential on the 12th-century Circle of the Unique Cherub. See Dan, *Texts on the Mystical Theology*, 32 and idem, *The Unique Cherub*, 125–126, 190–192.

¹⁰ It is not clear why the second poem and the new introductory section that follows it practically disappeared from the manuscript tradition. It might be that, owing to their lack of originality (particularly the poem, which is merely a juxtaposition of Biblical verses taken from the book of Proverbs), they were considered as spurious additions and were therefore omitted. See Loewenthal, "Per una rilettura," 351. Alternatively, Donnolo may have added these sections later, by which time the text had already been diffused among his readers. This hypothesis, however, clashes with the evidence of the quotations in *Sefer Orhot Šaddiqim*. It is also possible that the author of *Orhot Šaddiqim* had access to a part of the manuscript tradition of SH, which is now attested only in the Oxford Genizah fragment and which contained the two new sections.

¹¹ See below, Hebrew Text, 149 and English Translation, 256.

¹² See below, Hebrew Text, 151 and English Translation, 258.

¹³ See below, Hebrew Text, 163–165 and English Translation, 279–283. A photographic reproduction and transcription of this fragment was published by Scheiber, "Additional Pages," 193–196. Scheiber did not venture to date either the Cambridge or the Budapest fragment, which he simply defined as "old." See *ibid.*, 193. There is no catalogue information on this manuscript.

**G. Budapest—Kaufmann Collection Budapest (Ginze Kaufmann)—
ms. Scheiber.**

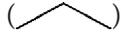
Scheiber, “A New Passage”. Parchment. Byzantine square script.
Uncertain dating, probably 11th–12th century.

The Budapest fragment contains parts of the commentary on Genesis 1:26¹⁴ beginning with ... נראה רוח חייו של אדם [אינו] [“... man’s breath of life cannot be seen”] (f. 1a line 1)¹⁵ and concluding with וירתיחם עוד [“boiling and topping up, boiling and topping up”] (f. 2b last line).¹⁶

As suggested above, the three fragments present a series of palaeographic analogies, which suggest that they originally belonged together, in a single and longer codex.

First, the scribal techniques employed for the ruling and pricking of the vellum are the same in all three. Second, with the exception of the first five folios of the Oxford manuscript, all three display the same script. Third, the three witnesses are of exactly the same size. And fourth, there is an exact match between the quantity of text contained in the extant folios and what was, in all probability, contained in the missing folios.

The first quire in the original codex probably consisted of five bifolios, namely the four bifolios of the Oxford fragment and another one, the first in the quire, which is now missing. This is suggested by the fact that line 1 of f. 1a of the Oxford fragment contains the last verse of the first introductory poem, the bulk of which was presumably contained in another bifolio.

The chart below is a graphic reconstruction of the first quire in the original codex. The roof-like figure in a continuous line () represents a bifolio, consisting of two folios, each with its own two sides (“a” and “b”). The comparable roof-like figure in a dotted line () indicates a missing bifolio. The boxes to the left and right of the “roofs” in the two charts below contain descriptions of the contents of the folios.

¹⁴ Scheiber, “A New Passage,” 62–64. The Budapest fragment contains two sections of the commentary on Genesis in ff. 1a–1b and 2a–2b. As noted above, Scheiber provided no catalogue information in this article and only a few palaeographic details concerning this fragment. These details match the palaeographic information gathered from the direct examination of the other two fragments: all three have identically sized folios (ca. 17.20 cm.) and approximately the same number of lines ruled on each page (21 in the Budapest witness, according to Schreiber; 21 and 24 respectively according to our own examination of the Oxford and Cambridge fragments).

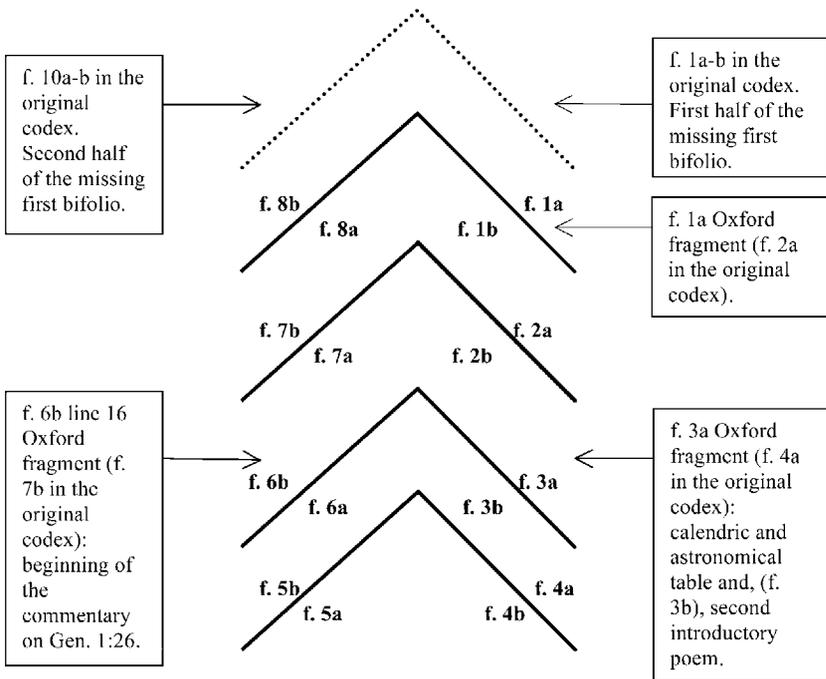
¹⁵ See below, Hebrew Text, 153 and English Translation, 260.

¹⁶ See below, Hebrew Text, 161 and English Translation, 276.

Conjectural Reconstruction of the Original Codex

F. 1a–b of the missing first bifolio contained the text of the first introductory poem. Between the end of the Oxford manuscript (f. 8b) and the beginning of the Cambridge manuscript (f. 1a), there is a textual gap in the commentary on Genesis 1:26 of ca. 430 words. This number corresponds to the number of words contained in two sides of a folio, which in all likelihood was the second half (f. 10a–b in *Chart 1* below)¹⁷ of the missing first bifolio.

Chart 1: Quire 1—Oxford fragment

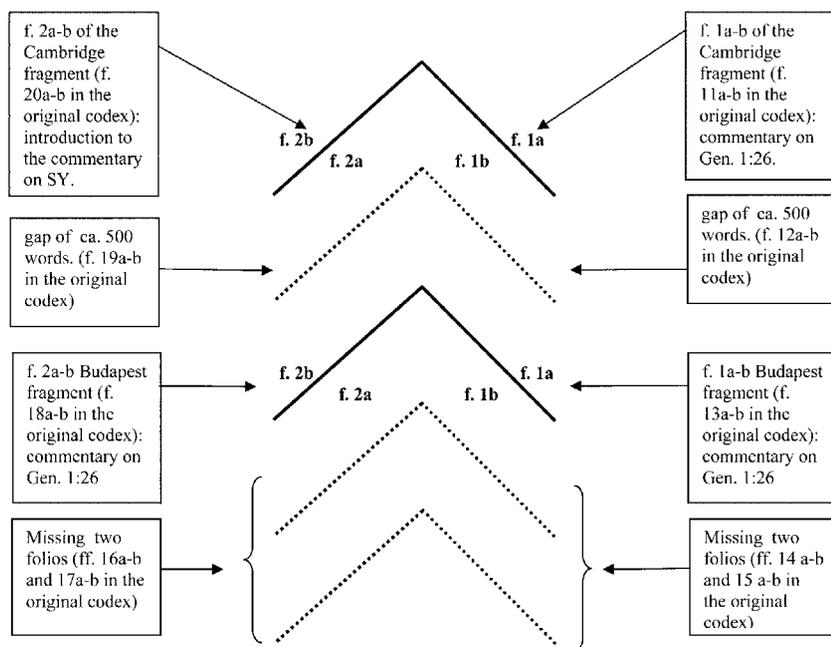


The Cambridge fragment was probably the first bifolio of the second quire in the original codex (see below *Chart 2: Quire 2*). F. 1a–b of the Cambridge fragment contains a section of the commentary on Genesis

¹⁷ The script of hand 2 is much thicker, and the number of words contained in a folio of 24 lines is ca. 240. This number varies according to the number of ruled lines.

1:26 while f. 2a–b of the same fragment contains a section of the commentary on SY. This means that the Cambridge fragment was followed by a series of other bifolios—in fact five, as we will shortly see—which made up the second quire in the original codex.

Chart 2: Quire 2—Cambridge and Budapest fragments



In the text of the commentary on Genesis 1:26 attested by the Cambridge and the Budapest fragments, there is a gap of ca. 500 words. This number corresponds approximately to the quantity of words contained in a bifolio, now missing, corresponding to f. 12a–b in the original codex.

In the commentary on Genesis 1:26 contained in f. 1a–b and f. 2a–b of the Budapest fragment published by Scheiber, there is a textual gap of ca. 2000 words. These were probably contained in two bifolios (approximately 500 words per folio), now missing, corresponding to f. 14a–b, f. 15a–b, f. 16a–b and f. 17a–b in the original codex.

F. 2a–b of the Budapest fragment contains part of the concluding section of the commentary on Genesis 1:26. Between this folio (f. 18a–b in the original codex) and f. 2a–b of the Cambridge fragment containing

the introduction to the commentary on SY, there is a gap of ca. 500 words, a number which corresponds approximately to the quantity of text contained in a folio (f. 19a–b in the original codex), which is now missing. This corroborates the previous hypothesis that, between f. 1a–b of the Cambridge and the f. 1a–b of the Budapest fragment (namely, f. 11a–b and f. 13a–b in the original codex), there was a folio (f. 12a–b) which is missing now.

According to this reconstruction, f. 2a–b of the Cambridge manuscript corresponds to f. 20a–b in the second quire of the original codex.¹⁸

2. P. Parma—Biblioteca Palatina—ms. 2123 (old catalogue 399)

Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, n° 1138, 303. Parchment. Sephardic semi-cursive script. 14th century. Owners: [?] אברהם מאבזאנא and [?] דוד דוצניא (f. 6a).

This manuscript consists of several short pieces taken from a brief Hebrew introduction to Aristotle's *Isagoge* (another copy with variants is found in ms. Mm 6.24 of the University Library in Cambridge), containing Hebrew, Arabic and Latin translations of philosophical terms (ff. 1a–3b); a commentary on the commentary of Abraham ibn Ezra on Qohelet 7:27 (ff. 3b–4b); a short anonymous introduction to SY (ff. 4b–5b); a brief discussion on the human fate based on numerological interpretations of the divine names (ff. 5b–6a); and a complete version of SH (ff. 7a–60b) entitled ספר תחכמוני צפנת פענח (f. 7a). This manuscript was used for the redaction of the Castelli edition.

3. F. Florence—Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana—ms. Plut. 44.14

Biscioni, *Bibliothecae Mediceo-Lavrentianae*, I, 129–131. Paper. Sephardic cursive and Ashkenazi semi-cursive scripts. Dated 1391.

The manuscript consists of an anthology of texts of mystical and kabbalistic interest (ff. 1b–56b; ff. 105b–201a), and a collection of sermons and commentaries on Biblical passages entitled כי לקח טוב (ff. 57a–72a). There are some blank folios (ff. 72b–77b), followed by the text of SY and a com-

¹⁸ By calculating the number of words that, according to this reconstruction, were contained in the first 10 folios of the two quires (ca. 9,600 words), we may draw the conclusion that the original codex containing the full text of SH consisted of approximately 24/25 folios grouped into ca. 5 quires.

plete version of Donnolo's work (ff. 79b–100b), beginning with פירוש ספר יצירה הנקרא ספר חכמוני שבתי. This manuscript was used for the redaction of the Castelli edition.

4. L. London—British Library—Ms. Or. 1023

Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts*, I, n. 206, 155–156. Paper and parchment. African Sephardic cursive script. 14th century.

This manuscript contains a version of Samuel Ibn Tibbon's commentary on Ecclesiastes (ff. 1b–204a), the text of SY, and a complete version of Donnolo's commentary on SY beginning with ספר יצירה לאברהם אבינו [ff. 204b–231a], without, however, the introduction. The margins of the folios are worm eaten; also, the text is occasionally very difficult to read.

This manuscript contains several passages and longer sections that are not attested by the majority of the witnesses to the tradition (for more information about this, see below 110–111). The parchment of this manuscript is deteriorated, and some passages are completely unreadable (e.g. f. 211a lines 1–5; f. 216a lines 4–9; f. 217b; f. 225b–226a; f. 228b–231b). Ff. 216b, 224b, 227a and 228a underwent a conservative restoration, and entire sections were replaced by small cartaceous and pergamenaceous patches on which the hidden words were manually rewritten. On ff. 224b and 228a, however, a patch covers a long section of the folio (the last 9 lines), and the text beneath it has not been transcribed.

5. O. Oxford—Bodleian Library—ms. Mich. Add. 9

Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, I, n. 1638, cols. 571–572; Beit-Arié and May, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, col. 281. See also Liss, *El'azar Ben Yehuda von Worms*, 19. Parchment. Ashkenazi semi-cursive script. Dated by Beit-Arié and May to the 14th century. Owner: נתנאל סגרי חדש מנחם תכ"ב [Netan'el Segre, in the month of Menaḥem (Av) 422 (= 1662 CE)] (f. 1a).

This manuscript consists of an anthology of kabbalistic texts: a commentary on the קדיש prayer and טעם ציצית [ff. 1b–45a]; excerpts from Jacob ben Sheshet's שער השמים and Azri'el of Gerona's שער השוא, as well as a commentary on the *sefirot* with two diagrams from Isaac of Acre's מאירת עינים [ff. 45b–51a]; extracts from El'azar of Worms' ספר השם and סודי

[א] רזי [ff. 51a–59a];¹⁹ הלכות יצירה on the making of a Golem²⁰ [f. 59a–b]) and a complete version of Donnolo's commentary on SY without the introductory section (ff. 60a–65a). The scribe added short passages in the margins of the folios and Aramaic words, commonly used in Talmudic literature (such as כתימא and דכהנה; see, for example, f. 61b line 22), in the body of the text. Several passages are omitted by homeoteleuton and homeoarcton.

6. V. Vatican—Biblioteca Apostolica—ms. ebr. 214

Assemanus, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum*, I, 180–183.

Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, 152–155. Byzantine cursive script. Paper and parchment. Dated 1390. Copyist note: על ... ידי לי שמואל בהר [בן הרב] אליהו בהר [בן הרב] דוד בראש חדש אדר שנת הק"ץ ליצירה [By me, Samuel son of rabbi Eliyahu, son of rabbi David, on the new moon of the month of Adar in the year 150 since the Creation (= 1390 CE)] (f. 293b). Owner (?): פארץ: [!] דוד ר' [David Pares (?)] (f. 252b).

This manuscript contains a miscellany of items concerning biblical exegesis, astronomy, philosophy and Kabbalah, and a long section from Book Two and Book Three of Donnolo's commentary on SY, beginning with ועל אשר מתמלאה ועל אשר [ישן] ל[ה]ן כוח מחום מעט נתמנתה על החן ועל הטובה (cf. below Hebrew Text, 193), which occupies ff. 16b–23b and ff. 42a–47a. This section was probably part of a longer codex, to which belonged also ms. Vatican—Biblioteca Apostolica—ms. ebr. 428 (W) (see immediately below). For more information about the relationship between the two manuscripts, see below 111.

Between ff. 23b and 30b, in the middle of Book Three, where Donnolo explains the theory of the celestial dragon, the scribe inserted an anonymous commentary on the *Barayta of Samuel*, probably in an attempt to complete the text of Donnolo, which he had in an incomplete version. Terminologically speaking, this section conforms to the standards of Donnolo's astrological vocabulary, but it is rather difficult to know whether this was a genuine Donnolian text or a spurious composition. This section deals with some truly interesting issues, such as the salinity of waters (f. 24a) and the *thema mundi* (i.e., the position of the planets at the moment of Creation; f. 25b) according to the system of the planetary

¹⁹ For a detailed discussion of these works, see Dan, *Esoteric Theology*, 74–76, 100–102.

²⁰ See Scholem, *Elements of the Kabbalah*, 405–406.

houses and exaltations. Astrologically speaking, this text does not depart from the core values of classic-Hellenistic astrology, which the author tries to harmonise with the *Barayta of Samuel* and some of its most peculiar theories (that the luminaries, for example, **וְנִבְרָאוּ בִט"ו בְּאֵב**). In ff. 29a–b, the author refers to his teacher, Yosef ha-Kohen Yerushalmi (a name which recalls that of *Yosippon*), who is said to have observed a star close the constellation of Leo (probably Denebok, β Leo, also known as β Leo Denebola) moving on a period of 500 years. The author devotes a long part of this text to the study of the planetary hours (see below, English Translation, 332–333), as well as to establishing the correct relations between the constellations and the months of the year, which is one of Donnolo's most important astrological issues in SH (see, for example, English Translation, 339–340). On f. 30b, the author refers to the cosmological myth of the Pleiades and the Bear, probably one of the most interesting subjects of the *Barayta's* cosmology, which Donnolo had examined in detail in his *Sefer ha-mazzalot* (see above 73–74). In spite of the numerous similarities, and even though this text shows many consonant passages with Donnolo's astrological knowledge, there seem to be no cogent elements that support attributing this text to Donnolo.

As pointed out below (see pp. 110–111), this manuscript shows many similarities with L, the most significant of which is a long passage concerning the correct relations between the letters and the elements of Creation in Book Two. This passage is attested in its entirety only in L, as said, but partially also in K (for a detailed analysis of this, see below 108–110). The manuscript contains several *lacunae*, most of which were probably due to errors by homeoteleuton and homeoarcton.

7. W. Vatican—Biblioteca Apostolica—ms. ebr. 428

Assemanus, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum*, I, 390–392.
 Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, 367–373. Paper.
 Byzantine cursive scripts. Dated by Assemanus and Richler to the 15th century.

The manuscript consists of an anthology of kabbalistic, philosophical and medical texts and of an incomplete version of Donnolo's introduction and an incomplete version of Book One of the commentary on SY (§§ 1–8; ff. 198a–206b).

Some folios of this manuscript seem to be missing completely and others were wrongly bound: f. 205b, for example, ends with the accusative particle **תא**, written as a catchword, which the binder wrongly interpreted

serious problem of decipherment. The clear-brown ink sometimes (e.g. f. 2a; f. 5b; f. 8a; f. 9a; f. 12b) vanishes and tends to disappear; with the help of a magnifier, however, all these passages can be deciphered. Ff.6a–7b are considerably smaller than all the other folios, measuring ca. 10 30 cm. (the others measure ca. 20 30 cm.)

At the end of Donnolo's work, the copyist added three long passages by which he probably meant to integrate the text that he had transcribed. These are passages that appear in their entirety only in L and partially also in K and V. There seems to be no doubt, however, that the manuscript from which the scribe had copied and to which he added these three sections was L: there are several passages in N (see, for example, f. 17a 14; f. 17b line 6; f. 18b lines 9, 24; f. 21b line 10; f. 22a left margin) where the scribe corrected, added, or removed words according to the text of L. For a detailed analysis of the relation between L and N, see below 119.

9. Pa. Paris—Bibliothèque Nationale—ms. héb. 767—(old catalogue 318)

Zotenberg, *Catalogues des manuscrits hébreux*, 125–126. Paper and parchment. Ashkenazi script. Dated by Zotenberg to the 14th–15th century.

This manuscript consists of an anthology of kabbalistic texts and an incomplete version of SH's commentary on Genesis 1:26 (ff. 1a–6a), beginning with ... ואראה את יי לא ראה דמות פניו הנה למדנו כי משה (see below Hebrew Text, 145). At the end of this section, the scribe wrote סליק ספר תיקון מדות הנפש ("Here ends the Book of the Improvement of the Moral Qualities"), a title very similar to *Sefer ha-middot* by which *Sefer Orhot Šaddiqim* was also known (see above 81).

10. Q. Florence—Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana—ms. Plut. 44.16

Biscioni, *Bibliothecae Mediceo-Lavrentianae*, I, 131–132. Parchment. Italian semi-cursive script. Dated by Biscioni to the 14th–15th century.

This manuscript contains several items of kabbalistic and mystical interest, as well as a version of Donnolo's commentary on SY (ff. 9a–16b). In the margins of f. 10b, there are long quotations from El'azar of Worm's commentary on SY, which appear in virtually an identical version and in exactly the same place interpolated in the commentary on SY as in ms. New York—Jewish Theological Seminary of America—1640 (E) (see below 95, and for more information about the relation between the two

witnesses, see below 113–114). In both manuscripts, several passages of Donnolo's text are omitted.

11. Pr. Parma—Biblioteca Palatina—ms. 2425 (old catalogue 417)

Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, n° 1560, 471–472. Parchment. Ashkenazi semi-cursive script. Dated 1433.

The manuscript was copied by Joshua ben Samuel “for himself” and completed in Sisteron (France) on 20 Adar II 5193 (12 March 1433): **אני הכותב יהושע בה"ר [בן הרב] שמואל זלה"ה [זכרונו לחיי העולם הבא] כתבתי זה הספר הנקרא אמונות ודעות לעצמי וסיימתיו הנגה שישטרון ביום ה' עשרים לירח אדר. השני שנת קצ"ג לפ"ק.** [Aharon Delatour] על יד אהרון דלטור (f. 60b). Owner: **על יד אהרון דלטור** [Aharon Delatour] (f. 116a)

This manuscript contains several items, most of which concern Jewish philosophy, Kabbalah and biblical exegesis. The witness contains a complete version of Donnolo's SH, entitled **ספר תחכמוני צפנת פענח** (ff. 94a–112a), which was copied, as already pointed out by Loewenthal²¹ and as I can confirm after direct analysis of the two witnesses, from ms. Parma 2123 (P; see above 86). Ff. 106a and 108a have been, for a long time, thought to be missing. These have now been found at the end of ms. 302/2 of the Russian State Library in Moscow (M) (ff. 172a–172b), on which, see below 96.

12. Par. Paris—Bibliothèque Nationale—ms. héb. 770 (old catalogue 266)

Zotenberg. *Catalogues des manuscrits hébreux*, 125–126. Paper and parchment. 15th century. Italian semi-square script. Owner: **מספרי יעקב בר' [ברבי] אשר הלוי**.

The manuscript is an anthology of kabbalistic texts, copied by different hands, and probably collated from different codices. This manuscript contains an incomplete version of the introductory section to SH—which begins from the last verses of the first introductory poem, **ראשית חכמה**, **סודם לפענח יראי ה'** (f. 46a)—and a complete version of the commentary on Genesis 1:26. Ff. 55a–b are blank. The section containing Donnolo's text was copied probably by two different hands: the first copied ff. 46a–51b, the second ff. 52a–57b.

²¹ Loewenthal, “L'introduzione autobiografica,” 9.

The manuscript shares some important reading variants with G (on this, see below, 107). Par. is the only manuscript where the names of the planets and the luminaries that Donnolo mentioned in order to explain how to read the calendric table (see below, Hebrew Text, 139) are inserted in a table whose layout is identical to that of G (cf. Par. f. 47a).

13. K. Budapest—Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences—Kaufmann Collection—ms. 238.

Weisz, *Katalog der Hebräischen Handschriften*, 90–91; Gergely, ed., *Microcard Catalogue*, 29. Paper. Italian script. 15th century. Owner: מרדכי יהודה [Mordekhay Yehudah].

The manuscript consists of an anthology of *Hekhalot* and kabbalistic texts. The witness contains a complete version of the commentary on Gen. 1:26 (ff. 51–58; n.b.: the original pagination does not make distinction between face “a” and “b,” between recto and verso) and an incomplete version of the commentary on SY (ff. 58–79), ending with טובה גוזה לרעים towards the end of Book Three (see below Hebrew Text, 206). The commentary on Gen. 1:26 contains a long passage not attested by other witnesses (see f. 53 lines 18–35). Linguistically speaking, this passage differs from the rest in using a series of expressions such as הם ושלום, which Donnolo never used in his works; this passage, moreover, does not seem to follow the mainstream of Donnolo’s argumentation, repeating what the author has said before, with quite an emphatic pietistic “tone” that seems to overcome the intentions of Donnolo himself. There are two other passages (ff. 55–56 lines 15–24, lines 51–end and f. 56 lines 1–7) that appear in a different place in the text. Their placement was not due to errors by homeoteleuton or homeoarc-ton (in such cases the two passages would probably have been omitted completely), and it is difficult to ascertain whether this placement was due to casual misreading or to an intentional intervention of the scribe.

The same problem appears in the commentary on SY, where the scribe omitted single words and longer passages so as to produce what appears as a sort of abridged version of the original text. This was certainly due to an intentional—and quite well worked out—editorial intervention and not to casual omissions. The most telling example is in the incipit of the introductory section to the commentary on SY, where the scribe omitted most of the biblical quotations and other passages so as to reduce this section sensibly. Passages copied in different places in the text have been

observed on f. 60 lines 36-end page, and f. 61 lines 1–3, together with two other added sections on f. 61 lines 1–19 and f. 68 lines 21–24.

14. T. London—British Library—ms. Reg. 16. A.X.

Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts*, III, n. 755, 51–56. Paper. Ashkenazi cursive script. Dated by Margoliouth to the 15th century. Copyist note: ואני הצעיר המעתיק אקצרו בשביל הטורח [I, the young copyist, have abridged the text so as not to overburden] (f. 118b). Owner (?): נאום יעקב בר אשר הלוי [Ne'um Ya'aqov bar Asher ha-Levi] (f. 1a).

This manuscript contains several items, most of which deal with kabbalistic subjects, among which there is also a version of Donnolo's commentary on SY (ff. 81a–84b) where numerous passages of the text, however, are omitted. The omissions, it should be noted, were made by the scribe, probably with the intention of producing a sort of abridged version of the original text. The text of Donnolo's commentary ends at the beginning of Book Two with ושמ לשון בפיו להליץ כל עם ועם כלשונו וכל גוי וגוי (see below, Hebrew Text, 182). A virtually identical version of this section is attested by ms. Cambridge—University Library Add. 651.5 and ms. New York—Jewish Theological Seminary of America—1903 (C, and Z) (see below 97, 98; for more information about the relation between these manuscripts, see 116–117).

15. J. Jerusalem—Jewish National and University Library—ms. 28° 1303

Sirat, Beit-Arié *et al.* eds., *Manuscripts médiévaux*, III, 34–35. Paper. Byzantine script. Dated 1486.

This manuscript contains an anthology of kabbalistic and astronomical texts, together with a passage beginning from the middle of Book Three of Donnolo's commentary on SY (§§ 54–63; ff. 1a–3b), from המריה מתוך ... והוא המגרה את השינה ... (see below Hebrew Text, 200) to the end of the work. According to the JNUL catalogue, some folios which originally belonged to this manuscript are now part of ms. 702, Mic. 1813 of the Enelow Collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York. The surviving folios now making up the Enelow manuscript do not contain any part of Donnolo's text; all my attempts to find the folios that presumably contained the rest of Donnolo's work have had no positive results.

There are two chronologically coincident colophons, one on f. 3b, reading נגמר ספר יצירה מפורש מפ"י שבתי דונולו וצ"ל [זכר צדיק לברכה] ונשלם (ביום ב' בה' לחדש זיו בשנת ה'רמ"ו (1486) בבריאת העולם על יד לי דוד בן יעקב ... יום ד' בירח ... יום ד' בירח [“On the fourth day of the week, the eighteenth day of the month of Tammuz in the year 246 since the Creation of the World” (= 1486 CE)].

16. E. New York—Jewish Theological Seminary of America—ms. 1640 (ENA 1218)

Siegel, *A Reel Guide*, 10 and Rovner, *A Guide*, I, 38–39. Paper. Sephardic semi-cursive script. Dated Tlemcen (Algeria) in 1531.

This manuscript contains a miscellany of kabbalistic texts and a version of the commentary on SY by Donnolo (ff. 170a–174b), whose text coincides almost exactly with that of ms. Florence, Plut. 44.16 (Q; see above 91), incorporating the notes (extracts from El‘azar of Worms’ commentary on SY) which were written on the margins of f. 10b of the Florence manuscript. This witness, however, was not copied from the Florence manuscript that omits passages attested in E. For more information on this, see below 113.

17. Tu. Turin—Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria—ms. cat. Peyron CLIX A.V. 39

Peyron, *Codices Hebraici*, 159–162. Paper. The manuscript was destroyed by fire in 1904. The Peyron catalogue does not provide any codicological information, saying only that according to the colophon, it was dated to 1558.

According to the Peyron catalogue, this manuscript contained several items of kabbalistic and mystical interest, together with a virtually complete version of Donnolo’s SH. The manuscript was used by Castelli for his edition of the text, and as we can infer from the notes of the apparatus, the witness ended around the end of Book Three of the commentary on SY זה התלי והוא מושל בכל הכוכבים והמזלות הגלגל הוא המגלגל את המזלות) ..., in exactly the same place where ms. Moscow—Russian State Library—302 (M) (see immediately below) ends). Moreover, all the variant readings of the Turin manuscript recorded in the apparatus of the Castelli edition coincide with those of the Moscow manuscript (for more information about the relation between the two manuscripts and their position in the

stemma, see below 118). The colophon reads (f. 130 [n.b.: the Peyron catalogue does not indicate the recto-verso faces]): פה מודיליינו מחוז פיירנצה: ע"י יצחק צרפתי בן אברהם משה צרפתי מקונסטנזה מגרוש צרפת היום יום א' החדש כסלו שנת חמשת אלפים ושי"ח לבריאת עלם המתגורר פה ומלמד ["Here (in) Modigliano [n.b. today Modigliana], in the region of Florence, by Işḥaq Şarfati ben Avraham Moshe Şarfati of Costanza who has left France, today, the first day of the month of Kislev, in the year 5318 since the Creation of the world,] (f. 130). According to the colophon, this manuscript was produced in an Italo-Ashkenazi milieu, the same as that in which the Moscow manuscript was produced.

18. M. Moscow—Russian State Library—ms. Guenzburg 302/3

Guenzburg Manuscripts Collection, vol. II, n.p. Paper. Italian and Ashkenazi scripts. 16th–17th century.

The manuscript consists of a collection of mystical and kabbalistic texts and a virtually complete version of Donnolo's work, lacking only a few paragraphs of Book Three of the commentary on SY by Donnolo. The text begins with פירוש ספר יצירה ספר מחכמוני! (f. 27a) and ends with והוא המושל בכל הכוכבי' [ם] והמזלות הגלגלה הוא המגלגל המזלות (f. 51b), perfectly coinciding with the text of the lost Turin manuscript.

Passages omitted, probably due to homeoteleuton or homeoarcton, were added in the margins of ff. 32a, 35b, 41b, 44b, 46b, 49a. In the margins of ff. 45b–46b, the Hebrew names of the planets and the luminaries are translated into Latin. On ff. 49b–50a, where Donnolo lists the series of correspondences between the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the elements of the created universe, the scribe added a series of short passages—easy to distinguish for being written in separate columns on the right and left hand-side of the main text—all of which aimed to offer further information concerning the constellations, their physical qualities, their sexual characterisations, and their relations to the months of the year. At the end, the scribe added a short note, saying: ע"כ [עד כאן] מצאתי בהעתק (f. 43b).

²² The copyist seems to consider *Ḥakhmoni* to be the name of the author rather than the title of the work.

19. C. Cambridge—University Library—ms. Add. 651.5

Reif, *Hebrew manuscripts at Cambridge*, 462–463. Paper. Italian cursive script. 16th–17th century. Owner: מיכאל יחייא [Mikha'el Yiḥya].

This manuscript contains two texts concerning the *sefirot* (Jacob b. Jacob ha-Kohen's and Menahem's, pupil of El'azar of Worms, commentaries on the ten *sefirot* [ff. 1a–22b and 23a–24b])²³ and an abridged version of the commentary on SY by Donnolo, almost entirely coincident with the text of ms. London—British Library—Reg. 16 A.X. (T; see above 94). The Cambridge manuscript contains a series of passages not attested in the London manuscript; the two manuscripts probably derive from an older common source (for further information on this, see below 117).

20. U. Jerusalem—The Schocken Institute for Jewish Research of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America—ms. 13161

There is no catalogue information concerning this manuscript. Paper. Oriental cursive-script. The manuscript is dated in the catalogue of the IMHM-JNUL to the 17th century.

The manuscript contains a complete version of SH, beginning with ספר יצירה זה ספר תחכמוני שבו פי' [רוש] ספר יצירה חבור החכם הגדול ה"ר [הרב רבי] שבתאי ב"ר [בן רבי] אברהם ז"ל [זכרונו לברכה] המכונה דונולו הרופא and blank pages (ff. 17b–25b). The quires have been wrongly bound, and they are intermingled with folios probably taken from two other anonymous texts on SY, beginning with ל'ב נתבות מקבלת הגאונים, followed by Abraham ben David's (Ravad's) commentary on SY (ff. 25b–27a).

21. H. Oxford—Bodleian Library—ms. Opp. Add. 89

Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, n^o 1532, 538; Beit-Arié and May, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, col. 256; Luzzatto, "Igeret 15," 97b–102.1845. The manuscript was copied onto the sheets of a modern exercise book. Italian cursive script. Dated Turin, 1845.

The manuscript contains a complete version of Donnolo's work (ff. ff. 1a–34b), together with the text of SY according to the Long Recension. The text is virtually identical to the text of ms. Parma 2123, from which it was copied in 1845. This is clearly affirmed by a letter, dated January

²³ The text was published by Scholem, "Index to the Commentaries," 502–503.

22nd, 1846, that the copyist, Ya'akov Levi of Turin, addressed to his commissioner, Samuel David Luzzatto.

22. Z. New York—Jewish Theological Seminary of America—Ms. 1903

Siegel, *A Reel Guide*, 33 and Rovner, *A Guide*, 52. Paper. Ashkenazi cursive script. 19th–20th century.

The manuscript contains an abridged version of the commentary on SY by Donnolo (ff. 2a–6b), which is virtually identical to, almost entirely coincident with Donnolo's text in ms. Cambridge Add. 651.5 (C; see above 97), from which it was probably copied. Donnolo's text is then followed by טעמי האותיות (ff. 7a–11b) by David ben Yom Tov ibn Bilia.

Short paragraphs or fragmentary passages of the commentary on Gen. 1:26 and commentary on SY are attested by the following witnesses, listed in chronological order.

23. Lo. London—British Library—ms. Or. 6577

Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts*, I, n. 736, 3–5. Parchment. Sefardi square script. 14th–15th century.

The manuscript contains a series of kabbalistic texts, commentaries on the prayers, and two versions of SY (ff. 40a–52a). As correctly pointed out by Margoliouth (*ibid.*, 4), the second version is basically an expanded version of the first, where only a few chapters of SY (namely §§ 23, 30, 33, 40, 42, 48b, 52, 59 according to the chapter division adopted in this edition) seem to contain significant developments of the text. Margoliouth's observations are, on the whole, correct, but what he fails to note is that these developed sections come from Donnolo's commentary, which often, as I indicated in the previous chapters (see above 48 ff.), are intermingled with the original text of SY so as to appear as an integral part of it.

24. Ox. Oxford—Bodleian Library—ms. Mich. 558

Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, n° 2256, 784; Beit-Arié and May, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, coll. 429–430. Dated by Beit-Arié and May to the early-mid 15th century. Ashkenazi cursive script.

The manuscript contains a collection of texts on *minhagim*, rituals, and the Kabbalah. On ff. 40a–43a, in an anonymous text concerning the

human soul, the author quotes a long passage from Donnolo's commentary on Gen. 1:26 concerning the relationship between the element of the micro and the macrocosm, beginning with *כמו שהאלהי' עליון ומושל באדם כל עת שיעשה רצון בוראו ...* (f. 41b line 2–3; see below Hebrew Text, 152) and ending with *ושנים עשר הנתחים והצלעים* (f. 43a line 2, Hebrew Text, 157). On f. 42b lines 15–25, the author refers to the variations in the salinity of water, the possibility of forecasting future events by examining the signs on man and in the world (i.e., face wrinkles and palm tree movements). This passage is attested in exactly the same form in *Sefer Orḥot Šaddiqim* (see below 266), a 14th century work from which this part of the text was probably copied.

25. Oxo. Oxford—Bodleian Library—ms. Mich. Opp. 697

Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, I, n° 2079, col. 710; Beit-Arié and May, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, col. 384–. Ashkenazi semi-cursive script. Parchment. 15th century (1428 ?; f. 20b colophon of the copyist?).

The manuscript consists of an anthology of astrological texts, among which there is a version of Yehudah Israeli's astronomical treatise (ff. 26b–43a), a text entitled *ספר המזלות*—probably a work by Abraham ibn Ezra (ff. 43b–46a)—followed by Abraham ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-mispar* (ff. 46b–52b), together with a series of other texts on poetry, philosophy and the Talmud (ff. 53a–167a).

At the end of Israeli's text (f. 38b–40b), a passage from Book Two of Donnolo's commentary on SY concerning the correct relations between the twelve simple letters and the elements of the created world is quoted, without, however, acknowledging Donnolo's authorship. It begins with *בטב גדא. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות בית שבתי ושבת ופה וחיים ומות אינו מושל הנה למדת כחם וכיצד ממשלתם לפי שבעת ימי השבוע למה מושל של השבעה כוכבים כיצד הוא וכיצד ממשלתם לפי שבעת ימי השבוע למה מושל כוכב פלוני ביום פלוני בא ללמוד למה מושל כוכב פלוני ביום פלוני* (f. 40b; cf. below, Hebrew Text, 191). On f. 44a lines 11, 18 of the section entitled *ספר המזלות* (probably a work by Abraham ibn Ezra) the author refers twice to Donnolo's SH, the first time in relation to the position of the moon in Gemini and the second time in relation to the measures of the gnomon. Neither of these two references finds correspondence in the extant text of SH. The author of this section probably meant to refer to Donnolo's *Sefer ha-mazzalot*, where this kind of information is, in fact, provided.

26. Ps. Paris—Bibliothèque Nationale—ms. héb. 843 (old catalogue 265)

Zotenberg. *Catalogues des manuscrits hébreux*, 126–127. Paper and parchment. 15th century. Ashkenazi semi-cursive script. See also Carmoly, *Histoire des médecines juifs*, and idem, *Notices sur Sabtai Donolo*.

The manuscript consists of an anthology of kabbalistic texts, among which there is a passage from Donnolo's commentary on SY (§§ 1–16; ff. 50b–51). Textually speaking, this manuscript is problematic since several passages of Donnolo's work were misunderstood; on f. 50b line 12, for example, the scribe wrote שלא להרהר שלום האלהות לחשוב את דעתו— which appears in exactly the same form in ms. Munich—Bayerische Staatsbibliothek—ms. Cod. hebr. 37 and Prague—Zidovske Museum—ms. 119/4 (see mss. Mu and Pg below)—and which probably comes from misreading of באלהותו כלום להרהר שלא אליו דעתו ולישיב דעתו (SY § 5; see below Hebrew Text, 169) attested in all the other witnesses of the tradition.

27. Oxon. Oxford—Bodleian Library—Opp. 499

Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, I, n° 1625, col. 567; Beit-Arié and May, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, col. 278. Paper. Italian semi-cursive script. Early 16th century. Censors: Dominico Caretto 1618; Isaia da Roma 1623 (f. 49b).

The manuscript contains two anonymous mystical and kabbalistic texts on *sodot* (ff. 1a–32a), together with a fragment from Reuven Zarfati's commentary on the *sefirot* (ff. 32b–49a). Between the first two texts, on ff. 22a–28a, there is the text of SY בסידור רבי סעדיה גאון (“according to the version of Rabbi Sa’adiah Gaon”). This text is, in fact, a version of SY according to the Long Recension, where a few passages from Donnolo's commentary on SY (mostly concerning §§ 14–15 of SY) have been copied.

28. Jt. New York—Jewish Theological Seminary—ms. Mic. 8818 [Acc. 03895]

There is no catalogue information concerning this manuscript. According to the catalogue of IMHM-JNUL, the manuscript was copied in the 16th century. Paper. Ashkenazi script.

The manuscript contains the text of SY, with commentaries by Ramban and Pseudo-Ramban. On f. 2a lines 1–27, where a passage from Donnolo's introduction to SY beginning with *קדם מפעליו דרכו ראשית דרכו קנני ראשית דרכו* and ending with *שמסר לאברהם* ... *אבי' ע"ה ביום שכרת עמו הברית כדכתיב ביום ההוא כרת ייי את אברהם ברית* (see below Hebrew Text, 166) is attested. Other passages from Donnolo's commentary on SY are attested on f. 2b (§ 10), 3b (on §§ 7–8), 4a (on § 54), 4a–b (on § 59).

29. Mu. Munich—Bayerische Staatsbibliothek—ms. Cod. hebr. 37.

Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Handschriften*, 24–25. Dated in the catalog of IMHM-JNUL to the 16th century. Paper. Sephardic script.

The manuscript contains a series of texts on the Kabbalah and Jewish mysticism. Ff. 46a–49a contains an incomplete version of SY according to the Long Recension, consisting only of §§ 1–16 of SY. Only the first paragraph is accompanied by a substantial passage of comment, elaborating on Donnolo's commentary (f. 46a lines 12–20), while the rest of the text is basically a version of SY where only a few very short passages from Donnolo's commentary are attested.

30. Mo. Moscow—Russian State Library—ms. 248

Guenzburg Manuscripts Collection, vol. I, n.p. Paper. Oriental Sephardic script. 16th century.

The manuscript contains a version of SY with some excerpts from Donnolo's commentary (ff. 256b–272a). The text of SY and the passages from Donnolo's commentary are virtually identical to and almost entirely coincident with those attested in ms. London—British Library—Or. 6577 (Lo) (see above 98) from which it was probably copied.

31. Ms. Moscow—Russian State Library—ms. 213

Guenzburg Manuscripts Collection, vol. I, n.p. Paper.—Oriental cursive script. 17th–18th century.

The manuscript contains several items on the Kabbalah. Ff. 207a–b contains a fragment of SY (only the text of §§ 37a–43), where a few passages from Donnolo's commentary (mainly those which Donnolo had inserted within the text of SY itself) are included. Although the textual information that could establish with confidence any genealogical

relation between this and other manuscripts of the tradition is extremely poor, on f. 207a line 9, the manuscript shares an important variant reading with other witnesses (more specifically, K, Lo and Jt).

32. Pg. Prague—Zidovske Museum—ms. 119/4

Sadek, “Yom Tov Lipman Muelhausen”. Paper. Ashkenazi script. 1850.

The manuscript contains a copy of the Munich manuscript, from which it was certainly copied.

On f. 18b lines 8–9 of ms. Florence—Biblioteca Laurenziana—Plut. 44.22 (a manuscript containing several items concerning astronomy and astrology), the scribe says he copied a section concerning the propitious and ill-omened days of the month—in astrological terms, an *emerologion*—from SH: העתקתי מספר ר' שבתאי הנקרא חכמוני. Since Donnolo, as far we know from the extant works, never dealt specifically with this astrological issue, it may well be that the scribe had copied it from a witness where an astrological work was wrongly attributed to Donnolo. According to Neubauer, (*Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, I, n° 1534, coll. 538–539) ff. 12b–15b of ms. Oxford—Bodleian Library—Mich. Add. 37 contains excerpts from Donnolo’s commentary on SY. After direct examination of the witness and as underlined also by Beit-Arié and May (*Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, col. 256–257), however, it appears that the folios contain only part of the commentary on SY by Azriel of Gerona, who based his analysis on the Long Recension of SY (which is the same Donnolo used for his commentary).

The Attestation of the Text in the Manuscripts

(x = text attested in the manuscript; fg = only some parts or fragmentary passage of the section are attested). Apograph manuscripts are indicated in the first column in round brackets.

Manuscripts	Introduction (1st poem)	Introduction (2nd poem and astrological chart)	Commentary on Gen. 1.26	Introduction to the commentary on SY	Commentary on SY
G	fg	x	fg	fg	
P (Pr, H)	x			x	x (§§ 1-63)
F	x		x	x	x (§§ 1-64)
L					x (§§ 1-64)
O				x	x (§§ 1-63)
V					x (§§ 40-55)
W				x	x (§§ 1-8)
N	x		x	x	x (§§ 1-64)
Pa			x		
Q					x (§§ 1-63)
Par.	fg		x		
K			x	x	x (§§ 1-60)
T					x (§§ 1-40)
J					x (§§ 54-63)
E					x (§§ 1-63)
Tur (M)	x		x	x	x (§§ 1-55)
C (Z)					x (§§ 1-40)
U	x		x	x	x (§§ 1-63)
Lo (Mo)					x (§§ 1-64)
Ox.			x		
Oxo					x (§ 44)
Oxon					x (§§ 14-15)
Jt				x	
Ps (Mu, Pg)					x (§§ 1-16)
Ms					x (§§ 37-43)

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

G, dated to the 11th–12th century, is by far the oldest witness of the manuscript tradition and holds the highest position in the stemma. It contains sentences and longer sections that, as seen above, are not attested by any other manuscript. While there seems to be no doubt about the authenticity of the astronomical and calendrical chart of f. 3a (see Hebrew Text 140–141), it is uncertain whether the additional passages of f. 2a¹ are later scribal additions or, as Sharf and Loewenthal suggested,² passages that Donnolo himself had added to his work in the year 4742 (981–982 according to the Gregorian calendar, a date to which Donnolo refers on f. 4a lines 9–10 of ms. Oxford—Bodleian Library—Heb.e.26) when, according to the two scholars, he probably revised the first edition of the work completed in 946. This hypothesis seems perfectly plausible: first, in the introduction, Donnolo criticises Samuel, the author of the *Baraita of Samuel*, for having written a book “very difficult to understand” (see below English Translation, 273), and the aim of most of the additional passages attested in G is to explain the meaning of some technical astrological terms which inexperienced readers may easily have misunderstood; secondly, in G is attested a second poem, also with an acrostic bearing Donnolo’s name and patronymic, followed by a long passage (see below Hebrew Text, 141–142) where the author, by addressing the reader directly, justifies the study of astrology and its value as an original Jewish discipline.³ It is implausible that a scribe, instead of copying the

¹ The additional passages are indicated here in square brackets: [הוא העולה] מול הצומח [הוא הרביעי לזורה] ומול התהום [הוא הסוכל המסתכל לזורה] ומול הרום [הוא אשר יהיה צפון] ומול השוקע במערב [הוא הסוכל המסתכל לזורה] ומול הרום [הוא אשר יהיה ... באמצע כיפת הרקיע בצד דרום] ומול עשירי לזורה] למדני סדר ... As it clearly appears, the words in brackets explain the meanings of some technical expressions used exclusively in astrological and astronomical texts and not in current use in other texts.

² Sharf, *The Universe*, 157; Loewenthal, “Per una rilettura,” 345–352.

³ This section contains another acrostic with Donnolo’s name and patronymic (שׁבַח בְּרַכָּה תְּהִילָה יִתְּנוּ בְּרִיּוֹת רְיֹם אֲרָאִלִּים בְּזִקִּים רִגְשׁ הַמּוֹלָה מְלֹאכִים חֲשֵׁמְלִים זִיקֵי קָלִל וְכֹל ... צבא; the letters of the acrostic are indicated by the apostrophes). This offers further support to the hypothesis that the text of G derives from a genuine version of the text which Donnolo himself had modified.

text, not only voluntarily composed a poem (admittedly not as original as the first, since it is made up entirely of juxtaposed biblical verses; see Hebrew Text, *ibid.* and English Translation, 240–241) in order to defend the authorship of another writer but also composed an original text in defence of the study of astrology.

According to this hypothesis, therefore, G derives from a revised version of the text that Donnolo made in 982. This has been indicated in the stemma by α^2 , to distinguish it from α , the archetype of the 946 version.⁴ The question whether or not G comes from a revised version of the text is not easily resolved, even though the hypothesis of a genuine version of the text seems, on the whole, quite convincing. In the stemma, the two possible origins of G are shown. The two question marks indicate that no fully cogent evidence in favour of one or the other hypothesis has yet been found and that uncertainty still exists.

Although G differs from all the other witnesses insofar as it contains parts of the text not attested by other witnesses, manuscripts Par, Pa share with G a series of important variants.

Ms. Par (15th century) contains an incomplete version of the first poem (beginning from *לפענוה סודם חכמה*; see below Hebrew Text, 137), together with a complete version of the introductory section and the commentary on Gen. 1:26. Ms. Par does not contain the astronomical-calendrical chart and the second part of the introductory section (see below Hebrew Text, 140–144). However, it shares with G some important variants, the most significant of which are the spelling of the name of Donnolo's astrology instructor (*b-g-d-ṭ* instead of *b-g-d-sh* as attested in all the other witnesses)⁵ and an identical version of the names of the planets and constellations in the short text preceding the astronomical

⁴ As pointed out in the previous chapter (see above p. 81), some of the additional sections attested in G are attested in *Sefer Orhot Šaddiqim*, one of the most important ethical works composed between the 14th and 15th centuries by an anonymous Ashkenazi author. This suggests that witnesses derived from G or from a common archetype were circulating in Europe, at least until the composition of the work. The author of this work quoted also from the commentary on Gen. 1:26 (see e.g. below English Translation, 242 n. 87), from a long section where Donnolo explains the relations between the elements of the micro and the macrocosm. This quotation, not by coincidence, shares many variants with G, K with Par, but also Pa at the end of which (f. 6a) the scribe wrote *סליק ספר תקון מדות הנפש*, similar to *ספר המדות*, which is one of the titles by which *Sefer Orhot Šaddiqim* was also known. One cannot rule out the possibility that, according to the scribe, what he was copying was not Donnolo's SH, but part of the *Sefer Orhot Šaddiqim*.

⁵ As we have seen above (Biographical Details, 14 n. 54) the first form is preferable, inasmuch as it is closer to the "bagdadi" (Babylonian), the topomastic designation by which Donnolo probably referred to his teacher.

chart, which in Par (f. 47a), just as in G (f. 2b), the scribe wrote in a chart of three lines and five columns. Ms. Par probably originated from a source that was similar but not identical to G, a manuscript from which the astronomical-calendrical chart had already been omitted and to which the additional passages attested in G had not been copied, a witness, it follows, that probably originated from the first version of the work, the one which Donnolo composed in 946.⁶

Many of the variants of G and Par are shared by ms. Pa (14th–15th century), where only an incomplete version of the commentary on Gen. 1:26 is attested. Since the most important and most significant variants of G are in the introductory section, which is not contained in Pa, it is not possible to establish with certainty what relation there is between this manuscript and G. Pa, however, often agrees with Par, sharing many of its peculiar variants.⁷ According to Zotenberg (*Catalogues des manuscrits hébreux*, 125–126) Pa is slightly older than Par, but it cannot have been its source because many passages attested in Par are omitted in Pa, where several repetitions and omissions by homeoteleuton and homeoarcton have been observed. For the same reason, also assuming against Zotenberg's dating hypothesis that Par is older than Pa, this cannot have derived from Par, where several omissions not attested in Pa and other witnesses of the tradition have been observed (cf. for example Par., f. 47b–48, 54a–57b and Par. 1a–1b, 5a–6a). Their agreement can be explained by assuming that both witnesses derived from a common source, which in the stemma is indicated by γ .

⁶ Among all variants shared by G and Par, two are noteworthy. In a passage of the introductory section (see below Hebrew Text, 138 and English Translation, 228), Donnolo affirms that, after he had spent a long time looking for a teacher, he eventually found “a non-Jewish man”: G and Par read גוי אהד, while all the other manuscripts where this section is attested (P, F, M, U) read גוי אהד. In G and Par, the numeral adjective אהד (“one”) is used as a substantive, which is unusual according to standard Biblical and medieval Hebrew grammar. In the second form, אחד is used as the indefinite article “a,” as is standard in Biblical and medieval Hebrew. The meaning of the expression is basically the same, and it is, therefore, more plausible that the scribe had modified the first form (a “lectio difficilior”) which, therefore, we should assume to be much closer to the original text.

⁷ This appears very clearly since the first line of Pa (f. 1; Par f. 47b line 6), where the witness omits a long section of the sentence (אראה את יהוה לא ראה דמות פניו אלא ראה את) (הכסא וכבוד ה' מעל הכסא אבל ראה את שוליו בשולי המעיל. הנה למדנו ... לא ינום ולא יישן) from this passage up to (see below Hebrew Text, 151), 24 common omissions have been observed. In the same section, in addition to the omissions in common with Par, Pa omits more than 20 times.

Virtually all variant readings of the commentary on Gen. 1:26 contained in G are shared by ms. K (15th century) from which numerous passages, however, have been omitted, not only by homeoteleuton and homeoarcton but also—since these omissions do not compromise the general understanding of the text—as the result of a careful editorial intervention by which the scribe probably tried to summarize the text and make an abridged version of it. There are striking similarities between G and K, but because the latter does not contain the introductory section to the work where the additional passages of G are attested, it is difficult to ascertain whether K derives directly from G, and thus from α^2 the archetype of the 982 version, or from α , the 946 version. There are many places where Par and Pa share with K variants that are, however, common also to G. K, it follows, probably derives from the same sub archetype, which in the stemma is indicated by γ .

From the same source probably were derived also mss. Lo and Mo. The two witnesses contain only a few passages of the commentary on SY (on this, see the description of each of them in the previous chapter), and on the whole, the textual information is too scanty to define with certainty their genealogical relationships. In Lo (which Margoliouth dated to the 14th–15th century), in the commentary on §13 of SY (f. 45b lines 15–16) is written תהו. זה קו ירוק שהוא מקיף כל העולם כלו. זהו חשך שנרא סביב לעולם קודם עלות השחר. ועל כן נקרא עלות השחר כי יעלה אותו השחר ויבא אור ... , a sentence which appears in exactly the same form in three 16th century manuscripts: in Jt (f. 2b lines 6–7 from the bottom), in Oxon (early 16th century; f. 23b lines 14–15), and in Mo (16th century; f. 264a lines 15–16), whose texts are entirely coincident with Lo, from which they were probably copied.⁸ In the commentary on §40 of SY, where Donnolo explains the relationships between the number of letters involved in a combination and the number of possible combinations, the scribe of K (f. 68 lines 21–24) wrote: מה שאין הפה יכול לדבר ועין יכולה לראות ואזן לשמוע ב' אבנים בונות ב' בתים. א'ל ל'א. ג' ששה א'ל'ה ה'ל'א ל'א'ה ל'ה'א' אה'ל הא'ל. ארבע בונות ארבעה ועשרים בתים אלהי אה'ל'י איה'ל אה'ל איה'ל. א'ל'ה. א'ל'ה ל'א'ה'י להא'י ליה'א ליה'א ל'א'ה'ה לה'יא ה'ל'א הא'ל'י ה'ל'א'י ה'יא'ל ה'ל'יא הא'ל'י יה'ל'א יה'ל'א ... יאה'ל יאל'ה יל'א'ה יהא'ל וראה רמו חשבונם (cf. Hebrew Text below, 181).

⁸ Striking similarities between Mo and Lo have been observed also in their graphical layouts, which are almost identical. The hypothesis that Mo was copied from Oxon (which is slightly older than it, having been copied in the early 16th century) can certainly be dismissed, since Oxon omits a long section of the last part of Book Three (Oxon, f. 28), which is attested in Mo (f. 271 line 8) and Lo (f. 51 line 8).

This passage appears in a slightly shorter version in mss. Lo (f. 47a line 21–22) and its apographs Oxon (f. 25a line 5) and Mo (f. 266b line 1).⁹ According to Margoliouth (see above 98), Lo was composed between the 14th or 15th century and should be, therefore, slightly older than K, which is dated to the 15th century. This means, if Margoliouth dating is correct, that three witnesses derive from a common source, older than K, probably deriving from γ . This is indicated in the stemma by the letter η .

Extremely uncertain is the position of mss. Ps (mid 15th century), Mu (16th century?) and its apograph Pg (1850), where only a few short passages from Donnolo's commentary on SY (§§ 1–16) are attested. Mss. Ps and Mu are virtually identical and the two witnesses share some significant variants not attested by other manuscripts of the tradition: in the commentary on § 8 of SY, for example, Ps (f. 50b) and Mu (f. 47a) read *ומכוונים בספרי חכמה* instead of the singular *בספר החכמה*; as already pointed out (see above 100), in the commentary on § 5 of SY, Ps and Mu read *שלא להרהר שלום האלהות לחשוב את דעתו* which seems to be a misinterpretation of *כלום באלהותו שלא להרהר כלום* (see below Hebrew Text, 169) attested in all the manuscripts. At the end of Donnolo's section (§ 16 of SY), Mu (f. 49a) and Pg omit *מרוח מים*, which is attested in Ps (f. 51b).¹⁰ All this, in summary, suggests that Mu was copied from Ps. All the differences between Mu and Ps and have been observed in Pg which, as already pointed out, in all likelihood derives from Mu.

We have observed only one variant common to Ps (f. 51a lines 34–35), Mu (f. 48a lines 25–26) and K (f. 60 lines 23–24) in the commentary on § 13 of SY, where all three manuscripts add to *תוהו ואבני בהו קו* (see below Hebrew Text, 202) *וכיצד נעשה הרפש והטיט שהוציא מן המים*. A second similar passage between Ps (f. 51b lines 24), Mu (f. 49a) and L (f. 207 lines 10) has been observed at the end of the commentary on § 13 of SY, where both the witnesses read *ארבע אש ממים ורום ותחת מזרח* (cf. below, Hebrew Text, 171). The genealogical information concerning Ps and Mu is, on the whole, too scanty to determine with certainty the relation of Ps and Mu with other witnesses of the tradition. Ps, Mu and its apograph Pg have been inserted in the stemma in relation to γ , to which L and K have

⁹ שני בתים אל לא. שלש שונות ששה בתים אלי' אה' ל לא' ה' לה' א' ה' ל' א' וראה רמז חשבונם

...

¹⁰ There are other places where Mu omits words attested in Ps; compare, for example Mu f. 47a line 23 and Ps f. 51a line.

been attributed. This attribution, however, is largely conjectural and, in general, very uncertain.

From sub archetype γ probably derive also V and W, as well as L and J. V shares numerous variants with K, the most significant of which is to be found in the commentary on §§ 48a–b of SY, at the end of which all the witnesses, except V and K, read *ומעידים על האחד כי הוא אחד ואין לו שני* (see below Hebrew Text, 197). V has a longer version reading *ולקיים על פי שלושה עדים נחלקים הששה בשתי כתי עדים שלשה ושלושה ומעידים על האחד ולקיים על פי שלושה עדים נחלקים הששה בשתי כתי עדים שלשה ושלושה ומעידים על האחד כי הוא אחד ואין לו שני*. The same version appears in K where, however, some words are repeated, probably due to homeoteleuton. The text of V is clearly superior, and the mistake of K may well have been generated from a misreading of a witness similar to V (but not from V itself, as will be shown below).

Not far from this passage, there is a long section where Donnolo, commenting on and simultaneously rectifying the text of SY (§§ 54), explains what he thinks are the correct relationships between the twelve simple letters of the Hebrew alphabet, the constellations of the Zodiac, and the months of the year (see below Hebrew Text 199–200 and English Translation, 339 ff.). In all the manuscripts, such a detailed explanation ends with the paragraph dealing with the letter *zayin*, being then followed (in all witnesses, except K and V) by a passage which summarily explains the relationships concerning the remaining letters (from *het* to *kof*).

In V (ff. 22b–23a), on the contrary, the explanation is given in detail for each letter, up to the end of the series of the twelve simple letters. A similar version appears in K where, however, the explanation ends with the letter *yod*, being then followed by a sentence that explains the rationale of these relationships (*ובעינין הוא ילכו כל החדשים שלמזלות לכל מזל ומזל לשמש ל' יום*; cf. below 237). The scribe of K shows throughout the witness a particular tendency to elaborate and develop the text. However, it seems implausible that the two scribes of V and K, independent of each other, had purposely decided to explain in detail what the author had already expressed in a perfectly intelligible way, instead of copying a text (attested in all the other manuscripts) that on the whole is perfectly clear.¹¹ A similar version

¹¹ The principle by which Donnolo explains the relations between the letters, the constellations, and the months is very simple, based on a mathematical scheme that is clear from the first sentence. Assuming that the scribal intervention is to rationalise the text (as was observed in virtually all our manuscripts, in which the scribes have arbitrarily removed passages—often quotations from the Bible—that they thought to be unnecessary for the comprehension of the text) rather than to expand it, the text of V

These two passages are attested in exactly the same form at the end of N (ff. 23b–24a) as a sort of addendum to the text. It is likely that the scribe of N—once he had finished copying its manuscript and after he had seen that the text of L contained important parts of the text which his source had omitted—made a careful comparison of the two manuscripts, emending N according to the text of L, and, as noted, adding the three long passages.

K cannot have been copied from V, in which some passages and words attested in K are omitted, nor from L, which does not contain the introduction to the commentary on SY, attested in K. For the same reasons, we can exclude the possibility of a direct origin of V from L. The three witnesses—together with W, as we will see immediately below—probably derive from a common source, a sub-archetype that, in the stemma, is indicated by γ.¹⁵

של יום ראשון בממשלת שבתאי ומשעה הוא השמש ליום א' נכנסת שעה ראשונה לליל שני ונופלת בממשלת ... (f. 223a, lines 2–12). The first sentence, where the author set the sun and the moon together in correspondence to the first and second hours, is problematic, because it is in contrast with the principles of the astrological theory of the planetary hours. It may well be, however, either that חמה was originally part of a sentence which read, for example, “the first hour is to the sun and the moon to the second ...”, or more probably and as assumed in the present edition, that חמה was originally read together with כוכב, so as to make the name חמה כוכב (“Mercury”), and that the entire passage was originally set at the end of Book Two of the commentary on SY (after ונוגה בשעה שנים עשרה ומשעת בוא השמש נכנסת שעה ראשונה של ליל יום ראשון וחשוב בשעה ראשונה של יום ראשון כוכב [“Venus in the twelfth hour and, by the time of sunset, the first hour of the eve of Sunday begins. Reckon Mercury in the first hour of Sunday’s [eve]”]), where Donnolo explains the theory of the planetary hours at daytime. This passage restores the last sentence, which, as it appears in the other witnesses, is incomplete and, most important of all, explains the theory of planetary hours at nighttime, a sentence that is missing in all the witnesses. In a sentence of the passage above (בממשלת כוכב חמה וי'א), the series of correspondences is incomplete, and a name—presumably that of לבנה after לבנה in וי'א בממשלת, is missing. The same omission is attested in L and N. This entire paragraph ends with וברעת החשבון הזה, which is exactly what, in all other witnesses, is written after יום ראשון כוכב, mentioned above. All this seems to corroborate the hypothesis that the passage quoted by the scribe in L and N was part of the original text and that in all other witnesses there is a textual lacuna.

¹⁵ V and L share a significant number of variants, and in some cases their texts are entirely coincident. In the commentary to Book Two (V f. 42a and L f. 213b), both manuscripts read מן נם רמו and omit שבעה דברים שכתבו דברים שבעה, attested in other witnesses. Among the most significant common variants, noteworthy is a passage in Book Two (cf. below Hebrew Text, 181) where L (f. 213a line 14) and V (f. 41b line 7) read כמות מתגלגלים, an error which the scribe of V had probably copied from L. L shares several variants also with W: in Book One of the commentary on SY, for example, both the manuscripts add מוצא בהם אינו מאומה to אם ירדוף החכם ... להבין בהם אינו מאומה and completes the meaning of the sentence. Immediately after that, in the same sentence,

From the same archetype probably derived also W, where a complete version of the introduction to the commentary on SY and an incomplete part of the commentary on SY are attested. Some folios are missing, as can be easily inferred from the page catchwords, while the remaining were wrongly bound. The manuscript shares many variants with G, particularly in the introductory section to the commentary on SY.¹⁶ As explained in the previous chapter, W was probably part of a longer codex together with V. W, it follows, was attributed to the sub archetype η , from which also V derived.

From the same sub-archetype probably derives also J (dated 1486). The witness contains only part of Book Three (§§ 54–63 of SY). This manuscript shares some similarities with the witnesses related to γ , particularly K. In a passage of the commentary on § 54 of SY (see below Hebrew Text, 201), where all the manuscripts read *ממרה שבכבד והרחמים מן הכבד הם על אשר יהיה מן הכבד*, K and J have *מן המרירה שבכבד והרחמים מן הכבד הם על אשר יהיה מן הכבד*, which is an explanation of the text. Immediately below, where all the witnesses read *והו זה טח לן סע צק הראיה והשמיעה והרחמים* and *זהו זה טח לן סע צק. הראיה* (Hebrew Text, *ibid.*), K and J have *והו זה טח לן סע צק. הראיה והשמיעה של דבר כלל והרחמים מן הכבד* ... Ms. J contains some unique variants, probably produced by the scribe himself: on f. 3b line 22, about the very end of Donnolo's work (see below, Hebrew Text, 207), to *וריה מאכל* and *ומשתה* the scribe added *ורין ישן*, which is an explanation of the last word, and similarly in the following sentence *שלושה רעות ללשון דבור רע* (Hebrew Text, *ibid.*), where J reads *ג' ללשון רכילות*, which is an explanation of *רע*.

Quite problematic is the position of Q (14th–15th century) and E (1531). The two witnesses are almost entirely identical and perfectly coincident. In both manuscripts, several passages are omitted, but the meaning of the text is generally well preserved. These omissions, as in the case of K, do not seem to be mere errors but the result of a careful editorial

all other manuscripts read *שלמה בחכמתו*, while W (f. 205 line 4) has a longer *ישראל שלמה בן דוד שלמה מלך ישראל*, which probably derives from *שלמה מלך ישראל* (f. 205 line 1). As in relation to V, however, W cannot have derived directly from L, which omits the introductory section to the commentary on SY and other parts of the text (mainly single words) that are attested in W. The similarities found between L, V and W seem to corroborate the hypothesis presented below that V and W were originally parts of the same codex.

¹⁶ For example, in W (f. 199, line 12), the scribe wrongly quotes from the Bible (*ביום ביום ההוא ישעה האדם על עשהו* instead of *ביום ההוא ישעה האדם אל עשהו*), in exactly the same way we find G (ms. Cambridge, University Library, T.-S. K 21.43, 2a; see also Scheiber, "Additional Pages," 155).

intervention, by which the scribe probably sought to summarise the original text, preserving only the parts necessary for its comprehension.¹⁷

In the right margin of f. 10b in Q, the scribe added some passages from the commentary on SY by El'azar of Worms, which in E (f. 171a) have been incorporated into the text of Donnolo's commentary. These additions would logically suggest that E was copied from Q. This hypothesis, however, is invalidated by the fact that Q has many lacunae (particularly evident in f. 16a–b, where the scribe left some blank spaces or “windows”),¹⁸ which do not appear in E (see for example f. 175a), where the text appears in exactly the same form as in other witnesses. Because the lacunae of Q are often very long, it seems highly implausible—according to the hypothesis of derivation of E from Q—that the scribe of E had replaced the missing words in exactly the same forms as they appear in other witnesses.¹⁹ This suggests either that Q and E derive from a common source, a sub-archetype, whose position in the stemma, however, is doubtful or, more probably, that E is contaminated, that is, that the scribe of E copied from Q but also from one or more other manuscripts. The uncertainty concerning the position of these two witnesses is indicated in the stemma by a question mark. The two witnesses share some variants with O (14th century), which does not contain the introductory section to SY attested in Q and E. There are many similarities among these three witnesses, particularly near the end of the work.²⁰

¹⁷ Probably the most significant example is to be found between the end of the introduction and the beginning of the commentary on SY (Q, ff. 9b–10a; E, f. 170a–b), where the text appears in quite an abridged form: ואחרי שראה תקנת העולם ותקנת ברואיו אלפים: שנה קודם שנברא העולם. מיד התחיל לברא את העולם כל"ב פלאות גו' ואלו הן הל"ב פלאות שנברא עולמו. עשר ספירות בלימה והן מכוונות בדמיון ל"ב אצבעות ידיים וי' אצבעו' רגלים וי"י מכוון אחד בתוך עשר ספירות. שהפה והלשון מכוון בין חמש אצבעות מכאן וחמש מכאן ופה ולשון באמצע ליחד לקב"ה וכך ברית יחוד בתוך אצבעו' הרגלים הידים שהם חמש כנגד חמש ומילת באמצע. מדתן עשר שאין להם ... סוף. Cf. below, Hebrew Text, 166–169.

¹⁸ See Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione*, 33.

¹⁹ Here is an example of the lacunae of Q (f. 16a). The brackets indicate the words omitted in Q and attested in Z (f. 175a): זה התלי. וכת' וברוחו פיו כל צבא' מלמד שברוח פיו (ב' המאורו' והמולו' נקראו צבא השמי' דכ' שאו מרום וברברו (מתנהגים כל צבא) השמים וגם הכוכב' וב' המאורו' והמולו' נקראו צבא השמי' דכ' שאו מרום עינו' וראו מי ברא אלה המוצ' במס' צבא' לכ' בשם יק'. מלמד שהאלהי' קרא שמות שלהכוכב' ומולו' ומאורו' ושל (ושל המזלות של צבא) השמי'. וכת' מונה מספ' לכוכב' וגו'. וסמך ליום גדול אדונינו וגו' מלמד כי מראה גודל ה(אלהים מסדר) מעשה מלאכת הכוכב' והמולו' והתלי' והגלגל והעגלה ממה שנראה גדלו בשאר מעשה הע(ולם כי אין) חכמה ואין תבונה מופלאה בעולם כחכמ' הזאת העמוקה והרחבה והארוכה שכת' שכל העולם אדוקין בתלי' גלגל ולב כי כאשר מתנהג כל העולם וכל אשר בו בתלי' וגלגל (כך) מתנהג אף בלב בני אדם שהלב הוא מנהיג את הגוף וכל מלאכת העולם Cf. below Hebrew Text, 201–202.

²⁰ Here is a selection of the most significant shared variants. In the right column is the text attested in other manuscripts; the central column shows the text of Q and E,

These hypothesis of direct derivation of Q and E from O can be easily dismissed because O omits the introductory section to the commentary on SY and several other words that are in Q and E. The three witnesses, it

while in the left column are indicated the witnesses which share the variants. The text is virtually identical in the three witnesses, but O occasionally departs from them, having a better and less fragmentary text. Some of these examples (see for example line 3, 6, 13) show striking similarities among the three manuscripts (see below, Hebrew Text, 206–207):

Q, E, O	הענינים מאירות לגוף להבחינו בכל דבר הערב הטוב לנפש ולגוף ...	הענינים מאירות את הגוף להנחינו בכל דבר הערב והטוב לנפש ולגוף ...
Q, E, O	האזונים שומעות ומשמיעות כל דבר בין טוב בין רע ...	האזונים שומעות ומשמיעות לגוף כל דבר בין טוב ובין רע ...
Q, E, O	עם הכליות להנחינו הגוף בין טוב בין רע ...	עם הכליות להנחינו את הגוף בין טוב ובין רע ...
Q, E, O	ושלושה מחיים. שני חוטמי האף היינו פני ונחירים המתנשמים בהם נשמת החיים ומריחים ריח ...	ושלושה מחיים ואלה הם שני חוטמי האף והטחול. שני חוטמי האף הם הנחירים המתנשמים ברוח נשמת החיים ומריחים ריח ...
Q, E,	ושלושה ממימים שני נקבים התחתונים הוא ...	ושלושה ממימים ואלה הם שני נקבים התחתונים והפה. שני נקבים התחתונים הוא ...
Q, E, O	הוא פי הטחור המוציא את צואה	הוא הטחור המוציא את צואה
Q, E, O	אם יסתמו לרוב או יפתחו לרוב ...	אם יסתמו לרוב או אם יפתחו לרוב ...
Q, E, O	ממימים את גוף. שלושה דברים הם ברשותו. והידיים אם ירצה ...	ממיתים את גוף. והפה אם יאכל בו מאכלים רעים או ידבר בו דברים רעים הוא ממת. שלושה דברים שהם ברשותו של אדם ואלה הם הידיים והרגלים ושפתים. הידיים אם ירצה ...
Q, E, O	להניעם לעשות עמהם בין טוב	להניעם ולעשות עמהם בין טוב
Q, E, here O reads:	והשפתים אם ירצה להחריש בין לדבר להחריש ברשותו ...	וכן השפתים אם ירצה אדם בין לדבר בין להחריש
Q, E, O	שלושה לאון טובות ...	שלושה שמיעות לאון טובות ...
Q, E, here O reads:	טובות עין גואף ...	ברכה ושבח ושמועה טובה. שלושה ראיות רעות לעינים. עין גואף ...
Q, E, O	שלושה ריחות טובות. ריח סמים טובות ריח חריף כחרדל ופלפלין ...	שלושה ריחות טובות. ריח חריף כחרדל ולפלפלין ...

In the commentary to Book One, immediately after the combinatory table (see below Hebrew Text, 175), where all the manuscripts have *צופה וממיר ועושה את כל היצור* (SY § 22), Q, E and O read *צופה ומביט וממיר*. At the end of the same passage, where is written *בגוף, וסימן לדבר עשרים ושתיים השנים*, Q and O read *בגוף, וסימן לדבר עשרים ושתיים השנים*, which do not correspond to the chapters of SY nor to the three main sections of Donnolo's commentary.

follows, probably derive from a common source, another sub-archetype, whose position in the stemma, however, is also doubtful.

O shares some variants with K and V, particularly in Book Three of the commentary on SY (§ 52), where the two witnesses add to every sentence beginning with *המליך את ... וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור* the expression *וצרף את האותיות זאת בזאת*. This expression is attested in other versions of SY with which the two scribes may well have been acquainted²¹ and are not cogent enough to identify a certain relationship between the witnesses.²² Similarly, O shares variants also with L. In Book One of the commentary on SY (see below Hebrew Text, 167), for example, the two manuscripts read *להעמיק בדעתו למצוא עד סוף ולידע את עשר ספירות ...* while all the other witnesses have *להעמיק בדעת אל למצוא עד סוף לידע עשר ספירות ...* or [ms. W] *... ספירות* and [ms. K] *ולדעת את עשר ספירות* and [ms. K] *ולדעת את עשר ספירות ...*

On the whole, even though O shares some variants with the witnesses derived from γ , its position is doubtful. Therefore, equally uncertain is the position of the archetype from which Q and E probably derived. Allowing for the common features that O shares with K, L and V, the archetype and its apographs have been inserted in the stemma in connection to γ , even though, as noted, many doubts about their exact position in the manuscript tradition remain. The three witnesses more than likely derive from a lost source, which in the stemma is indicated by \emptyset . The uncertainty concerning the position of these three witnesses is indicated in the stemma by a question mark.

Probably one of the most interesting palaeographic features of the group deriving from the sub-archetype γ is the numerical superiority of the Byzantine manuscripts, most of which (particularly L, K, V and W) present longer versions of the text, preserving passages not attested in the rest of the tradition. This is probably the most significant difference we have observed between the witnesses of this branch and manuscripts P,

²¹ See Hayman, *Sefer Yesira*, 161–162, where a manuscript of the Sa'adiah Recension (ms. Z) has a similar *זה עם זה וצרף זה*. Moreover, none of the corrections made by the scribe of O appears in the other witnesses. In a passage of the introductory section to the commentary on SY (see below, Hebrew Text, 164), the text reads *ומרוב להביט ולראות ומרוב איחור הראייה לא להבין הוא נאמר כי דבר שעשועים ...* *אחור הראייה לא יראה להבין וכתימא כי דבר שעשועים ...* which is shared by W but is problematic. The scribe of O changed with *אחור הראייה לא יראה להבין וכתימא כי דבר שעשועים ...* which no extant manuscript has (a similar but not identical version is attested in G). By the same token, a few words later, after *וישע על שיש לו אותיות יתרות* (Hebrew Text, *ibid.*) the scribe added *הא לית דכהנה*, which is not attested by other manuscripts.

²² Moreover, neither in O nor in Q and E are attested the three long sections common to V and K.

Pr, H, T, C, Z, N, Tu, M U and F, which, as we will shortly see, probably derived from another branch of the stemma.

As already pointed out by Loewenthal, and as confirmed after a personal examination of the witnesses, from ms. P (14th century) were copied mss. Pr (1433) and H (1845). Many of the reading variants attested in P and its apograph are attested in T (15th century), C (16th–17th century), and Z (19th–20th century) where a virtually identical version of the commentary on SY, but not its introductory section, is attested.²³

Even though all of them (T, C and Z) share many and significant variants with P, they do not derive from it but probably from a common source, which in the stemma is indicated by ε. C and Z are almost entirely coincident. Z, the most recent witness of the tradition (19th–20th cent.), shares all the variants of C, from which it was probably copied. C shares almost all the variants of T but was certainly not copied from T, which omits passages attested in C and Z. These comparisons indicate that C and, therefore, also Z probably derive from a lost witness—in the stemma the sub-archetype ι—from which also T probably derives. Since from ι derived T, C and Z, which share numerous variants with P, and since P omits passages that are attested in the other three witnesses,²⁴ P and the sub-archetype ι probably derived from another, higher sub-archetype, which in the stemma is indicated by ε.

As Castelli pointed out, one of the best witnesses of the tradition is F (1391), which differs from all the other witnesses of both branches in that it presents a different order of the first eight chapters of SY (§§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 6 as opposed to 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 5, 4, 6 as attested in all the other witnesses). These were probably rearranged by the scribe himself according to the text of the SY that he had copied in ff. 78a–79b, which in the manuscript precede the text of Donnolo's commentary (ff. 79b–100b). The witness

²³ In the commentary to Book Two of SY, for example, P, together with T, C and Z after **ישמעם לא ישמעם** (see below Hebrew Text, 182) reads **מוציא**, which is problematic, instead of **היה**. In the same passage, where all the witnesses read **לכתוב ולקרית דבריה כל לשונות** (ibid., ibid.) P and L have **לכתוב ולקרית כל לשונות**. One of the most significant variants common to T, C and Z is in the commentary on Book One (SY § 22; see below Hebrew Text, 175): here, where all the other witnesses read **צופה וממיר** (mss. Q, E and O, as seen above in n. 20, read **צופה ומביט וממיר**), T (f. 187b), C (f. 27b) and Z (f. 4b; the script is hardly decipherable and the reading here is completely uncertain) read **צופה ומאיר**, which is not attested in the manuscript tradition of SY (see Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira*, 109–110), nor by the witnesses of SĤ.

²⁴ These passages are attested in manuscripts belonging to other branches of the manuscript tradition, and as we will see below, they have been used for the edition of the critical text.

shows some interesting similarities with P: the most significant is to be found in a passage in Book Two of the commentary on SY (see below Hebrew Text, 183), where Donnolo explains how to combine the letters of a word. This passage is not attested in M, N and U but appears in a remarkably more detailed version in L and other manuscripts collated to its archetype. F probably derives from the same archetype ε wherefrom P derived.

All the reading variants of Tu (written in 1558, but destroyed by the fire in 1904) were inserted the apparatus of the Castelli edition and are attested in M (16th–17th century), which, in all likelihood, was copied from Tu. M ends in the middle of Book Three of the commentary on SY, exactly where Tu ends.

Tu and M share almost all the reading variants of N (14th–15th century), one of the complete manuscripts, which, however, omits some passages that are attested in Tu and M. This suggests that M and, therefore, Tu were not copied from N but from a common source, a sub-archetype that in the stemma is indicated by \varkappa .

Many reading variants common to M (and Tu) and N are also attested in U (17th century), a complete manuscript which, textually speaking, is not of high quality. The witness omits several passages attested in M and N and contains several scribal mistakes, largely due to misreading, and numerous repetitions due to homeoteleuton and homeoarcton. In the first verse of the introductory poem, for example, U (f. 30b) reads ... שנות שלום רב, which is problematic and which probably derives from the misreading of ... שכתב שלום רב attested in M²⁵ (and in Tu, according to Castelli, *Il commento*, 1 n. 2).²⁶

U was certainly not copied from Tu or M, which omit parts of the text attested in U (for example, the first introductory poem, from מכל מלמדי השכלתי to the end of the poem, and a long section of Book Three of the

²⁵ M, f. 27a: פירוש יצירה ... פירוש שלום רב מפי ...

²⁶ Presumably, also in N; unfortunately, the first folio containing the poem was lost, and verification is not possible. Another good example comes from the text which precedes the astronomical chart (see below Hebrew Text, 139), where Donnolo explains how to read the table. Donnolo says that every constellation consists of 30 degrees (האותיות הארבעות חלקים הם שהם ל' במזל ... ודע כי (שהם) "six", followed by U which has "sixty" (ס'). A similar difficulty appears in P, where the scribe wrote שלשה ("three"; this would be astrologically tenable, if it were referring to the so-called theory of the "decans," of which, however, there is no trace in any of Donnolo's works). In the passage which follows, where Donnolo says that every section consists of 60 minutes (והאחרונות חלקים הם שהם ט' חלקים בחלק של מזל ...) M reads ט' ("nine"), which is wrong and is not attested in other witnesses.

commentary on SY, from *זה התלי והוא מושל בכל הכוכבים והמזלות* to the end of the work; see below, Hebrew Text, 202). U was not, for the same reason, copied from N, where a few passages contained in U are omitted.²⁷ Allowing for the several variants that U shares with M (and Tu) and N,²⁸ U has been attributed to the same common source—the sub-archetype α —to which the other three witnesses were attributed.

As anticipated in the previous chapter, at the end of ms. N (ff. 23b–24a), the scribe added three long passages that he probably considered to be part of the original text. Two of these three sections appear with a few differences in V and K, while all three are attested in exactly the same form in L. Probably, the scribe of N, once he had finished copying his manuscript, found that, in another witness (namely L), the text was considerably longer, containing parts that his source was omitting. For this reason, the scribe of N added these passages at the end of his manuscript, writing at the end of each passage *זה היה חסר למעלה* or *כל זה היה חסר למעלה*, from which we can infer that he recognised them as genuine parts of the text.

The remaining witnesses (mss. Ox, Oxo, Ms) contain only fragmentary passages of Donnolo's work, and the genealogical information that we can gather from their analysis is, therefore, too scanty to place them in the stemma or attribute them to any of its branches.

As the stemma shows, most of the witnesses of the manuscript tradition were copied between the 14th and the 16th century. The genealogical tree consists of two main branches. This bipartition took place in an early stage of the textual transmission, probably around the 11th to 12th century, when the three Genizah fragments making up G were copied.

In all the manuscripts where the first poem of the introduction is attested (P, Pr, H, F, partially also in M), one of the versets (see below Hebrew Text, 166) appears in a corrupted form, reading *מכל מלמדי*

²⁷ The scribe of U did not include, as we will see immediately below, for example, three long passages that the scribe of N wrote at the end of the manuscript. In the introduction to the commentary on Gen. 1:26, for example, M and N omit *ה' מעל הכסא וכבוד ה' מעל הכסא וכל ראה את* from *לא ראה דמות פניו אלא ראה את הכסא וכבוד ה' מעל הכסא אבל ראה את שוליו* (see below Hebrew Text, 145), which is attested in U.

²⁸ Among the most significant common variants of M, N and U, noteworthy is a passage of Book Two of the commentary on SY, in which Donnolo explains the combinatory potentiality of the seven letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Here, as we have seen, P and F present a version that is significantly shorter than those in L and other witnesses of its branch (V and W, K; see below Hebrew Text, 183). In M, N and U, this passage appears in a possibly shorter version (cf. M f. 43a lines 1–5; N f. 14 a lines 15–19; U f. 8 lines 1–4).

השכלתי, which breaks the rhyming scheme of the poem but conforms to the masoretic text.²⁹ This passage was probably emended by a scribe who was more concerned with transmitting the correct form of the biblical text than preserving the original rhyming scheme of the poem. G contains only a few words of the last stich of the poem (see above 79), and therefore, we cannot ascertain whether this passage was originally transmitted in G in the correct form or changed as it was in the other witnesses. Further, all the witnesses containing the introductory section (P, Pr, H, F, M, Pa) omit the calendrical-ephemerides chart, which is attested only in G. The chart disappeared from the manuscript tradition probably between the 12th and the 14th century, which is the chronological gap occurring between the production of G (11th–12th century) and the other earliest manuscripts containing the introductory section to the work (P, Pa, F, N).

In order to establish the sub-archetype γ , G, K and L were used. G contains the introductory section that contains long passages which are not attested by any other witness, as well as parts of the commentary on Gen. 1:26 and of the commentary on SY. L contains one of the textually most complete and linguistically best preserved versions of the commentary on SY. K contains the text of the commentary on Gen. 1:26, which is not attested in L and which G largely misses (due to loss of the folios). K, however, was not used for the redaction of the introductory section and the commentary on SY, which text underwent a substantial editorial intervention by the scribe and whose variants were considered on the whole to be of inferior quality in comparison to those of L. For the same reason, manuscripts Pa and Par were not used.

In two places in the commentary on SY, however, K offers an important contribution to the reconstruction of the text: in Book One (see below Hebrew Text, 170–172) L omits a long passage attested in K, which for this reason was used instead of L; in Book One of the commentary on SY, where Donnolo explains the physical characteristics of the elements (air, moisture, earth, heat, and so on) and their creative potential according to the categories of the masculine and the feminine (see below Hebrew Text, 177), all the witnesses (including L) present various lacunae, omitting part of the correspondences concerning alternatively one of the two masculine-feminine categories. These two long passages are attested in an apparently complete version in K, which, it follows, and only on these

²⁹ For more information, see below, Notes to the Critical Text, 209.

two occasions, was used for the reconstruction of the critical text of the commentary on SY.

Mss. O, Q, E, V, W, Oxon, J, Jt, and Mo, as well as the fragmentary witnesses (Ox, Oxo, Ms, Mu, Pg), have not been used for the redaction of the critical text. Q, E, Oxon, J, and Jt preserve only short passages of the text, which are much better attested in other manuscripts. In other cases (Ox, Oxo, Ms, Mu, Pg), the text is too fragmentary to offer any substantial help for the reconstruction of the critical text. V and W, as previously pointed out, are very similar to L, which text is by far more complete and reliable.

In order to reconstruct the text of the sub-archetype δ , P, M, N and F were used. I have excluded U, most of whose variants are in common with M and N and whose original variants are often of inferior quality. For the same reason, T, C, and Z—which contain only a version of the commentary on SY, and where many passages attested in P were omitted—have been excluded. M is an antigraph of Tu and should logically be rejected. Manuscript Tu, however, was destroyed by fire in 1904, and its antigraph M was therefore used in its place.

The manuscript tradition consists, as we have seen, of two main branches. This means that for the redaction of the critical text we had normally to choose between two variants, which often were very similar to each other and whose selection was consequently uncertain. The manuscripts deriving from γ (G, L, and K) often offered what we considered to be superior variants (both semantically and stylistically speaking), and by which it was also possible to restore passages and entire sections of the text which the witnesses of the branch deriving from δ (F, P, M, N) had in corrupted or incomplete form. I have explained most of my critical choices, as well as some of the most important features concerning the text and the manuscript tradition, in the chapter (“Notes to the Critical Text”) set at the end of the Hebrew text.

PART THREE

PRINCIPLES OF EDITION:
ORGANISATION OF THE TEXT
AND THE APPARATUS CRITICUS

Abbreviations and Preliminary Notes

Symbols used in the critical edition of the Hebrew text:

- [?] uncertain reading owing to physical deterioration of the manuscript or to doubtful interpretation of the script
- † *locus desperatus*
- [] Biblical source references; full spellings of acronyms and abridged words

Symbols used in the apparatus criticus of the Hebrew text:

- [?] uncertain reading owing to physical deterioration of the manuscript or doubtful interpretation of the script
- () textual omission
- [!] sic!

Symbols used in the English translation of SH:

- [] transliteration of Hebrew words; explicatory textual additions and Biblical source references

In order to distinguish the text of SY from Donnolo's glosses and commentary, the former appears in **bold** typeface, in both the Hebrew edition and in the English translation.¹ The reference edition of the Hebrew text of SY is Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira* (Tübingen, 2004). The English translation follows closely the translation of SY in Hayman's edition but departs from it occasionally when deemed to be necessary. In the English translation, the **bold** fonts in square brackets refer to the paragraphs of SY in Hayman's edition.

In capital bold letters are indicated the variations in the number of available witnesses for each page. In the apparatus criticus every single variation in the number of manuscript witnesses is indicated by words in

¹ Not, however, in the apparatus of the Hebrew text.

bold characters; these indicate the point in the text where the variations are taking place (where, for the sake of clarity, two or more words were highlighted, the first of the series is to be considered the point where the variation is actually taking place).

Quotations from the Bible are generally taken from the *JPS—Hebrew-English Tanakh* (second edition, Philadelphia, 1999), but whenever that translation departs from or obscures the relevant literal meaning, the *New Revised Standard Version*, London, 1998, or the *Authorized King James Version*, Oxford, 1997, were used instead. In the English translation, all quotations from the Bible are presented in *italics*.

The English translations of midrash Rabbah and the Babylonian Talmud are from *Midrash Rabbah*. M. Freedman, ed. London, 1939 and *Babylonian Talmud*. I Epstein, ed. London, 1935–1948.

Some quotations from Donnolo's SH that appear in later works are mentioned in the footnotes to the English translation. These are not meant to be exhaustive but rather to highlight the main landmarks in the course of the reception history of the text.

As in mss. Parma 2123 (P), Florence 44.14 (F) and Moscow 302/3 (M), the Hebrew text and the English Translation have been divided into three main sections: 1) an autobiographical introduction (in which I have included also the text attested only in ms. Oxford Heb.e.26 [G]); 2) the commentary on Genesis 1:26; and 3) the commentary on SY. The latter has been subdivided—as Donnolo himself states and as is indicated graphically in P, F, M, N, and U—into three “books,” corresponding to the groups into which SY divided the letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

Normalisation of Orthography

In the present edition, the sacred Tetragrammaton was always abbreviated with 'ה.² By the same token, the Hebrew name of the planet Saturn, which the manuscripts spell alternatively either as שבתאי or שבתִי,³ in the present edition was conventionally spelt always with *aleph*, to distinguish

² Such is not the case, however, in the apparatus, where the name was transcribed according to the version attested by the different manuscripts. In the witnesses of the manuscript tradition, the divine name is abbreviated in different ways, either by * (*yod*), or by 'ה, or else by a pyramid of three *yods* (***).

³ Most of the witnesses (L, P, Pr, H, F, G, K, Pa, Pa, V, W) read שבתִי. In M, N, U and Q, the name of the planet is always spelt with *aleph* (שבתאי).

it from Donnolo's first name. Likewise, the name of Mercury, which the witnesses have either as כוכב (lit. "star") or as כוכב חמה (lit. "the star of the sun"), has been standardised so as to read always כוכב חמה, which is more specific than כוכב and clarifies the meaning of the text, avoiding confusion between the specific planet and a generic reference to a celestial body.

Differences between כתיב/כתוב and דכתיב/דכתוב, which the witnesses use and change arbitrarily, have not been indicated in the apparatus criticus. They have, therefore, been standardised in the Hebrew text with כתוב and דכתוב respectively. Similarly, differences between two equivalent words, such as כמו and כמה, have not been indicated in the apparatus criticus, and in the Hebrew text they were standardised with כמו.

One of the most recurrent medical terms used by Donnolo in this and other of his texts is "bile", which the manuscripts spell mostly as מרה and in fewer cases (for example in mss. M, N and less frequently also in P) as מרירה. These two terms are semantically equivalent and their alternative use does not respond to any specific semantic need. In the present edition the word has been standardised as מרה, and variations on its use, unless significant, have not been indicated in the apparatus.⁴

In order to limit the apparatus to manageable proportions, the following types of variants were not recorded unless they proved significant for better comprehension of the text: word order; differences between plene and defective spellings; acronyms; abridgements; and abbreviations, omissions or additions of minor grammatical particles,⁵ as well as repetitions by homeoteleuton and homeoarcton. Similarly, minor scribal additions such as [וגי'מר] or [וכו'לי] and extra-textual scribal additions (for example, the Latin translation of the names of the planets in M; see above 96) have not been indicated in the apparatus. The punctuation of the Hebrew text reflects the interpretation it was given in the English translation. In some cases, where the meaning was uncertain, commas have occasionally been added.

One of the most recurrent variations in the manuscript tradition is in the use of the article, which the witnesses seem to change in quite an arbitrary way. The same problem was in other Donnolo's texts (e.g. *Sefer ha-mazzalot* and *Sefer ha-yaqar*). It was therefore impossible to establish the rule of the article in Donnolo's language.

⁴ Where, however, the two terms are spelt according to the text of the scribal variant.

⁵ Such as the accusative marker את (*et*) and ו (we/u) conjunctive. By contrast, the ו conversive was recorded in every case.

In most cases, these variations (especially in constructs such as בני אדם and בני האדם or יצירת העולם and יצירת עולם) bear no semantic differences. In this edition I have followed the text of F where the article is used in a much more, but not totally, consistent way than in other witnesses, departing from it, however, whenever the variants of other witnesses were deemed preferable. Variations in the use of the article have not been indicated in the apparatus. However, whenever a variation in the use of the article determines a significant change in the meaning of the text, it has been indicated in the apparatus criticus.

The Title

The work is known in the manuscript tradition under two similar titles, *Sefer Hakhmoni* and *Sefer Takhmoni*. These are two versions of the name of the father of one of King David's warriors as mentioned in the Bible.⁶ It is clear, however, that there is no relation between this biblical figure and the work of Donnolo, but that the two names were used because they are semantically related to חכמה ("wisdom"). Both mean "wise" and are synonyms. In either case, therefore, the title could be translated with "Book of the Wise [Man]."

Which of the two names was part of the original title, however, is not entirely clear. It may well be that Donnolo had used חכמוני instead of a more standard חכמה, probably in order to distinguish his work from other homonymous works (for example, the apocryphal *Book of*

⁶ This is the list of David's warriors: Jashobeam, son of Hakhmoni, the chief officer (1 Ch. 11:11); Jonathan, David's uncle, was a counselor, a master, and a scribe: Jehiel son of Hakhmoni was with the king's sons (ibid., 27:32), and these are the names of David's warriors: Josheb-basshebeth, a Tahchmonite, the chief officer—he is Adino the Eznite ... (2 Sam. 23:8). In Ps. 119:98 is written מְאִיבֵי תְּחַכְּמֵנִי מִצְוֹתָי כִּי לְעוֹלָם הֵיא (Your commandments make me wiser than my enemies), which is reminiscent the following verse (מִכָּל מְלַמְדֵי הַשָּׂפְלִיתִי, I have gained more insight than all my teachers), which Donnolo uses in the first introductory poem. See below Hebrew Text, 137, and English Translation, 222. An interesting interpretation of the name *Tachmoni* appears in *bMo'ed Kaṭan* 16b, where, however, there seems to be nothing concerning Donnolo's interpretation of the name: "*Tachmoni*. Rab explained: The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him [to David]. Since you have humbled yourself you shall be like Me [תהא כמוני] [that is], that I make a decree and you [may] annul it. *Chief officers*, [that is] you be chief next to the three Fathers. He is Adino the Eznite, [that is] when he was sitting engaged in the [study of] Torah he rendered himself pliant as a worm, but when he went marching out to [wage] war he hardened himself like a lance ...".

In P as well as in F, M and N, however, the title is followed by שבתי, Donnolo's first name. P reads ספר תחמוני צפנת פענח. שבתי ("Book of the Wise who reveals secrets/mysteries, Shabbatai"), which is problematic, given that the name of Donnolo is left alone without apparent relation to the rest of the title. F reads ספר חמוני שבתי—the same as P but omitting צפנת פענח—while M has ... פירוש ספר יצירה ספר מחמוני שכתב ... ("Commentary [on] the Book of Formation, the Book of the Wise who wrote ..."), where שכתב may well be a corruption of שבתי but also part of a longer title which originally probably read פירוש ספר יצירה ספר חמוני של שבתי שכתב ... ("Book of the Wise by Shabbatai who wrote ..."). U, which we attributed to the same branch from which M derives (see above 119), has the same title, but instead of שכתב, it has שנות so as to read שנות שלום ... רב מפי אל שדי ... which is probably a corrupted version of שכתב attested in M.¹⁴ While there is little doubt about the spurious nature of צפנת פענח attested only in P, it is not entirely clear whether the name of Shabbatai was part of the original text or a scribal addition in order to identify the author of the work.

Let us consider by hypothesis that the original title of the work was ספר שבתי חמוני של ("The Wise Book of Shabbatai"). If של ("of") is omitted (due, for example, to homeoarcton), the title becomes problematic, and it is fairly possible that the scribes, trying to resolve the difficulty, had intervened, changing חמוני to תחמוני (P, U), adding צפנת פענח (P), or changing or miscopying the name שבתי as שכתב (M), which in cursive script can be easily confused.

Another hypothesis that would explain the various versions of the title attested in the manuscript tradition is that the original title wording was ספר חמוני של שבתי שכתב ... ("The Wise Book of Shabbatai who wrote ..."): here we have a sequence of three *shin* and two graphically similar words (שבתי שכתב) and, therefore, also a good chance of omission (by homeoarcton) and metathesis, from which further corruption would follow. If one of these three items is modified (particularly the omission of both של and שבתי or of one of them), the title becomes easily subject to scribal modifications. This hypothesis, however, does not find any cogent proof in the manuscript tradition and, in the absence of new findings, it is to be considered largely intuitive. The only part and version of the title which is attested by virtually all the witnesses of the tradition, and upon whose authenticity there seems to be no uncertainty, is, in brief,

¹⁴ In N, coming from the same sub-archetype wherefrom M derives, the first folio is missing, and it is not possible to verify this variant in the witness.

ספר חכמוני. For this, all the other forms have not been included in the Hebrew text.

Manuscripts ¹⁵	Title	Title attested in the introductory section (see below Hebrew Text, 139, line 15)	Title attested in the introductory section (see below Hebrew Text, 139, lines 23–24)
G	–	... בספר הנקרא חכמוני	... זה ספר חכמוני
P (Pr, H)	אחל ספר יצירה והוא הנקרא ספר תחכמוני צפמת פענח. שבתי שלום ... רב	... בספר הנקרא תחכמוני	... זה ספר תחכמוני
F	פירוש ספר יצירה הנקרא ספר חכמוני שבתי. שלום ... רב	... בספר הנקרא חכמוני	... זה ספר חכמוני
N	–	... בספר הנקרא חכמוני	... זה ספר חכמוני
Par	–	... בספר הנקרא חכמוני	... אתחיל ספר חכמוני
M	פירוש ספר יצירה ספר מחכמוני שכתב שלום ... רב	... בספר הנקרא חכמוני	... זה ספר מחכמוני
U	ספר תחכמוני שבו פי' ספר יצירה חבר החכם הגדול ה"ר שבתאי ב"ר אברהם ז"ל המכונה דו"טולו הרופא. שנות שלום רב בספר הנקרא תחכמוני	... זה ספר חכמוני

¹⁵ I have not included in this table the reading of the fragmentary witnesses. It is interesting to note, however, that ms. Oxford—Bodleian Library—Opp. 697 (above Oxo), reads (f. 44a) ... בספר שבתי חכמוני ... and similarly הקנה ... שער מדד ... including Donnolo's first name in the title. In ms. Florence—Biblioteca Laurenziana—Plut. 44.22 (see above 102) the scribe wrote העתקת מספר ר' שבתאי הנקרא חכמוני. In these two witnesses, just as in the majority of the manuscripts mentioned above, only חכמוני is attested.

HEBREW TEXT

פירוש ספר יצירה הנקרא ספר חכמוני שבתי

שלום רב מפי אל שדי \ ברכות ונחמות טובות עד בלי די \ תבאנה לכל מי שיכתוב זה ספר למודי \ יושיעוהו אל אם יכתבהו בשם שבתי[†] \ בלי למחות שמי מזה ספר סודי \ רק לכתוב שמי בין ידידי \ אז יחשב לו כנתינת משכורת בודאי \ בין יבין יגיעי שיגעתי בכל מאודי \ רשמי חכמתי ללמוד לא חסתי במחמדי \ האמנם על זה 5 ראוי הלוחם בלחם חמודי \ מאמר פי לקיים ולכתוב בכתב ידי \ חסד יעשה מלהבזות להתלמד משמי שקראוני יולדי \ זכור יזכור הכתוב מכל מלמדי השכלתי[†] \ קנאה ירחיק מלבו מלשלם רעה תחת חסדי \ הוא החפץ לישא ברכה מאת ה' \ וצדקה מאלהי ישעי כדבר חנוני \ און יאזין לכתוב תחלה חרווי ותקוני \ דברי הספר וחכמתי באחרונה לכתוב כעיניני ועל זה העידותי בחפצי לרשום ספר הגיוני \ נאמי אם לא יקיימו שופט צדק ידין דיני \ [†] ינקום[†] נקמתי מהם אל נקמות ה' \ לא יאבה ה' סלוח להם על עלבוני \ וחכמתם ישיב לאחור מלהבין בסודי \ הודם והדרם ישפיל בגורת ה' \ ניב שפתותיהם לא יתקיים בין עם ה' \ וימחו מארץ חיים אם ימחו פיוטי זכרוני \ לבאר שחת ירדו חיים כנצבים על עם ה' \ דברי אלה אם ימאסו מלכתבם בסדרי שנוני \ מאוס ימאסם אלהי אם לא יחושו לבזיוני \ אף בכל זאת בה' אלהי שמתי בטחוני 15 \ והוא ישלם שכר יגיעי שיגעתי רוב שני \ ראשית חכמה סודם לפענח ליראי ה' \ סודות ספרים סתומים חתומים ועמוקים לפרש יותר מקדמוני \ חסדיו הנאמנים ינחמוני מכל אנחותי ויגוני \ זכר יד שם טוב יתן לי בביתו ובקהל ה' \ קנין ראשית דרכו ינחיל לבני ולבני בני. נצח סלה ועד אמן. כל זה נסיתי בחכמה אמרתי אחכמה והיא רחוקה ממני. 20 אני שבתי בר אברהם המכונה שמי דונולו הרופא בעזרת אל חי לעד הנותן חכמה ותבונה ודעת בקשתי למצוא דברי חפץ ונוהרתי עשות ספרים הרבה ונתתי את לבי לדרוש ולתור בחכמה על אשר גרמו העונות. והגלתה עיר אורם ארץ מולדתי על ידי חיל ישמעאליים בשני בשבת בשעה רביעית ליום בכוכב מאדים בתשעה ימים לחודש תמוז בשנת ארבעת אלפים ושש מאות ושמונים וחמש לבריאת עולם בשנת י"א למחזור

FMP P 1 אחל ספר יצירה והוא הנקרא ספר תחכמוני צפנת פענח. שבתי | *M* פירוש ספר יצירה ספר מחכמוני שכתב P 2 וברכה (ונחמות טובות) | *M* תבואנה M 3 ספר זה למודי יי | *M* יושיעו אל אם יכתבו | *MP* בשמי שתי בחירי | *M* מבלי למחות מזה ספר סודי לכתבו(?) P 4 (רק) לכתוב בשמי | *M* בן ידידי | *P* בוודי בין יגיעו שיגעתי בכל מאודי כי שמתי חכמתי ללמוד F 5 שיגעתי | *M* אשר יגעתי | *M* (רשמי חכמתי) 6 הראוי | *F* מאמרי פי P 7 הכתוב שאומ | *M* הכתוב אומ' M 8 (קנאה...נצח סלה ועד אמן) | *P* קנאה יעבור מלבו משלם רעה P 9 מאלהי ישעו בדבר רצוני | *F* וחכמותיו P 10 וכל זה העידותי | *F* בחפצים 11 ינקום | *F* ויקום P 12 בסודם P 13 בגורת (ה') | *P* וימחו מספר חיים אם ימחו פיוטי חשבוני זכרוני שחת ירדו חיים כנצבים על יי דברי אלה אם ימחו לכתבם P 15 יחושו לבזיוני | *P* ביי אלהי ישראל F 16 שלם P 17 ספרים סתורים ועמוקים לפרש P 18 ויד | *F* לו | *P* דרכי ינחול | *P* בני | *FGMP* כל זאת P 20 *FMP* ב'ר | *M* אברהם ו'צל | דונולי | *P* אל חי וקיים לעד | *M* הנותן חכמ' ובינה בקשתי F 21 לעשות P 22 לדרוש לתור | *MP* בחכמה עד אשר M 23 בכוכב מאדים בשבעה בתמוז שנת ד' אלפי' ות' ע"ה FP 24 לירח תמוז | *P* שנת ארבעת אלפים

רמז. ונהרגו עשרה רבנים חכמים וצדיקים זכרוניהם לברכה. ר' חסדיה ב"ר חננאל הגדול והצדיק זצ"ל נ"ע [נשמתו עדן] קרובינו קרוב לזקני הנקרא ר' יואל ר' אמנון ור' אוריאל רבי הצדיק ז"ל ור' מנחם ור' חייא ור' צדוק ור' משה ור' דוד ור' ירמיה ור' גוריאל וזקני חסידים ראשי הקהל ומנהיגי הדור תלמידים רבים ז"ל ולחיי העולם הבא אמן. ואני שבתי נפרדתי בטרנטו מממון אבותי בן שנים עשרה שנה והגלו את אבותי ז"ל ואת קרוביי בארץ פלרמו ובארץ אפריקיא ואני נשארתי בארצות שתחת מלכות רומיים ופניתי אני בכל מעשי שעשו ידיי ובעמל שעמלתי לעשות כי לא היתה מלאכת מעשה שראו עיני שלא עשו ידי. והנה הכל הבל ורעות רוח ואין יתרון תחת השמש וראיתי אני שיש יתרון לחכמה מן הסכלות כיתרון האור מן החשך כי בצל החכמה כצל הכסף ויתרון דעת החכמה תחיה בעליה בדבר ה' הנותן חכמה. על כן יגעתי מאוד להתלמד ולהבין חכמת הרפואה וחכמת הכוכבים והמזלות. וכתבתי לי ספרים מספרי חכמי ישראל הקדמונים ז"ל ולא מצאתי חכם ישראל בכל אלו הארצות להבין בהם אלא מקצת חכמי ישראל היו אומרים על ספרי המזלות הכתובים ביד ישראל שאין בהם ממש על שלא היו מבינים בהם והיו אומרים כי ספרי חכמת המזלות והכוכבים בין הגוים הם והם הספרים אינם כתובים כדעת הספרים האלה שבישראל. וחכמת המזלות אחרת היא ולא כזאת החכמה הכתובה בספרים האלה שבישראל. ועל זה סבותי אני בלבילדעת ולתור ולבקש חכמת היונים וחכמת הישמעאלים וחכמת בני בבל והודו ולא שלותי עד אשר כתבתי ספרי חכמי יון ומקדון בכתבם ובלשונם ובפירושם וגם מספרי חכמי בבל והודו וחקרתי אותם צאתים שוים בכל דבר חכמת הכוכבים והמזלות עם ספרי ישראל ודעת כולם שוה ונכונה כן בינותי בספרים כי כל חכמת הכוכבים והמזלות מיוסדת בברייתא דשמואל החכם כי גם ספרי חכמי הגוים מסכימים עמה אך סתם שמואל עד מאוד את הספר שלו. ולאחר שכתבתי את הספרים סבבתי בארצות למצוא הגוים היודעים חכמת המזלות והכוכבים להתלמד מהם ומצאתי אחד ושנים ואחרי כן מצאתי אחד גוי חכם מבבל ושמו בגדט והיה יודע חכמת הכוכבים והמזלות לרוב מאוד

1 P למחזור רמא | M למחזור ר'מ'ז | F זכרם לברכה | M חכמי רבני' כולם צדיקים ולה' ואלה שמותם M 2 (הגדול) הצדיק והיה | FM הצדיק | G והצדיק נוה נפש קרובינו קרוב || F (נ"ע) || M והיה קרובנו קרוב || F ר' יואל נ"ע | P (הנקרא) ר' יואל ר' אמנון | אוריאל ה"ר הצדיק | M ר' אוריאל ור' הצדיק P 3 (ור' צדוק) ור' משה ור' דוד ור' צדק ור' ירמיה || F משה ור' הוד | G 4 ור' אוריאל וזקנים חסידים | MP ור' אוריאל וזקני חסידים | F וזקנים חסידים מהקהל ומנהגי תלמידים || M תלמידים ורבנים | F תלמידים רבנים ז"ל כלם | P תלמידים רבנים זכרון כלם לברכה | P 5 נפדתי | G נפדתי || FMP בטרנטו || P ממון אבותי || G בן שנים עשרה | P שנים | FMP 6 (ז"ל) | P ואת קרובי ז"ל | M ואת קרוביי מארץ מולדתי | P אפרקא | M אפריקא | P (מלכות) | FG 7 כי לא היה | P כי הלא היה 8 FGMP עיני | G 9 וראיתי אני כי יש | P (כיתרון האור מן החשך) | GMP 10 בצל כסף || PG הנותן החכמה | MN (על כן) | G 11 במאד | F 12 לא מצתי חכם שישאלני | P 13 מבין בהם | N (בהם) || G הכתובים בישראל | N 15 בין הגוים הם והם הכופרים! ||] אינם כתובים בדע | M נמצא' בין הגוים והספרים ההם | F הספרים שביד ישראל || FMNP (וחכמת המזלות אחרת... שבישראל) | FM 17 על זה סבותי | P (בלבי) | M את לבי | G ולבי || G ולתור ובקש | N ולתור ולבין | P 18 ספרי יון ומקדון | GP ולשונם ופירושם | N ובלשונם ופירושם | M 19 בחכמת | MN 20 עם ספרי חכמי ישראל || F ונכונה וגם בינותי | M נכונה ובינותי בספרים | P וכן בינותי בכוכבים | N (כן) | P 21 (והמזלות) | G מיוסדת היא? ||] | M היא מיוסדת | דשמואל הרומי | FNP דשמואל הדורש | (חכמי) || F וגם || P מסכימים עמה | FMN 22 עד למאוד | M (שלו) | G 23 למצוא חכמי גוים היודעים || P ואחר כך || FMNP גוי אחד חכם מבבל ושמו בגדט | P 24 (לרוב מאוד) | N (וגם) | M לרוב מאוד ויודע לעשות | P (מעשה)

וגם לעשות מעשה חשבון להבין באמת מה שהיה ושיהיה ולהביט במזלות ובכוכבים וכל חכמתו היתה מסכמת עם בריאת דשמואל ועם כל ספרי ישראל ועם כל ספרי היונים ומקדונים. אך חכמת הגוי ההוא היתה פתוחה ומפורשת ביותר. ואחרי ראותי נסיונות רבות בחכמת אותו הגוי כי היה אומר מכח חשבון הכוכבים והתלי והמזלות דברים שנעשו כבר והעתידים להעשות או ריציתיו בנתינת הון רב ומתנות גדולות ללמדני מסורת הכוכבים וחשבונן של מזלות והוא הגוי למדני להכיר ברקיע שני עשר המזלות וחמשה הכוכבים ולמדני מול הצומח הוא העולה זורח במזרח ומול התהום הוא הרביעי לזורח אשר יהיה מכוסה ונעלם מתחת גובהה שלארץ בצד צפון ומול השוקע במערב הוא הסוכל המסתכל לזורח והוא שביעי לזורח ומול הרום הוא אשר יהיה באמצע כיפת הרקיע שבצד דרום והוא עשירי לזורח. ולימדני סדר הסתכלות של כוכבים ושל מזלות ולמדני לידע המזלות והכוכבים המטיבים והמריעים ולמדני מדידת צל הקנה כמו שכתוב ברייתא דשמואל לידע ולמצוא השעה ומול השעה וכוכב השעה להבין ולשאול כל דבר וכל שאלה. ואחרי למדי מן הגוי ההוא ונסיתי בחכמה והבנתי את הרשום בכתב אמת שמתי שכלי לפרש את הספרים כולם שבאו לידי ואגרת כל חכמתם עם חכמת הגוי הבבלי ולימודו וכתבתים בביאור בספר הנקרא חכמוני. ברוך אתה ה' למדני חוקיך [תהילים קיט יב] בדרך עדותיך ששתי כעל כל הון [שם שם יד] שש אנוכי על אמרתך כמצא שלל רב [שם שם קסב] רחמיך רבים ה' כמשפטיך חייני [שם שם קנו]. מחזור של כוכבים ושל תלי ושל מזלות של שנת ארבעת אלפים ושבע מאות ושש לבריאת עולם לידע באיזה מזל ובאיזה חלק של מזל יהיו שבעה הכוכבים והתלי. ודע כי האותיות הראשונות חלקים הם שהם ל' במזל. והאחרונות חלקים הם שהם ששים חלקים בחלק של מזל. ימי החדש הנקרא בלשון ישמעאל ספר חדש הלבנה חדש ישראל הוא אלול חדש פרס חדש מצרים. ימי השבוע חמה לבנה שבתאי צדק מאדים נוגה כוכב חמה תלי בתולה מאזנים אריה סרטן דגים [†] אריה דגים [†]. זה ספר חכמוני.

P 1 מה שהיה ומה שיהיה ולהבין במזלות | MN מה שהיה ויהיה M 2 כל ספרי חכמי ישראל P 3 (היתה) P 4 פונות רבות בחכמת אותו האיש | N נסיונות רב || M בחכמתו (אותו הגוי) P 5 ועתידים לעשות | $FMNP$ ריציתיו בהון רב || M ומתנות רבות וגדולות | F ולמדתי מסורת | G מסורת החשבון שלכוכבים ושלמזלות | M ללמדני מחכמת הכוכבי' והמזלות הוא הגוי | F והוא למדני | P ואותו הגוי למדני FMN 7 (והשעה) | $FMNP$ (הוא העולה זורח במזרח) | (הוא הרביעי... בצד צפון) FM 8 (השוקע) | $FMNP$ (במערב ... שביעי לזורח) | $FMNP$ 9 (הוא אשר... עשירי לזורח) | MN 10 הסתכלות הכוכבים | M (ושל מזלות) | PN של מזל | M 11 ואשר מריעים ללמדני מדידת צל | N ולמדני בצל מדידת הקנה | G 12 בספר ברייתא דשמואל | N (כמו שכתוב) || $FMNP$ ולמצוא מול השעה וכוכב השעה N 13 (ולשאול כל) || M ואחרי לומדי | P ואחר אשר למדתי | P והבינתי בחון | FM והבנתי בחון | N (והבנתי את) | G 14 שמתי שכל | M לפרש הספרי' שבאו | P 15 (וכתבתים) | M ולמודי כתבתי | N ולמודו כתבתים || P הנקרא תחכמוני | G הנקרא ספר חכמוני | $FMNP$ (ברוך אתה ה' למדני... כמשפטיך חייני) | P 18 (שנת) | F 19 ז' כוכבים | M (שבעה) | P 21 הם שהם שלשה חלקים במזל | FM הם שהם ל' חלקים במזל | N הם שהם ששה חלקים במזל | P ששים חלק בחלק | M הם שהם ט' חלקי' בחלק || M ישמעאלים | P (חדש) הלבנה | חדש פרס מצרים. ימי החודש חמה | G חדש שלפרס | P 23 תלי טלה שור תאומים סרטן אריה בתולה מאזנים עקרב קשת גדי דלי דגים. ובספר אשר העתקתי ממנו אין בו מן המזלות כי אם שבעה והן בתולה מאזנים אריה סרטן דגים גדי דלי | F (אריה דגים) | M (תלי) טלה שור תאומים סרטן אריה בתולה מאזנים עקרב קשת גדי דלי דגים | N | בתולה מאזנים אריה סרטן דגים דלי | G 24 (זה ספר חכמוני) | P זה ספר תחכמוני

של שנת ארבעת אלפים ושבע מאות וארבעים ושתים לבריית עולם היא השנה אחת
 עשרה שלמחזור ר"ג וכמו כן חייבין כל דורות יש' [ראל] כל ימות עולם לשבחו ולהללו
 ולברכו ולהודות לו כמלאכי השרת ככתוב ברכו ה' מלאכיו גיבורי כוח עושי דברו
 [שם קג כ] וכת' [וב] ברכו ה' כל צבאיו משרתיו עושי רצונו [שם שם כא] אילו יש' [ראל]
 5 ככ' [תוב] ואתם כהני ה' תקראו משרתי אלהינו יאמר לכם [ישעיה סא ו]. ש'בח ב'רכה
 ת'הילה י'תנו ב'ריות ר'ום א'ראלים ב'זקים ר'גש ה'מולה מ'לאכים ח'שמלים ז'יקי
 ק'לל וכל צבא מרום שבשמים העליונים שעל הרקיע הזה שעלינו המספרים כבודו
 שלה'ק'ב'ה' מימות עולם ועד עולם כמו שאמר דוד השמים מספרים כבוד אל ומעשה
 ידיו מגיד הרקיע [תהלים יט ב]. וכי השמים העליונים שנבראו לשיבת כסא רם ונשא
 10 מספרים כלום אומר או הרקיע הזה שעלינו שנברא להבדיל בין מים למים מגיד כלום
 דיבור אלא מלאכי השרת וכל צבאות אשר בשמים העליונים מספרים כבודו ושבחו
 שלה'ק'ב'ה'. וגם בני האדם שתחת הרקיע הזה הנושאים עיניהם למרום ומסתכלים
 ברקיע בדעת א' [לה]ים ומביטים פועל ה' ורואים מעשה ידיו ומבינים בחכמת כוכבים
 ומזלות מגידים שבחו ומודים אלהותו. ויותר על כל אומות העולם ישראל' [ל] עם קדוש
 15 המצויים ללמוד חכמת כוכבים ומזלות כפירוש חכמי יש' [ראל] [זכרונו'ם] [לבר'כה] [כה]
 שפירשו פסוק הכתוב בתורת משה. ושמרתם ועשיתם כי היא חכמ' [תכם] ובינתכם וגו'
 [דברים ד ו] ובאזהרת ישעיה הנביא שא' [מר] שאו מרום עיניכם וראו מי ברא אלה
 המוציא במספר צבאם לכולם בשם יקרא מרוב אונים ואמיץ כח איש לא נעדר [ישעיה
 מ כו]. ולא נתן ה'ק'ב'ה' רשות לכולם אומה בעולם לספר תהילתו אלא ליש' [ראל]
 20 שני' [אמר] עם זו יצרתי לי תהילתי יספרו [שם מג כא]. וכת' [וב] כי עם קדוש אתה
 לה' א' [לה]יך ובך בחר ה' להיות לו לעם סגולה מכל העמים אשר על פני האדמה
 [דברים יד ב] וה' האמירך היום להיות לו לעם סגולה כאשר דבר לך ולשמר כל מצותיו
 [שם כו יח] וכת' [וב] ולתתך עליון על כל הגוים אשר עשה לתהילה ולשם ולתפארת
 ולהיותך עם קדוש לה' א' [לה]יך כאשר דבר [שם שם יט]. וגם לא נתן ה'ק'ב'ה'
 25 לכולם אומה בעולם דעת לדעת אותו כי אם ליש' [ראל] ככ' [תוב] אתה הראית לדעת
 כי ה' הוא הא' [לה]י' אין עוד מלבדו [שם ד לה] וכת' [וב] ומי גוי גדול אשר לו
 חקים ומשפטים צדיקים ככל התורה הזאת אשר אנכי נותן לפניכם היום [דברים ד
 ח]. וכת' [וב] ושמרתם את דברי הברית הז' [את] וגו' [מר] [שם כט ח] וכת' את ה'
 אלהיך תירא אותו תעבד ובו תדבק וגו' [מר] [שם י כ] מאלה הפסוקים אנו למדים
 30 שחייבין יש' [ראל] ליראה את ה' ולהתעסק בהגיון תורתו ובקיום מצותיו שמתוך יראת
 ה' יעסקו להגות בתורתו ולקיים מצוותיו. ומתוך עסק הגיון התורה יבינו פירושי טעמיה
 וחידותיה ומתחכמים לדעת את הא' [לה]י'ם וכוחו וגבורתו וגדולתו ומעשיו הגדולים
 והגור' [אים] והגפלאים כי אין אשר יעשה כמעשיו ככ' אשר מי בשמים ובארץ אשר
 יעשה כמעשיך וכגבורותיך [שם ג כד] וכת' [וב] אמרו לא' [לה]י'ם מה נורא מעשיך
 35 [תהלים סג ו] וכת' אודך על כי נוראות נפלאותי נפלאים מעשיך ונפשי יודעת מאד [שם
 קלט יד]. וכת' גדולים מעשי ה' דרושים לכל חפציהם [שם קיא ב]. מזה אתה למד
 שהראשונים הצדיקים היו דורשים וחוקרים ויודעים עד מאד את מעשיו שלה'ק'ב'ה'
 כדי להבין כוחו וגבורתו ולהודות לו שהוא אלוה יחיד ואין זולתו ככת' [וב] כי כה
 אמר ה' בורא השמים הוא הא' [לה]י'ם יוצר הארץ ועשה הוא כוננה וגו' [ישעיה מה יח]
 40 וכת' [וב] לא בסתר דברתי במקום ארץ חשך [שם שם יט]. אמ' ה'ק'ב'ה' כשירדתי

בהר סיני ליתן את התורה ליש' [ראל] בקולות וברקים ובקול גדול בגלוי ולא בסתר
 דברתי להם שכל העולם ומלואו נתרעש ביום מתן תורה וכל האומות שבעולם שמעו
 את הקול והבינו. ולא במקום ארץ חשך [שם שם] אין בני אדם דרים בו כבימי בראשית
 שהיתה הארץ תהו ובהו וחשך. ולא אמרתי לזרע יעקב תהו בקשוני [שם שם] כלומר
 אל תבקשוני תהו ובוהו שהוא דבר רק וחושך להודות לי סתם שאני אל כי אם בדיעה
 5 ובראיות גדולות ורבות ונאמנות באמת ואחר כן תעידו עלי כי אני אל ואין אחר זולתי
 ככ' [תוב] כה אמר ה' מלך יש' [ראל] וגואלו ה' צבא' [ות] אני ראשון ואני אחר' [ון] וגו'
 [שם מד ו] ומי כמוני יקרא ויגידה ויערכה לי משומי עם עולם ואותיות אשר תבאנה
 יגידו למו [שם שם ז]. ומי כמוני יקרא לבריאת שמים וארץ יחדיו ברגע אחד בקריאה
 אחת ככ' [תוב] אף ידי יסדה ארץ וימיני טפחה שמים קורא אני אליהם יצמ' [דו] יחדו
 10 [שם מח יג]. ויגידה ויערכה לי משמי עם עולם [שם שם]. עם עולם. הוא יש' [ראל]
 שיצרתי לי לספר תהילתי. ואותיות ואשר תבואנה יגידו למו [שם שם]. איזו אומה רשאה
 ויכולה להגיד האותיות ואשר תבואנה לעתיד כישראל עמי שנתתי להם רשות לחקור
 ולדרוש פירושי טעמי חידות תורתי ולהבין מעשי באמת איך נברא העולם וכל אשר בו
 שעל כן כתבתי את תורתי בחידות סתומות וחתומות ועמוקות שלא תהא יכולה כלום
 15 אומה ולשון בעולם להבין מעשי ובריאת העולם איך נברא מראשית כי אם ישראל
 עמי המיוחדים אותי מעידים כי אני אל ועל זה הרשיתים וחיוקתים על פי ישעיהו הנביא
 ואמרתי להם אנוכי ה' ואין מבלעדי מושיע [שם מג יא] אנוכי הגדתי והושעתי והשמעתי
 ואין בכם זר ואתם עדיי נאם ה' ואני אל [שם שם יב] אנוכי הגדתי והשמעתי סודי תורתי
 20 לכם לבדכם ואין בכם זר. ועל זה אתם עדי ואני אל ואם תאמרו איך נוכל אנחנו בשר
 ודם להעיד על האלהים שהוא ראשון והוא אחרון כי דבר בני האדם החפצים להעיד
 מעידים על דבר שנעשה בפניהם ודבר שלא נעשה בפניהם אינם יכולים להעיד בו. על
 זה נתתי לכם תורתי שתבינו טעמי חידותיה את ראשית מעשי ותדעו ותאמינו ותבינו כי
 אני הוא הבורא והעושה הכל בכוחי ובתבונתי שלא חפצתי ליתן תורתי לאומות העולם
 25 שלא יבינו סודיי וראשית מעשי ככ' [תוב] כל הגוים נקבצו יחדיו ויאספו לאמים מי
 בהם יגיד זאת וראשונות ישמיעונו יתנו עידיהם ויצדקו וישמעו ויאמרו אמת [שם שם
 ט]. מי בהם יגיד זאת. וזאת התורה אשר שם משה לפני בני ישראל וראשונות ישמיעונו
 הם ראשית מעשי אם יגידו זאת היא התורה וראש' [ונות] ישמי' [ענו] אז יתנו עידיהם
 להעיד אלהותי ויצדקו וישמעו ויאמרו אמת אלא אינם יכולים שכל הגוים כאין נגדו
 30 כאפס ותהו נחשבו לו [ישעיה מ ז] ולכם ישראל אמרתי אתם עדי נאם ה' ועבדי אשר
 בחרתי [שם מג י] הוא גר צדק למען תדעו ותאמינו לי ותבינו כי אני הוא לפני לא
 נוצר אל ואחרי לא יהיה [שם שם]. ואם תאמרו כי יראים אנחנו לחקור ולדרוש סודי
 ה' וראשית מעשיו אל תפחדו ואל תיראו ככ' [תוב] אל תפחדו ואל תרהו הלא מאז
 השמעתיוך והגדתי ואתם עדי היש אלוה מבלעדי ואין צור בל ידעתי [שם מד ח]. הלא
 35 מאז כשנתתי לכם תורתי השמעתיוך והגדתי שתבינו סודיי ותדרשו מעשי איך בראתים
 מראשית ותהיו עדיי כי אין אלוה מבלעדי אשר יעשה כמעשי וכגבורותיי שלא בראתי
 את העולם וכל אשר בו כי אם בשל ישר' [אל] ככ' [תוב] כה אמר ה' נותן שמש לאור
 יומם חוקות ירח וכוכבים לאור לילה רוגע הים ויהמו גליו ה' צבאות שמו. אם ימוש
 החקים האלה מלפני נאם ה' גם זרע ישראל ישבתו מהיות גוי לפני כל הימים [ירמיה לא
 40 לה-לו]. כדי שישמרו ישר' [אל] בריתי ותורתי לפיכך בראתי את עולמי ככ' [תוב] כה

אמר ה' אם לא בריתי יומם ולילה חקות שמים וארץ לא שמתי. גם זרע יעקב ודוד עבדי
 אמאס מקחת מזרעו מושלים אל זרע אברהם ישחק ויעקב כי אשיב את שבותם ורחמתים
 [שם לג כה-כו]. אם לא יהגו עמי בתורתי יומם ולילה ולא ישמרו בריתי לא יעמוד
 העולם ואמאס את זרע יעקב ודוד עבדי מקחת מזרעו מושל אל זרע אברהם יצ' [חק]
 5 ויש' [ראל]. אבל יודע אני כי יהגו בתורתי וישמרו בריתי כל ימות עולם ואני אשיב את
 שבותם ורחמתים. ומכל אלה טעמים אנחנו מעוטי דעת ובינה לפי שחננו האל [הים]
 ומטעמי ספרי חכמי יש' [ראל] הקדמונים ז' [כר] צ' [דיקים] לבר' [כה] ברשות בוראינו
 כבוטחים ברחמיו הרבים פותחים פיני! [!] לפרש מעשה בראשית ביראת אלהינו יהי
 רצון מלפניך א' [להים] ארך אפים ומלא רחמים רבים שלא ניכשל לפניך לא בעולם
 10 הזה ולא בעולם הבא לא על אמרי פינו ולא לבינו וקיים לפי הכתוב ש' [אומר?] יהיו
 לרצון אמרי פי והגיון לבי לפניך ה' צורי וגואלי [תהלים יט טו]. צורי בעולם הזה
 וגואלי בעו' [לם] הבא. ה' שפתי תפתח ופי יגיד תהילתך [שם גא יז] תהילת ה' ידבר
 פי ויברך כל בשר שם קדשו לעולם ועד [שם קמה כא]. טוב אתה ומטיב למדני חוקיך
 [שם קיט סח]. בכל לבי דרשתיך אל תשגני ממצותיך [שם שם י]. בדרך עדותיך ששתי
 15 כעל כל הון [שם שם יד]. בלבי צפנתי אמרתך למען לא אחטא לך [שם שם יא]. ברוך
 אתה יהוה למדני חקיך [שם שם יב].

[פירוש על 'נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו', בראשית א' כו]

- סוד ה' ליריאיו ובריתו להודיעם [תהלים כה יד] כתוב מאין כמוך ה' גדול אתה וגדול שמך בגבורה [ירמיה יו] וכתוב מי ימלל גבורות ה' ישמיע כל תהילתו [תהלים קו ב]. מי יכול להעלות אפילו במחשבה כלום דבר או מי הוא רשאי להרהר אפילו כהרף עין אחר האל הגדול הגבור והנורא להבין דמותו שאפילו החיות שתחת כסא הכבוד 5 והשרפים אשר ממעל לו ומלאכי השרת ואראלים וכל צבא המרום אינם מבינים דמותו שנאמר ישת חשך סתרו סביבותיו וסכתו [שם יח יב] כלם נחשכים מלידע ומלהבין ומלהביט דמותו ועל זה מברכים ברוך כבוד יהוה ממקומו [יחזקאל ג יב] ואפילו הקדושים אשר בארץ והנביאים והחזוים שהיה מדבר עמהם לא הבינו ולא ראו דמותו כמו אשר הוא כי משה רבינו היה ראש לכל הנביאים והיה מדבר עמו פה אל פה כמו 10 בקש מלפניו לראות דמות פניו ולא שמע לו ככתוב הראני נא את כבודך [שמות לג יח] והשיב לו לא תוכל לראות את פני כי לא יראני האדם וחי [שם שם כ] ונאמר ויאמר הנה מקום אתי ונצבת על הצור והיה בעבור כבודי ושמתך בנקרת הצור וסכתי כפי עליך עד עברי והסרתני את כפי וראית את אחרי ופני לא יראו [שם שם כא-כג] ועל זה צוה משה לישראל ונשמרתם מאד לנפשותיכם כי לא ראיתם כל תמונה ביום דבר ה' 15 אליכם בחרב מתוך האש [דברים ד טו] כי ה' אלהיך אש אוכלה הוא אל קנה [שם שם כד]. מאלה הפסוקים אנו מבינים שלא בקש משה מה' כי אם לראות דמות פני אלהים כמו אשר הוא ולא נשמע תפילתו בזה הדבר להעשות בקשתו וזה שאמר ישעיה הנביא בשנת מות המלך עזיה ואראה את ה' וישב על כסא רם ונשא ושוליו מלאים את ההיכל שרפים עומדים ממעל לו שש כנפים שש כנפים לאחד בשתים יכסה פניו ובשתים יכסה 20 רגליו ובשתים יעופף. וקרא זה אל זה ואמר קדוש קדוש קדוש ה' צבאות מלא כל הארץ כבודו [ישעיה ו א-ג]. ואף על פי שאמר ואראה את ה' לא ראה דמות פניו אלא ראה את הכסא וכבוד ה' מעל הכסא אבל ראה את שוליו כשוליו המעיל. הנה למדנו כי משה

2 סוד $FGMNP$ F_3 (ישמיע כל תהילתו) GP_4 מי יכול אפילו להעלות F במחשבת P (דבר) P או מי הוא ראשי רשאי להרהר P_5 אחר הגדול האל MN הגבור הנורא N_6 (לו) P מלאכי P אין מבינים FG_7 (סביבותיו סוכתו) P_8 מלהבין ומלידע ולהביט N מלידע ומלהבין דמותו M_9 שהיו מדבריו עמו MN_{10} כמות שהוא FMP משה רבינו ע"ה M שהיה ראש N_{11} וכמה בקש G_{12} לא תוכל והשיב לו יי ואמר לו ככ' ויאמר FP (כי לא יראני האדם וחי) G (ונאמר) P_{13} ויאמר יי הנה MNP (ונצבת על הצור) $FMNP$ (ושמתך...ופני לא יראו) P_{15} (משה) M לישראל ואמר להם FN (כי לא ראיתם כל תמונה) $FMNP$ (ביום דבר ה' אליכם בחרב מתוך האש) FP_{16} (הוא אל קנה) FP_{17} אנהו F משה רבינו ע"ה מהש"ם יתב' M משה מאת ה' P כי לא בקש F דמות פניו M דמות פני ה' אלהים P_{18} כמו אשר הם MN כמו שהוא F (הדבר) N ליעשות PM לעשות M בדבר הזה לעשות F אשר אמר $FMNP_{19}$ (בשנת מות המלך עזיה) P (רם ונשא ושוליו מלאים את ההיכל) FMN (ושוליו מלאים את ההיכל) $FMNP_{20}$ (שש כנפים שש כנפים... ובשתים יעופף) FP_{21} (ואמר... מלא כל הארץ כבודו) MN (קדוש קדוש קדוש ה' צבאות מלא כל הארץ כבודו) P_{22} ואראה את יי וישב על כסא רם לא ראה אבל ראה M_{23} (הכסא וכבוד... ראה את) N מעל הכסא לא ראה אבל ראה F מעל הכסא ולא ראה אבל ראה

ראה נצב את כבוד אחוריו וישעיה ראה בחזון את כבודו יושב על כסא. ומתוך ראיית הכסא והשרפים שהיו עומדים ממעל לו הבין כי הוא ה' אבל ראה את כבוד שוליו. הוא הכבוד אשר תחתיו לרגליו. ובעת שנראה למשה ולאהרון נדב ואביהוא ושבעים איש מוקני ישראל אף על פי שכתוב ויראו את אלהי ישראל [שמות כד י'] לא ראו כי אם כבודו באות וסימן אבל ראו את כבודו שתחת רגליו ככתוב תחת רגליו כמעשה לבנת הספיר וכעצם השמים לטהר [שם שם]. ויחזקאל הנביא אף על פי שראה בחזונו החיות והאופנים שעל ראשי החיות ודמות הכסא שעל הרקיע ההוא שעל ראשי החיות כאשר פירש הכל בספרו לא נראה לו ה' בדמות האל כאשר הוא כי לא יראהו האדם וחי. ולא רצה להראות לו אלא בדמות אדם בדמות שהוא נהוג ומנוסה לראות שלא יתבהל ויתפחד ממראה דמותו וימות בפתע פתאום. ממשלים אנו בהבדלת אלף אלפי אלפים ורוב ריבוי רבבות לאין מספר בין קודש לחול ובין הטהור לטמא. אדם אם יראה בריאה חיה או עוף או תנין או כל מראה דמות שלא היה נהוג ומנוסה לראות ורואהו פתאום מיד מתבהל ומתפחד ותקצר נפשו למות. על אחת כמה וכמה הבדלות לראות את האור שאין לו שיעור וגדולה והכבוד שאין לו חקר ככתוב גדול ה' ומהולל מאוד ולגדולתו אין חקר [תהלים קמה ג.]. על כן נראה לאדם הראשון ולקין ולהבל ולחנוך ולנח ולאברהם וליצחק וליעקב ולכל הנביאים ולכל החזיים בדמות אדם ולא עוד אלא אפילו הדבור שהיה מדבר עמם בענוה ובדרך דבור של בני אדם שלא יתבהלו ויתפחדו מלפניו. אדם וחיה כששמעו את קול ה' אלהים מתהלך בגן לרוח היום [בראשית ג ח] נתבהלו ונתפחדו מאד ונתחבאו מלפניו כשראה כן אל ארך אפים ומלא רחמים רבים קרא אל האדם כדרך בני אדם ויאמר לו איכה [שם שם ט] וכי לא היה יודע איפה הוא אלא כדי שלא יתבהל וימות מן הפחד פתאום ועל זה נתחזק האדם וענה לו ככתוב ויאמר את קולך שמעתי בגן ואירא כי עירם אנוכי ואחבא [שם שם י] ועוד אמר לו ארך אפים בענוה מי הגיד לך כי ערום אתה [שם שם יא] והוא היה יודע ומבין הכל מטרם אלא כדי שלא להבהילו. ולקין אמר אי הבל אחיך [שם ד ט] ולנח דבר כאוהב וכריע הנותן עצה לאוהבו ואמר לו עשה לך תיבת עצי גפר [שם ו יד] וכמו כן לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב למשה ולאבותיונו בהר סיני ולא נראה להם בכלום

2 N (עומדים ממעל לו) F 3 הוא הכבוד || FP תחת רגליו || G ואהרון | F ולאהרון ולנדב ואביהוא ולשביעם | MNP (איש) F 5 לא ראו כבודו | MNP לא ראו אלא כבודו | P (אבל ראו את כבודו) FMNP 6 (וכעצם השמים לטהר) N כמעשה לבנת הספיר בחזונו | G החיות והאופנים והחיות | FMNP (ודמות הכסא... שעל ראשי החיות) M 8 (לו ה') | N (ה') | FMNP דמות האל M 9 (אלא) | G שהיה נהוג | P (במות) שהוא || F כדי שיתבהל | FM יפחד P 10 וממשל אני || F ואתן לך משל בדבר הזה בהבדלת || FP אלפי אלפים ורבי רבבות | N (אלפים) | MN וריבוי רבבות || F (ובין הטהור לטמא) M 12 אם יהיה יראה | G בריאת חיה || P ועוף || N (מראה) | P שלא נהוג || NP לראותו | G ומתבהל | M ומיד שלא יתבהל | G 14 שיעור וגודל [?] || MNP (ולגדולתו אין חקר) M 15 (ולגדולתו אין חקר) || G והבל | NP לקין ולהבל | F ונח ושלשה אבות ולכל הנביאים | FN 16 והחזוים | G 17 אלא אף הדבור || MN (של) || P כדי שלא | M ולא יבהלו שלא יפחדו | M 18 והנה אדם || F בעת ששמעו | (אלהים) | (היום) | M כשמעם | G (לרוח היום) || M ויתבהלו ויפחדו מאוד || G מפניו || F כשראה כי ארך אפים | NP (אל) F 20 (רבים) M 21 היה יודע הק'ב"ה איכה הוא || F ולא כדי שלא || FNP אדם וענה לו את קולך | M אדם וענה לו ואמ' את קולך || N (כי עירם אנוכי ואחבא) M 23 וענה לו ארך אפים || G אתה ומן העץ אשר צוית לכל [!] | אכל ממנו אכלתה | F (היה) P 24 (מטרם) | F למטרם || M וכן לקין G 26 וכמו כן גם לאברהם יצחק ויעקב למשה | M ולמשה | FMNP על הר סיני || G לא נראה בכלום | P לא נראה אליהם || MP בשום דמות

דמות כדי שלא יתעו ישראל ויאמרו כי כן דמותו ויעשו להם אלהים באותו הדמות להשתחוות לו ועל זה נראה להם פעם באש ופעם בענן ככתוב ויקרא אל משה ביום השביעי מתוך הענן וכתוב ומראה כבוד ה' כאש אכלת בראש ההר לעיני בני ישראל [שמות כד טז-יז] וכתוב ויבא משה בתוך הענן [שם שם יח] וכתוב וירד ה' בענן [שם לד ה] וכתוב וידבר ה' אליכם מתוך האש [דברים ד יב] וכתוב מן השמים השמיעך את קולו ליסרך ועל הארץ הראך את אשו הגדולה ודבריו שמעת מתוך האש [שם שם לו] וכתוב את הדברים האלה דבר ה' אל כל קהלכם בהר מתוך האש הענן והערפל [שם ה יט] וכתוב ותאמרו הן הראנו ה' אלהינו את כבודו ואת גדלו ואת קלו שמענו מתוך האש [שם שם כא] וכתוב ועתה למה נמות כי תאכלנו האש הגדולה הזאת [שם שם כב] וכתוב כי מי כל בשר אשר שמע קול אלהים חיים מדבר מתוך האש כמונו ויחי [שם שם כג] ולדניאל נראה עוד בחזון לילה בדמות אדם ככתוב חזה הוית עד די כרסון רמיו ועתיק יומין יתיב לבושה כתלג חור ושער ראשה כעמר נקא כרסיה שביבין די נור גלגלוהי נור דלק נהר די נור נגד ונפק מן קדמוהי אלף אלפין ישמשונה ורבו רבון קדמוהי יקומון דינא יתב וספרין פתיחו [דניאל ז ט-י] מכל אלה הראויות ידענו באמת שאין בריה בעולם לא בשמים ולא בארץ שהיא יכולה אפילו להרהר בלבו על דמות האלהים ככתוב ואל מי תדמיון אל ומה דמות תערכו לו [ישעיה מ יח] וכתוב ואל מי תדמיוני ואשוע יאמר קדוש [שם שם כה] וכתוב למי תדמיוני ותשו ותמשילני ונדמה [שם מו ה] והא כתוב בתורה נעשה אדם בצלמו כדמותו [בראשית א כו] וכתוב ויברא אלהים את האדם בצלמו בצלם אלהים ברא אותו וזכר ונקבה ברא אותם [שם שם כז] וכתוב זה ספר תולדות אדם ביום ברא אלהים אדם בדמות אלהים עשה אותו. וזכר ונקבה בראם ויברך אתם ויקרא את שמם אדם ביום הבראם [שם ה א-ב] וכתוב וייצר ה' אלהים את האדם עפר מן האדמה ויפח באפיו נשמת חיים ויהי האדם לנפש

MP 1 שלא יטעו F שלא יחטו F 2 כי כן דמות אלהים ושתחו לו M ויעשו להם כדמותו אלהים ושתחו לו N ויעשה להם ושתחו לו דמות אלהים P ויעשו להם דמות אלהים ושתחו לו F פעם אחת באש ופעם אחת בענן G ככ' וישכן כבוד ה' על הר סיני ויקרא 3 FGNP (ביום השביעי) FMNP (וכתוב ומראה כבוד ה' כאש אכלת... ויבא משה בתוך הענן) G 4 ויתיצב עמו שם בענן | M ה' בענן וכתבי יהיה בשמעכם את הקול מתוך [?] האש וגו' וכתבי מן השמים... NP 5 וידבר אליו G מתוך האש קול דברים אתם שמעים ותמונה אינכם ראים זולתי קול F (וכתוב מן השמים... שמעת מתוך האש) NP 6 (ועל הארץ הראך את אשו הגדולה) M (ועל הארץ... מתוך האש כמונו ויחי) והרבה פסוקי בתורה מורי' על זה FN 7 (אל כל קהלכם בהר מתוך האש הענן והערפל) G והערפל קול גדול ולא יסף P 8 (וכתוב) F (את כבודו... מתוך האש) G היום הזה ראינו כי ידבר אלהים את האדם וחי מתוך האש N (את כבודו... גדלו) F 9 (האש הגדולה הזאת... כמונו ויחי) P (כי) N 11 (כמונו ויחי) G נראה ולדניאל איש חמודות F (עוד) M בחזון כדמות אדם P הוית ככתוב חזי ח [!] | כרסמן | F (ויתיק... נור דלק) N חזה הוית ושער רישיה MN 12 נקי N (כרסיה... פתיחו) F 13 נהר דינור (נגד... פתיחו) M וריבוא [!] ריבבן MN 14 אנו יודעים M 15 שתהיה יכולה FM (אפילו) M 16 ככתוב ואל מי תדמיוני ואשוע וכתבי ואל מי תדמיון אל ומה דמות תעריך לו P (ואל מי תדמיון... תערכו לו וכתוב) F (תערכו לו) F 17 אמר קדוש F 18 ותמשילני ואדמה N ואשוע P ותמשילני מדמה M והא הוא הכתי בתורה P והא שכתוב MP 19 (זכר ונקבה ברא אותם) N (ונקבה ברא אותם) F 20 זה ספר בריתות תולדות | (אלהים אדם... עשה אותו) P ברא אותו (זכר ונקבה... ביום הבראם) | M זכר ונקבה בראם וכתבי זה ספר תולדות אדם וכתבי ויצר... N (עשה אותו וכתבי) F 21 (ויקרא את שם... לנפש חיה) M 22 (את האדם) P (ויהי האדם לנפש חיה)

5 חיה [שם ב ז]. אין להבין כי האדם כדמות הכרת פני האלהים והוא כאשר כתוב עפר
 מן האדמה [שם שם] נוצר האדם זכר ונקבה נבראו להוליד בנים ומי יוכל לומר שזה
 הצלם והדמות כדמות אלהים הוא אלא אין פירוש טעם הכתוב כן כי האדם גולם הוא
 וגופו ככלי נקוב ועשה לו הבורא נקבים מבית ומחוץ כדי להחיותו עשה לו נקבי העינים
 ועפעפיהם שביט ויראה בהם כשהם פקוחות וכאשר יעצים עפעפיו אינו רואה מאומה
 ועוד כאשר יחפוץ לגום ולישן יעצים עפעפיו שאם לא יעצים אינו יכול לישן ולגום על
 אשר הוא רואה ומביט בעיניו. עשה לו הבורא נקבי האזנים לשמוע וכאשר יאטמו אינו
 שומע. ועשה לו שני נחירים של אף להריח בהם ולהתנשם בהם וכאשר יסתמו אינו מריח
 ואינו מתנשם בהם. ועשה לו הפה להביא בו המאכל והמשתה. ועשה לו שיניים ומתלעות
 10 לטחון בהם המאכל. ועשה לו בית הבליעה והגרון והושט לבלוע המאכל והמשתה.
 ועשה לו הגרגרת להעלות ולהוריד רוח נשמת החיים מן הלב מתוך הריאה אל הנחירים
 ואל הפה. ועשה לו הלשון כדי ללוש את המאכל בתוך הפה ולבללו ולנהוג מצד אל
 צד בפה ולנהוג ולהבליע את המאכל ואת המשתה בגרון ובבית הבליעה ובושט. ועוד
 עשה לו הלשון כדי לפרש הדיבור החושב בלב אל השפתים ומתחברת עם השפתים
 15 כשני שותפים וחברים להוציא את הדבור הוציא להשיעו עם הקול היוצא מתוך סמפוני
 הריאה ברוח נשמת החיים וכל מי שנחתכה לשונו או שפתיו לא יכון לדבר ולא לאכול
 ולא לבלוע כאשר בני אדם. ועשה לו הלב להיות בית מכון לרוח החיים ואם ינוגע הלב
 ימות האדם. עשה לו הקרב העליון הוא סטומכוס לקבל המאכל והמשתה להתבשל
 בתוכו ולכלכל מטעם המאכל והמשתה כל הגוף להחיותו. עשה לו הכבד בצד ימין עם
 20 המרה האדומה והדם במקורות הכבד לחמם את הקרב העליון ומחום הכבד והמרה
 והדם מתבשל המאכל והמשתה בתוך הקרב העליון. עשה לו את המעים לקבל את שמר
 המאכל והמשתה להוליכו בבטן התחתון עם הטחור ועם השלפוחית הוא נבל מקות
 השתן מי רגלים להוציא חוץ כדרך האדם. עשה לו שתי הכליות ימין ושמאל לחמם

1 M תשובה אין להבין כי האדם היה כדמות G (והוא) כי- [?] כאשר כתוב מעפר האדמה N אך הוא
 כמו שכתו' M שהרי כתוב בו ויברא ה' אלהי' את האדם עפר מן האדמה ויצרת [?] האדם | F מן העפר
 והאדמה P כי עפר | (האדם) F_3 כי זה הצלם N כדמות אלהי' כמו שכתו' אינן כן כי האדם גולם...
 N (הוא) | F (אין) | M ר'ו אלא ע'כ אין פי' $FMNP$ (טעם) M הכתובי' כן P_4 וכל גופו MNP
 נקוב הוא M הבורא ית' P נקבים נקבים M_5 שיבין ושיראה בהם | בהם $FKMNP$ P כאשר הם
 פקוחות | K כאשר יהיו פקוחות וכאשר יעצים עיניו אינו מלראות אך ינום וישן שאם לא יעצמים M לא
 יראה מאומה M_6 שאם לא יעצים עיניו | FN שאם לא יעצים P_7 (הוא) | K כל זמן אשר הוא
 רואה FNP (לו) | M (הבורא) K לשמוע בהם וכאשר יסתמו אינו שומע. עשה K_8 אינו יכול להריח
 ולהתנשם | להביא אליו F_9 המאכל והמשקה K_{10} (בהם) N (בית) | עשה לו בית הבליעה F
 והמשקה המאכל KNP_{12} עשה F (כדי) N ללוש את המאכל ואת המשתה בגרון M_{13} (בפה) |
 K ולנהוג ולהבליעו מצד אל צד הפה | M ולנהוג וגם ולהבליע | N ולנהוג להבליע F המאכל המשקה
 K_{14} החושב הלב | P (אל השפתים) MN (ומתחברת עם השפתים) N_{15} אל הקול F מנין [?] סמפוני
 FP_{16} שנחתכת לשונו אף שפתיו | M לשונו ושפתיו | לא יוכל לדבר או לבלוע | N או לאכול או לבלוע |
 F יכנו הדבר ולא יוכל לאכול ולבלוע KMN_{17} עשה | MN בית נכון | K (האדם) P_{18} אטומכוס |
 K אטומכוס | M הואטומכוס | N סטומכוס F המאכל והמשקה | ולכלכל מכוח | P לקבל המאכל
 והמשתה לכלכל הגוף להחיותו MN_{19} להשתל בתוכו P_{20} (האדומה) FM_{21} הכבד והמרה
 האדומה F (והדם) | N והמרר [!] העליון האדומה והדם M_{22} כדי לקבל | F שמר המאכל M עם
 הטבור M ועם השלפוחית הוא וכל מקורות | KN (נבל) F נוכל מקות P_{23} השתן הוא מי רגלים
 (לו) FP

את הבטן התחתון בחומם לחיותו ולחזקו ולהוציא את הצואה ואת השתן חוץ לגוף. עשה לו הטחול בצד השמאל עם המרה השחורה לקרר בקרתם את הקרבים והמעיים והבטן שלא יבשו ויחרבו המאכל והמשתה מפני חום ריתוח הקרבים המתחממים ונרתחים מחום הדם והכבד והמרה האדומה. עשה לו הטחור הוא מעי השרשור הנדבק בחור התחתון להוציא הגלל והדומן והצואה והרוח של עיטוש שלו הנולד מן הקרבים ומן המעיים. ועשה לו את הערוה לזכר ולנקבה כדי להשתמש במשגל להזריע ולהוליד. עשה לו עצמות להיות הגוף חזק שם בשר על העצמות לחמם קרתם של עצמות. עשה לו גידי הדם הם הוורידים להשקות כל הגוף בהם. עשה לו מיתרים לחזק את דבק העצמות והאברים. עשה לו האברים וקשרים ודבוקים וחוליות של שדרה וקשרי הדבקים של עצמות של ידים ושל רגלים ושל אצבעות ושל זרועים ושל ירכים ושל ברכים ושל שוקים ושל קרסולים ושל כפות הרגלים והידיים ושל צואר ושל שכמי הכתפים כדי שיכול האדם להפשט ולהכפל ולהכפף ולהזקף לעמוד ולישב לכרוע ולהשתחוות ולסוב ראשו פה ופה. קרם לו העור מלמעלה לבשר ולעצמות ולגידיים ולמיתרים כדי לכסות את כל הגוף להיות חם מלהתקרר. עשה לו גולגלת הראש והמוח בתוכה כדי שיחמם ביובש חומו את הראש ואת העינים לחיותם. ברא את הליחה מסבב למוח הראש שלא יתיבש המוח והעינים מחום המוח ומחום הקרבים העולה מלמטה למעלה אל הראש. עשה לו ידים למשמש ולתפוש ולאחוז ולחזק ולעשות מלאכה כדי לחיות האדם. עשה לו רגלים להעמיד עליהם הגוף ולהוליך ולהביא את הגוף בכל מקום שיחפוץ. עשה לו שערות הראש לחמם את הראש שלא יתקרר על אשר אין לו בשר בין העור ובין העצם שלגולגולת הראש. עשה לו שערות הזקן מפני תאר הדרת פניו ולהראות הכרת פניו מובדלת מן הנשים. עשה לו הצפרנים על יופי יפעתו כדי להיות מובדל מכל בריה וכדי להתגרד בהם. עשה לו לזכר ביצי המבושים כדי להתחמם הזרע בתוכם ולהזיב את הזרע בניד הערוה לזרוק אותו החוצה. עשה לו הדדים הן השדים לנקבה

K 1 לבחומם לחיותו | M לחום לחיותו וגם ולהוציא P חוצה P 2 את הטחול P בקרירותם K 3 שלא יחרבו המאכל M 5 וגם הצואה K מרוח של עיטוש M 6 מן הקרבים והמעיים P (לו) F ולהזריע P 7 (חזק) F חזק ובריא M כדי לחמם קרירתן של עצמות FMN 8 וורידים P כל הגוף מהם K דבקי העצמות M כדי לחזק את דבק העצמות האברים MNP 9 נקשרים F 10 ושל ידים K ושל רגלים. עשה לו פרקים של אצבעות F 11 הרגלים ושלידים M צואר של עצמות ידי' ורגלי' ואצבעות וזרועים וברכי שוקים וקרסולי' וכפות הרגלי' MN 12 להפשט ולהכפל ולכוף ולהזקף K ושלשכמי הידים ושלכתפים | להכפיל ולפשט ולהכפף ולהזקף P 13 מן הבשר | F עור מעל הבשר | MN מהבשר F והעצמות והגידיים והמיתרים || לכסות $FGMNP$ 14 G (חם מלהתקרר. עשה לו גולגלת הראש) P גלל הראש $FMNP$ (בתוכה כדי... את הראש ואת העינים) G 15 (ואת העינים לחיותם) M מסבבת למוח | F לסבב | (הראש) | כדי שלא יתיבש P כדי לחיותם G (שלא יתיבש המוח והעינים) G 16 (למעלה על הראש. עשה) F ממטה למעלה M מלמעלה למטה N את הראש G 17 למשש ולתפוש (ולחזק ולעשות מלאכה כדי) M להחיות בהם האדם P 18 את הגוף M עליו להעמיד הגוף ולהביא את כל הגוף | N להעמיד הגוף עליהם G עליהם הגוף ולהוליך ולהביא) G בכל (מקום שיחפוץ... לחמם את) P 19 לחמם אתו שלא יתקרר N לחמם הראש G שלא יתקרר על אשר... שלגולגולת הראש) N (אין) P על אשר לו אין לו $FMNP$ 20 ובין הגולגולת של ראש G (שערות הזקן מפני תאר הדרת פניו) P (שערות) N עשה לו הדרת הזקן MNP 21 מן הנשים מובדלת G (הנשים. עשה לו הצפרנים על) F צפרנים G להיות נבדל G (מכל בריה וכדי להתגרד בהם. עשה לו) M 22 ביצים מאושים! G כדי לה(תחמם הזרע בתוכם ולהזיב את הזרע) $FMNP$ 23 בניד הערוה לזרוע G (עשה לו הדדים הן השדים) MP עשה לו את הדדים

כדי להזיב בהם את החלב להניק את החלב לילדים. עשה לנקבה רחם כדי להדגר ולהזרה בתוכה הזרע ולהברא בתוכה הילד. עשה לזכר ולנקבה טבור כדי לקבל הילד מן הטבור מחיה מטעם המוח והדם בעודנו בתוך הרחם עד צאתו לאור העולם כי לא יוכל הילד לקבל מזון מחיה מן הפה על שהוא סתום עד צאתו לאור העולם 5 בדבר הבורא. כל זה הבנין צריך בגוף האדם והבהמה והחיה והעוף והרמש והשרץ כי מותר האדם מן הבהמה אין [קהלת ג יט] אלא זה המותר יש לאדם מן הבהמה הדעת והבינה והדבור. ואם יחסר הגוף דבר אחד מכל בנין האברים והקרבים והמעיים והמוחים והנקבים שכתבנו למעלה לא יכון הגוף לחיות כי לא יוכל הכיל בתוכו את נשמת רוח החיים שנפח בו בוראו שכל עת זמן שהגוף שלם ובריא בבריאותו תהיה 10 רוח החיים בתוכו בגורת הבורא ואם איננו שלם ובריא בבריאותו ויחסר ממנו מאומה מאותם האברים אשר שם מכון נשמת רוח החיים או אם יחלה אחד מהם בחלי כבד ומכאוב קשה ומפני החלי והמכאוב ישתנה אותו האבר מבריאותו או יצר רוח החיים בצרה גדולה כי לא יוכל להיות במכוונותיו כמטרם כמתחלת בריאת הגוף. או תצא הרוח מרוב המצוקה מן הגוף הוא הגולם ותשוב אל האלהים אשר נתנה והגולם נשאר 15 קר ומת ויבש ונצפד כאליל העשוי מטיט והחומר ויבאש וירקב להעשות רמה ותולעה ועפר וכתוב וישב העפר על הארץ כשהיה [קהלת יב ז]. מזה נדע שכל כח הגולם והדמות והשמיעה והראיה והריח והלעיטה והדיבור והקול והמישוש והמעשה וההילוך והנענוע של איברים והתאוה של כל דבר והמחשבה והדעת והבינה מנשמת רוח החיים שנפח באפיו היוצר והבורא הן שכן צוה יוצר הכל לרוח הנשמה בשעת נפירתו כל זמן שהיא בתוך הגוף במכוונותיו עד עת בא קצו לחיות הגוף ולחממו ולקררו וליבשו 20 וללחלו ולהבינו ולהשכילו ולהודיעו הטוב והרע לעשות כל צרכי הגוף על ידי הכלים והאברים והסמפונות של גוף שיצר הבורא להיות מכוונותיו של רוח לכלכל את הגוף והבשר והעצמות והמוחים והקרבים והמעיים והאברים וארבעת היסודים והם

1 P ולהניק F | להניק לילדים M | ולהניק את הילדים G (את החלב לילדים. עשה לנקבה) MN | להדגר ולהזרה M 2 ולהבראות בתוכה הולד N | ולהבראות בתוכה הילד G | ולהברא בתוכה הילד. עשה) P | להביא בתוכה G 3 (מחיה מטעם) F | לאויר העולם G | (העולם כי לא) P | העולם (כי לא יוכל... עד צאתו לאור העולם) M 4 (מזון המחיה) FMN | עד צאתו לאויר העולם 5 FMNP (בגוף) N 6 (אין... לאדם מן הבהמה) P | אין כי הכל הבל FM | יש לו לאדם P 8 שכתבנו לעיל M | לחיות בו | להכיל בתוכו P 9 שנפח הק'ב"ה בו G | שכל עת זמן[?] שהגוף (שלם ובריא בבריאותו תהיה רוח) FM | (תהיה רוח החיים... שלם ובריא בבריאותו) N | (בתוכו) G 10 (ואם איננו שלם) N | (ובריא) G | (ויחסר) N | (מאומה) G 11 (אשר שם מכון) G | (רוח החיים) G 12 (ומכאוב קשה ו) מפני G | (או יצר רוח החיים) FMN | ברוח החיים P 13 צרה גדולה P | במכוונותיו כמטדר [!] FM | (כמטרם) G | (כמתחלת בריאת הגוף) P | במתחלת M | וכמתחלת בבריאת M 14 תצא ממנו מרוב המצוקה M | והרוח תשוב G | ותשוב אל האלהים אשר נ) נתנה P 15 קר ומתיבש ונצפד M | קר מויבש ונצפד FN | קר מת ויבש M | כאליל הגוף מן הטיט וחומר וייבש G | (עשוי מטיט והחומר ויבאש) FN | מן הטיט G | (רמה ותו) לעה G 16 וכתוב וישב העפר על הארץ כשהיה. מזה נדע ש) כל MNP | אל הארץ 17 FMNP (והשמיעה) G | (והראיה והריח והלעיטה והדיבור) G | (וההילוך והנענוע של איברים) M 18 ותאות כל דבר F | (של איברים... והמחשבה והדעת) M | (הבינה הם מנשמת) G | (מנשמת רוח החיים שנפח) FMNP 19 שנפח בו G | (יוצר הכל לרוח הנשמה בשעת) F | בשעה P 20 כל זמן שהוא בגוף G | (עד עת בא ק) צו F | הגוף ולרממו ולקררו 21 MN | ולחלו G | (להבינו ולהשכילו) N 22 על ידי הגוף והאברים G | (הכלים וה) אברים M | הבורא ית' N | הבורא יתעל' P | מכוונותיו שלשה [!] לכלכל G | (לכלכל)

דם וליחה ומרה אדומה ומרה שחורה. ועוד צוה לרוח הנשמה ולגוף שלא יכוננו זה מבלעדי זה כדי שלא ידמה האדם לאלהים ככתוב ותחסרהו מעט מאלהים וכבוד והדר תעטרהו [תהלים ח ו] כי האלהים הוא אלהים חיים לעולמי עולמים ולא יתמו שנותיו ואינו צריך מכל אשר כתבנו בגוף האדם כי אין לו לא אכילה ולא שתיה ולא שינה ותנומה ולא יגיעה ותלאה ככתוב האוכל בשר אבירים ודם עתודים אשתה [תהלים 5 נ יג] וכתוב הנה לא ינום ולא יישן [שם קכא ד] וכתוב הלא ידעת אם לא שמעת אלהי עולם ה' [ישעיה מ כח] וכתוב לא ייעף ולא ייגע אין חקר לתבונתו [שם שם] וכתוב נותן לייעף כח [שם שם כט] וזה שאמר הכתוב כי ה' אלהיך אש אוכלה הוא [דברים ד כד] אינו אומר על מאכל ולעיטה אלא על אשר אש שורפת שנאמר באכול האש את חמשים ומאתים איש [במדבר כו י] וה' אלהים אמת הוא אלהים חיים ומלך עולם [ירמיה י י] והוא ה' ארך אפים וגדל חסד [תהלים קמה ח] ורב כח יש לו כח וגבורה וגדולה לאין חקר וכלו חיים ורחמים וכן וחסד וחכמה ותבונה ועצה ועלילה וקול ודבור וראיה ושמיעה. כבודו בכל מקום וגדולתו בכל מקום שבה תהילתו בכל מקום ראייתו ושמיעתו בכל מקום כחו וגבורתו בכל מקום בשמים ובארץ בימים ובכל תהומות והוא הכל וממנו הכל ובידו וברשותו הכל ככתוב לך ה' הגדלה והגבורה והתפארת [ד"ה 15 א כט יא] ועד ומהללים לשם תפארתך [שם שם יג] וזה שכתוב בתורה עיני ה' אל

 FMNP היסודות וארבע | M שהם דם | G הם דם | F ומרה אדומה ומרה שחורה | F לרוח החיים והנשמה | FMNP והגוף | G 2 כדי שלא להדמות | F אדם | P אל האלהים | FMNP (וכבוד והדר תעטרהו) | M 3 (כי) | F (ולא יתמו) | M אלהים חיים ומלך עולם ולעולמי לעולמים | (ולא יתמו שנותיו) | PN 4 כי אין לו אכילה | M כי לא אין בו לא אכילה | G 5 לא יגיעה | M ולא תנומה ולא יקיצה | F ולא תלאה | FMNP (ודם עתודים אשתה) | 6 יישן | FKMNP | M ולא יישן שומר ישראל | M (הלא ידעת אם לא שמעת אלהי עולם ה') | F (אלהי עולם ה')... חקר לתבונתו וכתוב) | K (אלהי עולם ה') | N 7 (ה') | P (והוא לא... לתבונתו) | M (אין חקר לתבונתו) | N 8 כח ולאין אוניע עצמה ירבה | F (הוא) | N הוא אל קנא | F 9 (על) | N (אשר) | P (אשר) | P אש שורדת | P אש שורד | M (אש שורפת) | K על אשר אש שורדת למין [?] באש וכת' פירושו יי כי אלהיך משפטו א [?] אש אוכלה הוא. כ' [?] כמו שכת' | F 10 (איש) | K איש חס ושלום לדמות מעשה ידיו אליו מכל מה שכתבנו למעלה שצריכין בגוף האדם חלילה וחס מלהרר הדברים הללו כי הקב"ה הוא הבורא והוא היוצר כל היצורים במכונותם והם חיים אחר דעתו ורצונו וברצונו שולטים בכל בריותיו תבונה מפעלותיהם ומרות שקצת הן לטוב הן לרע הן לחיים הן למות ואין לדמות היוצר לנוצר כי הנוצר הוא מעפר וטיט ככת' הן אתם מאין ופעלכם מאפע תועבה יבחר בכח וכת' כי בחשך בא ובחשך ילך ובחשך כמו יכוסה וכת' כי עפר אתה ואל עפר תשוב ויי אלהים | M (הוא אלהים חיים ומלך עולם) | K עולם הוא הבורא הבריות והוא זן ומפרנס אותם ברחמין הרבים והוא סולח ומוחל לשבים אליו טוב לטובים ולרעים ארך אפים לצדיקים ולרשעים קרוב לכל קוראיו באמת מצוי [?] בלבבות לשאל לכל שואל רחוק וישב וקרוב שומע רואה ואינו נראה ועונה בכל עת צרה והוא ארך אפים וגדל כח לאין חקר וגבורה לאין חקר וגדולה לאין חקר וצוקה לאין חקר ורחמים לאין חקר ומחילה וכפרה לאין חקר ועליו עם ותחתונים שלי"א אלף עולמות לא יכילוהו וכל פה לא ישיב מהללו וגדלו וחסדו ותקפו ואמתו ואין תקנה לאדם כי אם לשתוק כדכת' מי ימלא גבורות יי וכו' לפיכך לו דומיה תהלה וראייה ושמיעה ותבונה לאין חקר. וחיים רחמים וחסד לאין חקר והחכמה ועצה ועלילה וקול דבור לאין חקר וכבודו וגדולתו ושבה תהילתו וקולו ודבורו וראייתו ושמיעתו וכה וגבורתו בכל מקום בשמים ובארץ בימים | M 11 ארך אפים ורב חסד | MN (ורב כח) | P 12 וחכמה וגבורה ותמונה | M 13 וכבודו | FN (וגדולתו... שבה תהילתו בכל מקום) | NP 14 וכל תהומות | K ובכל תהומות בעליונים ובתחתונים וכי"ח אלף אולמות [!] | F 15 לך ה' הממלכה והמתנשא | P לך ה' הממלכה והמתנשא לכל לראש | N הגדולה והגבורה והמתנשא לכל לראש | K והתפארת והנצח וההוד | M 16 ועד ומהללים את שם כבודך | M (בתורה) | N (וזהו שאמ' הכתו'

הצדיקים [תהלים לד טז] פני ה', הדום רגליו, יד ה', ימין ה', ויתעצב אל לבו [בראשית
 ו 1]. כל זה לפי מנהג הדבור של בני אדם. ופירוש נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו [שם
 א כו]. לאחר שברא הקב"ה את כל העולם השמים העליונים והמלאכים וכל משרתי
 כבודו והארץ והרקיע והמים והאילנות והעשבים והמאורות והכוכבים והדגים והתנינים
 5 והעופות והשרץ המים למיניהם בהמה ורמש וחיתו ארץ למיניהו נתיעץ ברוחו הקדוש
 לבראת את האדם שיהיה ממונה ושומר ואדון על כל הבריות כמו משרתיו ועבדיו
 למשול בעולם ולמלוך ולרדות כל בריה שבארץ ושבימים להודות לו ואמר לעולמו
 נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו בצלמי ובצלמך כדמותי וכדמותך כתארניו והכרת פניו
 לא אמר אלא בצלמנו כדמותנו כי כל דבר הדומה זה לזה בין בתאר בין בהכרת
 10 פנים בין בכח בין בגוף בין במעשה בין במלאכה בין בממשלה בין בדבור בין בחכמה
 בין בקול בין בכל דבר הדומה זה לזה. נאמר בו צלם ודמות וזה הצלם והדמות שאמר
 האלהים לעולמו אינו דמות תאר פנים כי אם בדמות מעשה אלהים ומעשה העולם. כמו
 שהאלהים עליון ומושל באדם ובכל העולם תחת ומעלה כן האדם בכל עת שיעשה
 רצון בוראו כי למשה רבנו ע"ה אמר האלהים במעשה העגל הרף ממני ואשמידם
 15 [דברים ט יד] ובמעשה קרח פצתה האדמה את פיה ותבלע אותם ואת כל אשר להם
 [במדבר טז ל] על פיו. ואליהו התשבי נשבע שלא יהיה בשנים האלה טל ומטר כי
 אם לפי דבריו והוריד האש מן השמים והרג את נביאי הבעל בארץ והחיה את המת
 וגור על אלישע להיות לו פי שנים ברוחו וכל הקדושים שהיו בארץ משלו תחת ומעלה
 ברצון הבורא ונעשה רצונם. וכמו שהאלהים יודע ומבין אחר וקדם כן האדם שנתן לו
 האלהים חכמה לידע. כמו שמספיק האלהים ונותן לחם לכל בשר כן האדם מכלכל
 20 בני ביתו ומשרתיו ובהמתו. כמו שמשלם האלהים גמול טוב ורע כן האדם. וכמו שקב"ה

KM 1 (אל הצדיקים) K פי יי פני ייי M (הדום רגליו) F | הדום רגליו עיני ייי K אל לבו אינם ממש כמו
 שכת' אלא כל זה אינו כי אם לפי מנהג הדבור MN 2 (לפי) K | אדם וראייה לדבר כי מתרגמי תורה
 ונביאים לא תירגמו כן אלא בעיני בשהו[?] תרג' קדם ועוד ויתעצב אל לבו אמר מימריה וכן הסירוני
 את כפי ואדעי ית דברת יקרי ותחת רגליו ותחת כורסי יקריה וכהנה רבות K | ופי' וימאר אלהים בצלמי
 כדמותי וכן הוא לאחר שברא האלהים M 3 שמים העליונים ומלאכיו K | משרתי רצונו וכבודו ורקרע
 הארץ MNP 4 והרקיע והימים P 5 והשרצים אשר רצו המים FN | והשרצים המים M | והשרצים
 ורמש המים P | בכחו הקדוש P 6 להיות ממונה FMP | ואדון כל הבריות K 7 ולרדות על כל
 בריה שבשמים ובארץ | יהדות לו F | שבארץ מבימים K | | וליהדות אליו M | ואמר לעולם כן וכן N |
 לעולמו כן וכן F | כן וכן אדם בצלמינו ובצלמך כדמותי וכדמותך N 8 (נעשה) K | בצלמי כדמותי
 K | ולא כתארניו בהכרת פניו לא בצלמנו כדמותי F | וכהכרת פניו F 9 לא נאמר FP | שכל דבר |
 MN | כדמותנו וכל דבר K | זה אל זה M 10 במלאכות M 11 (בין בקול) F | (בין בחכמה) K |
 (נאמר בו צלם ודמות) K 12 האלהים לעשות אינו נראה דומה תואר פנים F | שאמר השם ית' MN
 שאמר הקב"ה F | כי אין דמות N | ומעשה האלהי' K | ומעשה עולמו | ומעשה עולם בוא וראה איך מראה
 מעשה האדם למעשה האלהים כמעט קט מוער לפי כחו שלאדם MN 13 מטה ומעלה P | כי גם כן
 האדם | שעתה M | גם כן האדם | (שיעשה) N | כן גם האדם | K | כן אף האדם MN 14 (האלהים) F |
 אמר הבורא ית' F | (ואשמידם) K | (ואשמידם לבסוף כת' ויאמר יי סלחתי כדרכך KN 15 פתחה M |
 פתח הראצ' פיה F | (ותבלע אותם... על פיו) MNP | ובלע FNP 16 (תשבי) M | ואליהו הנביא KF
 (בשנים האלה) FMN 17 כי אם על פיו P | כי אם לפיו MN | (בארץ) M | והחיה בן השונמית וגור
 18 N | לו) K | להיות בו M | (שנים) F | ברוחו אליו P | ומשלו MN | מטה ומעלה EM 19 הבורא
 ית' M | (ומבין) KP | כן אף האדם M 20 האדם כי נתן בו בורא חכמ' לדעת P | חכמה ודעת K |
 האדם בחכמה שנתן לו האלהים M | כמו שמספיק הש' כל העולם ונותן לחם N | שמספיק הקב"ה K | כן
 אף האדם לכלכל ביתו M | וכמו כן אדם P | אף כן האדם F 21 כמו שהבורא משלם M | כמו שהש'
 משלם שחר טוב וכמו כן האדם N | שחר טוב KP | כן אף

יודע להבין טוב ורע כן האדם. כמו שעשה האלהים בנין העולם ומוסדות הארץ ונטיית הרקיע ומקוה המים כן האדם יכול לבנות וליסד ולקרות ולהקות ולהורע ולהצמיח ולנטוע ולעשות אף ביגיעה ותלאה והכל ברצון הבורא. וכמו שלא יכולה כל בריה לראות את האלהים כך אינו נראה רוח החיים של אדם לא בחייו ולא במותו אפילו בשעת יציאתו מן הגוף. וכמו שהאלהים יודע העתידות כן גם האדם בעת אשר ינוח רוחו וגופו מלעסוק בעמל צרכיו ויגום ויישן וישקוט רוח החיים מלהתעסק בצרכי הגוף אז יראה בחלומותיו עתידות ויראה ורוחות המתים ומקומות שלא ראה ואדם שלא ראה ודברים ותמהים גדולים מה שאינו יכול לראות כאשר הוא שקד. וכמו שאין בריה בעולם שידעת סתרי האלהים כך אין בריה בבני אדם שידעת סתרי מחשבות לב האדם כי אם האלהים לבדו ככתוב ה' יודע מחשבות אדם [תהלים צד יא]. וברוב דברים ידמה האדם כמעט מזער לאלהים לפי מעוט הכח וקוצר החיים שנתן לו האלהים ואף על פי שדימהו האדם כמעט קט לאלהים לא דימהו לא בגוף ולא בתאר ולא בהדר ולא בגדולה ולא בכח ולא בממשלה ולא במעשה ולא ברחמים ולא בקצף ולא בארך אף ולא בקדושה ולא בחכמה ולא בבניה ולא בחיים כי נתן לו האלהים סוף וקץ לימי חייו ולכל מעשיו נתן תכלה אבל לאלהים ולמעשיו אין חקר ואין מספר ואין סוף ואין קץ ואין תכלה וכל מה שעשה ועושה האלהים במאמרו ובדברו עושה בכחו הגדול ברגע לא ייעף ולא ייגע. הוסיף על האדם על יצרו הטוב יצר הרע לטובתו ולרעתו כדי לבחננו ולנסותו בין בטוב בין ברע וכדי להתאוות לפרות ולרבות וכדי להתאוות לבנות ולנטוע ולהרוס ולעקור נטוע ולהרוג ולייסר ולהכות ולחשוב מחשבות ולצבור כסף וזהב וללחום ולהלחם למשול ולמלוך ולרדות ולבזו בו ולשלול שלל ולקצוף עד מאד. כי אם לא היה מוסיף עליו יצר הרע על יצרו הטוב מפני פחד המות לא היה עוסק בפריה ורביה ולא היה בונה בנין ולא היה מתאוה לקנות מקנה וקנין ולא היה נוטע נטיעות ולא היה זורע ולא היה מתאוה לעשות מלאכה כי היה אומר בלבו

F 1 וכמו שהבורא יודע | KP (וכמו שקב"ה... כן האדם) | M וכמן כן האדם | F וכמו שהבורא | N (האלהים) | F 2 ומקוה הימים | PK כן גם האדם | N גם כן האדם | M וכמו כן האדם | K (יוכל) | K 3 ולעשות בכל דבר שיחפוץ | N הבורא ית' | F הכל בריה | MN וכמו שאין כל בריה | P יכול | P 4 לראות פני האלהים | FM לראות את הבורא | N לראות את הקב"ה | M כך אין כל בריה יכולה לראות נשמתו שלאדם ורוח חי' אשר נפח בו ויצרו לא בחייו | N כך אין יכולה לראות | נראה | GN | $FGMNP$ רוח חייו | G ולא במתתו | F 5 וכמו שהבורא | MN וכמו שהקב"ה | M כמן כן האדם | K בכח רוח וגופו מעמל | N כן האדם כשינוח רוחו וגופו | MN 7 בחלומות | FM (ואדם שלא ראה) | N ואדם שלא הכיר | G 8 תמהים | MN (ותמהים) | P תמהים וגדולים | G באשר | F כאשר אינו שקט | M כאשר הוא מקיץ | N כשהוא ער | M 9 אדם כי המ' הבל | P 11 כמעט מזער אל האלהים | F (לפי מעוט הכח... קט לאלהים) | N כפי מעוט הכח | NP 12 שדמהו האלהים כמעט | P (קט) | M ואף על פי שהש' דמהו אליו כביכול בקצת דבר' | לא דמהו | M (ולא בגוף ולא בתאר) | P (ולא בתאר) | M 13 ולא בממשלה לא בדין ולא ברחימי' ולא בקצף אף ולא בקדושה | N ולא בקצף אף | P בארך אפים | M 14 (לו) | F 15 ולמעשיו | P וכל מעשיו | GP כי לאלהים | MN ולא להי' | F לאלהינו ב"ה ולכל מעשיו | N 16 ואין קץ תכלה | F (האלהים) הכל במאמרו וברצונו | $FMNP$ ובדברו הוא עושה | M 17 ברגע קטן | NP על יצר הטוב | F על האדם יצר טוב | M יצר הטוב ויצר הרע | F 18 כדי להחיי' | FNP בין טוב ובין רע | M בין טוב לרע | $FMNP$ (התאוות... וכדי) | F 19 ולנטוע ולחנוך | $FMNP$ וליסר ולהכות ולהרוג | $FMNP$ שאם לא היה | $FMNP$ עליו יצרו הרע | F 22 (בנין) | F 23 נוטע נטיעה | FNP ולא (היה) זורע | PN ולא (היה) מתאוה

האדם מאשר נגזרה עלי גזרת מות מה לי לעמול לאחר אין לי חפץ בכל דבר והיה נאבד ונהרס כל העולם שלא ברא הקב"ה את העולם מימי בראשית כי אם להבנות ולהתנהג ברחמיו הרבים ועל ידי בני האדם. שאם היה האלהים חפץ בכל דור דור לבראת עולם חדש ואדם חדש לכתחלה יכול הוא אבל אינו חפץ שלא יאמרו הבריות רבים רשויות הם ובריאתו שלרשות אחת טובה מבריאת הרשות השנית אלא שיבינו כל באי עולם וידעו כי כמו שהוא חי וקיים לעולמי עולמים כן מעשה ידיו נאמנים וקיימים לעולמים לבד מן בריות בשר ודם שנגזרה עליהם גזרת מות אף הם נולדים מדור לדור האחרונים מן הראשונים והראשונים מספרים גבורת האל לאחרונים. ואם יתגבר האדם עם יצר הטוב לכבוש יצר הרע שלא יחטא לפני בוראו כי אם להשתמש ביצרו הרע בדברים הנולדים והבאים מכח יצר הרע לעשותם ביראת ה' בלא חטא ופשע מאומה 10 זו היא טובתו ואשריו ואשרי יולדתו. ואם בחטא ופשע זו היא רעתו ואוי לו אם לא יחזור בתשובה לפני בוראו. כל אלה הדמויות דמה האלהים את האדם בדמותו כמעט לבד מיצר הרע ולבד מן המות ככתוב ותחסרהו מעט מאלהים [תהלים ח ו]. כמו שדימהו אליו כן דמהו לעולם. איך עשה לו גולגולת הראש כמו רקיע השמים שעל הרקיע הזה. עשה לו תקרה העליונה של פה היא הנטועות בה השנים והמתלעות כדמות הרקיע 15 התחתונים כן גם התקרה העליונה של פה מבדלת בין הליחה שבראש לבין הליחה שבקרב העליון הוא סטומכוס. וכמו ששכן האלהים שכניתו הקדושה בשמים העליונים שקרה על המים ככתוב המקרה במים עליותי [תהלים קד ג] כן שכן את רוח נשמת החיים והדעת והבינה בקרום של מוח של ראש הנקרום על המוח ועל הליחה. ומזה נבין האמת כי אם יקרע המוח מיד ימות האדם על אשר בו מוכן רוח החיים. וכמו ששכן האלהים שכניתו הקדושה במערב כן שכן את המוח אחרי הראש על האזנים ושכן רוח החיים על המוח. וכמו שמתקיים כל העולם ומתנהג בכח אל אחד כן מתקיים כל גוף האדם בכח רוח החיים אחד שנתן בו האל ומתנהג בו להיות שר ובריא וחזק ומקיים

P 1 כי היה אומ' האדם | FMN (האדם) | FMP מאחר שנגזרה | N לאחר שנגזרה (עלי) | M (גזרת) | M לעמול בשביל אותם גם לא היה לו חפץ | G לאחר כן | G 2 והיה נאבד ונחרב ונהרס | N לאחר גם אין לו חפץ | MN והקב"ה לא ברא | M להבנות [?] | בו | F כי אם הבריות [?] | N 3 ולהתנהג עמנו | $FMNP$ 4 ואדם חדש כמתחלה | G (שלא) | M 5 רשויות הרבה יש למעלה | FNP ובריאתו של אחד | M ובריאתו של ראשון | M מבריתו שלהשני וכו' | P מבריאת הרשות האחר השנית | N אלא יבינו | G 6 כמו הוא חי וקיים | MN כמו הוא חי וקיים לנצח | P גם כן מעשה | G כן גם מעשה | M מעשה ידיו נמשכ' וקיימ' לעולם ועד | FNP נאמנים וקיימים לעולם | FNP 7 לבד מבריאת | MN שנגזרה עליו | M אף כי הם | N 8 (מן הראשונים והראשונים מספרים גבורת האל לאחרונים) | M והראשונים הם מספר' | F גבורת הבורא ית' | P (האל) | F 9 ולא יתגבר האדם עליו יצר הטוב | G שלא יחטאו | $FMNP$ לפני יוצרו | F 10 ובלא פשע | G 11 ואם בחט' | FP אוי' | M 12 (לפני בוראו) | FP כי אלה | M ובאלה | MNP הדמויות | F דמויות | P דמה הבורא | N דמה הספר [?] | G במעט | G 13 לבד מן המות | K 14 המות | FMP | $FKMNP$ מאלהים דמהו לעולם כן. עשה לו | N מאלהים דמהו לעולם. עשה לו | K הראש עמו דמיון לרקיע השמים | P 15 הנטוע | M 16 שעליו הבבדיל בין מ' למי' | N שעליו וכמו מבדיל | K שעליו שמבדיל בין מים העליונים למים התחתונים | MN 18 שבין הקרב | K אסטומכוס | P הטומכוס | F האסטומכוס | P (האלהים) | K שכניתו בקדושה ובטהרה | M 19 בשמים העליונים שקרה עליה המי' | K 20 רוח נשמת רוח החיים | K במקום קרום המוח של ראש | M בקירום המוח שבראש | K 21 יבין האמת | F אם נקרע | K שאם יקרע קרום המוח | K על אשר יהיה בו | MN מפני שבו | K 22 ששיכן (האלהים) שכניה | P למערב | F 23 (כל) | K כן מתנהג ומתקיים | FM 24 אחר שנתן | K (בו) | P ישר | P וקיים | M עד בא קצו

עד עת ביאת קצו ואם יתערב בגופו רוח רעה מאומה אחרת לא יתקיים הגוף להיות
 כבתחילה. וכמו שנתן ברקיע השמים שני מאורות וחמשה כוכבים כן נתן בראש האדם
 שתי עינים עין הימנית דומה לחמה ועין השמאלית דומה ללבנה האף השמאלי דומה
 למאדים האף הימני דומה לכוכב חמה הלשון והפה והשפתים דומה לצדק האזן הימנית
 דומה לנגה האזן השמאלית דומה לשבתאי. וכמו שעשה אויר בין הרקיע ובין הארץ כן
 5 עשה בגוף האדם החזה והגויה. וכמו שעשה רוח באויר חללו של עולם כן תצא נשמת
 רוח החיים מן הריאה שבחזה ובגויה הוא חללו הגוף. וכמו שרקע הארץ על המים כן
 קרם ומתח קרום הבשר שעל הכבד ועל הבטן ועל המעים ועל הטחול הוא הבשר שבין
 הריאה ובין הכבד והטחול והמעים והבטן. וכמו שעשה האל עופות ודגים וחיות ובהמות
 אכזורים שטורפים ואוכלים ובולעים זה את זה ואחרים רחמנים ותמימים מלעשות רע זה
 10 לזה כן עשה בני אדם אך לבני אדם נתן דעה ורשות לעצור עצמם מלעשות רע ועל זה
 מתחייבין. הטובים נדמו לעופות ולבהמות הטובים ככתוב יונתי תמתי [שיר השירים ה
 ב] וכתוב ואתן צאן צאני מרעיתי [יחזקאל לד לא] והרעים נדמו לרעים שנאמר דמיונו
 כאריה יכסוף לטרוף [תהלים יז יב]. וכמו שיש בעולם אילנות ועשבים טובים ורעים
 כמו העלי ריחות הטובים ופירות הטובים למחיה ולרפואה ואחרים להמית ולהרע
 15 כעשבי סמי המות וכקוצים ודרדרים כן יהיו בני האדם טובים ורעים הטובים נדמו
 לאילנות ולעשבים הטובים שנאמר כתפוח בעצי היער כן דודי בן הבנים [שיר השירים
 ב ג] וכתוב כשושנה בין החוחים כן רעיתי בין הבנות [שם שם ב] והרעים נדמו לקוצים
 ולדרדרים ככתוב ובליעל כקוף מנד כלהם [שמואל ב כו ו]. וכמו שברא האל האדם
 20 והבהמה וכל נפש החיה לשכון על הארץ כן ברא האל הלב על אותו הקרום של בשר
 שעל הכבד ושכן בתוך הלב את רוח החיים. כמו שעשה מתחת לארץ תהומות ורפש
 וטיט כן עשה באדם הקרב העליון והמעים המקבלים המאכל והמשתה. וכמו ששורצים
 המים מן הרפש ומן הטיט שרצים ורמשים למיניהם כן נשרצים במעי האדם מרפש
 השמרים של מאכל ומשתה שרצים ורמשים ותולעים ארוכים וקצרים רחבים וגלולים
 25 גדולים וקטנים עבים ורקיקים ודקים כשערות לבנים. וכמו שעשה מקוה ימים בעולם

P 1 (אחרת) N (להיות) 2 FKMP (נתן) | N כן ברא 3 N בדמות ללבנה 4 K דימה לצדק
 5 K דימה לנגה | K דימה לשבתי || שעשה אויר בעל[?] | בין הרקיע 6 K וכמו ששמיש הרוח באויר |
 M ברוח אויר | N ברוח באויר | K תצא מנשמת 7 K ובחזה ומנשמת בגויה מקום חללו של הגוף || N וכמו
 שרקיע 8 M כן רקע || FP שעל הכבד והבטן || N (ועל המעים) P (והטחול) 9 FP שבין הריאה לבין
 הכבד | M שבין הריאה והכבד || N כמו 10 F שטורפים זה לזה || MP ובולעים ואוכלים | N ובהמות
 שובלעים ואוכלים || F זה לזה || K רחמנים וחסידים וכשירים וצדיקים ותמימים ויראים 11 P לעשות
 רע זה אל זה || KMN עשה גם בני האדם | K אבל לבני האדם נתן להם || MN עצם מלעשות רע זה לזה
 12 K מתחייבים לפני יוצרם ובני האדם הטובים | K יונתי בחוגי הסלע. יונתי תמתי 13 FKNP ואתנה
 || MN מרעיתי אדם אתם 14 F (יכסוף לטרוף) 15 F כמו העלים שיש להם ריח טוב | M כמו עלי
 ריחות הרע' וריחות הטוב' | K (כמו העלי ריחות הטובים) 16 MN כעשבי סם המות || P כן יהיו גם
 בני אדם | K כל בני האדם | M כן בבני אדם יש בהם טוב' ורע' | N כן בבני האדם 17 FMNP היער
 (כן דודי בן הבנים) 18 K ואומ' כשושנה || FMNP החוחים (כן רעיתי בין הבנות) 19 FP לקוצים
 ודרדרים || F שנאמר ובליעל 20 P לשכון בארץ || P ברא האל הלב לשכון אותו הקרב של בשר | M
 (האל) הלב || M על אותו הכרם | P על אותו הקרב || K שעל הבשר 22 K לאדם הקרב התחתון 23 K
 ששורצים במים || P (מן הרפש ומן הטיט) || M כן נשרצ' בבני מיצו של אדם 24 P מרפש השמנים || K מן
 הרפש שלשמרי המאכל || F ושל משה || M (ורמשים) 25 F (ורקיקים)

כן עשה באדם מקוה מי הרגלים הוא הנבל והוא השלפוחית. וכמו שעשה אדני הארץ
 למטה ממנה כן עשה יסוד בנין כל הגוף את העצמות העצה מזה ומזה ושתי הירכים.
 וכמו שעשה אבנים מפולמות המשוקעות בתהום אשר מביניהם המים יוצאים בו כן עשה
 שתי הכליות לצאת ולעבור מביניהם מתוך גידיהם את מי הרגלים אל השלפוחית וגם
 5 לחלוח הזרע עובר ויוצא מביניהם אל ביצי המבושים ואל הערוה. וכמו שהתהום קורא
 אל תהום ככתוב תהום אל תהום קורא לקול צנוריק [תהלים מב ח] כן קורא הקרב
 העליון הוא סטומכוס אל המעים להקבילם שמר המאכל והמשתה ובטן התחתון הוא
 המעי הנקרא עור הסתום קורא אל גידי הכליות שהם כצנורים להקביל המים מי רגלים
 הם המתמצים ונפרדים מן המאכל מתוך המעי ההוא ללכת אל השלפוחית. וצינורי
 10 הכליות קורים אל גידי השלפוחית להקבילם המים ההם להוליכם ולהקותם בתוך
 השלפוחית שהיא דומה לתהום התחתון שהוא תחתון לכל התהומות. ועוד קורא אותו
 המעי הנקרא עור הסתום אל המעי הנקרא שרשור הוא הטחור להקביל את דומן הצואה
 והגלל. וכמו שעשה האלהים נהרות להשקות את העולם כן עשה בגוף האדם ורידים
 הם גידי הדם המושכים את הדם להשקות את כל הגוף. וכמו שיוצאים בעולם מצד
 15 דרום הנגב והוא תימן והוא צד ימין של עולם החום והגשמים שלברכה וטללי ברכה
 ורוחות טובות כן יצא בדבר האל מצד ימינו של אדם החום מן המרה האדומה התלויה
 בכבד וכן יוצא לחלוח הדם מן הכבד שבצד ימינו של אדם. וכמו שיצא השלג והקור
 והברד והקרח מצד צפון בעולם כן יצא הקור מצד שמאלו של אדם מן הטחול ומן
 המרה השחורה ששוכנת בטחול בתוכו. וכמו שיצא הרעה לעולם מצפון שנאמר מצפון
 20 תפתח הרעה [ירמיה א יד] כן יצא כל חלי רע וקשה מן המרה השחורה השוכנת בטחול
 בצד שמאל. וכמו שבצד צפון של עולם מדור כל המזיקים והזיקים והזועות והרוחות
 והברקים והרעמים כן הוא מדור המרה השחורה שבטחול בצד שמאל שממנה תולדת
 כל חלי רע וקשה כמו השחפת הרביעית וכל מיני שגעון והפחד והרעד של אברים
 והפלג היא פרליסיאה ועוית הפה ועמום העינים הסגורים. וכמו שעולים בעשן הנשיאים
 25 מן הארץ ומעלים המים מן התהמות אל אויר הרקיע להמטיר על הארץ כן עולה עשן

FNP 1 (באדם) | M לאדם || K מקוה מי רגלים || K (הוא הנבל) || K שהטביע[?] וכמו אדני | F אבני הארץ
 K 2 יסודי בנין גוף | M כל גוף האדם K 3 (בו) K 4 לשתי הכליות || FMNP ולעבור מביניהם
 (מתוך גידיהם את מי הרגלים...מביניהם) את הזרע F 5 את ביצי המבושים ואת הערוה N 6 (לקול
 צנוריק) F 7 (הוא) || M הסטומכוס | FN אסטומכוס | P (הוא סטומכוס) || NP להקביל || MNP שמרי
 המאכל K 8 (המעי) || P אל גיד הכליות הם כצנורים || KM להקבילם המים K 9 (הם) || P (שהוא
 תחתון לכל התהומות) F 12 אל מעי N 13 והגלל || M וכמו שעשה הש"י || M בגוף האדם ביד
 וברגל את גידי הדם P 14 המושכים את כל הדם FM 15 וטללי וגשמי ברכה | P והטללים וגשמי
 ברכה | N וטללי רצון וגשמי ברכה FMNP 16 (ורוחות טובות) || KM (בדבר האל) F 17 כן יוצא |
 K כן יצא || K מן הכבד החום והזכרון ולחלוח חום || FMNP בצד | M ימיני F 18 מצד צפון שהוא
 צד שמאל לעולם | K מצד צפון לעולם || K מצד שמאל F 19 השכונה בטחול | NP השכונת בטחול
 (בתוכו) | M (בטחול..חשוכות) | K (בטחול) || NP (בתוכו) || K וכמו שתצא | (לעולם) מצד צפון | F
 וכמו שיוצא || FMN (שנאמר מצפון תפתח הרעה) F 20 כן יוצא P 21 בטחול בצד צפון | K בטחול
 שהוא בצד שמאל || FN וכמו בצד | K שבצד שמאל || K כל הזיקים והרוחות והשרים והזועות והברקים
 והרעמים M 22 (כן) || K (הוא) || F השוכנת בטחול לצד | M אשר בטחול | NP בטחול | P בצד הצפון
 משמאל || MN אשר ממנה | P יש ממנה K 23 קשה ושחפת וכל מיני שגעון || M והפחדים וסער של
 אברים N 24 (הפלג) | F והפלאג || M פיליסיאה || P וכמו שעולה | K הנשיאים הם העורים שהן בעשן
 K 25 (המים) || P אל אויר העולם || M להמטיר על הארץ לא איש

הקרב העליון ומעלה לחלוח אל הפה ואל הראש ומאותו הלחלוח העולה מן הקרב יזלו הדמעות וריר הנחיריים ורוק הפה. וכמו שברא האל בעולם הרים וגבעות כן ברא בגוף האדם שכמי הכתפים וקשרי הזרועים והארכובות של ברכים וקשרי הקרסולים ושאר הקשרים של כל אברים. וכמו שברא בעולם אבנים וצורים חזקים וקשים כן ברא בגוף אדם השנים והמתלעות שהם קשים יותר מכל עצם וברזל. וכמו שברא בעולם 5 אילנות חזקים ורכים כן ברא באדם עצמות קשים ורכים. וכמו שברא בעולם ארץ עבה וקשה וארץ לחה ורכה כן ברא באדם בשר ועור הבשר נגד הארץ הרכה והעור נגד הארץ הקשה והעבה. וכמו שברא בעולם אילנות ועשבים העושים פרי וזרע ואילנות ועשבים שאינם עושים פרי וזרע כן עשה בני אדם שמולידים ויש שאינם מולידים. וכמו שהאילנות והעשבים אינם עושים פרי בלא עתם כך בני אדם אינם מולידים בלא עתם. 10 וכמו שהאילנות נזקנים כך נזקנים בני אדם. וכמו שמצמיח האל עשב ועצי יער מן הארץ כן מצמיח באדם שער הראש והזקן והגוף. וכמו אשר ישרצו חיות ורמש ביער ובארץ כן שורצים בשער הראש והזקן ובבשר הגוף כנים גדולים וקטנים וביצי כנים. וכמו שברא האלהים התלי בעולם ונטהו ברקיע ממזרח למערב מקצה אל קצה והכוכבים והמזלות וכל דבר שבעולם אדוקין בו כן ברא בגוף האדם את חבל המוח הלבן אשר 15 בתוך חוליות השדרה והוא נטוי מקצה מוח הראש ועד עצם העצה ושנים עשר הנתחים והצלעות וכל אברי הגוף אדוקין בו מפה ומפה. ראש החבל של שדרה הוא מוח הראש וזנב החבל של שדרה הוא עצם העצה וגיד הערוה. וכמו שראש התלי עושה טובה והזנב עושה רעה כן עושה ראש חבל המוח טובה וזנב חבל המוח עושה רעה. וכמו שברא האלהים שנים עשר מזלות ומנהיג את העולם בהם כן ברא באדם שנים עשר נתחים שתי 20 ידיים ושתי אמות ושתי זרועות ושתי רגלים ושתי שוקים ושתי יריכים. וכמו שקבע האל להיות ששה מזלות בדרום וששה בצפון כן קבע האל להיות אלה הנתחים באדם ששה בצד ימינו וששה בצד שמאלו של גוף. וכמו שמתנהג העולם וכל אשר בו תחת ומעלה

P 1 ומעלה עמו לחלוח K מן הקרב אל הפה ואל הראש M 2 יולו העיני' דמעות וגם הנחירי' P הדמעות וליחת הנחיריים P האל בעולם אבנים וצורים חזקים האלהים הרים כן ברא KN ברא האלהים FN (וגבעות) N 3 וארכובות של ברכים F וקרסי הקרסולים K 4 קשרים של כל הגוף P וצורים חזקים והאלהים הרים [!] כן ברא $FMNP$ 5 ברא באדם P (יותר) M וברזל שבעולם K (וכמו שברא בעולם... ורכים) M 6 עצמות רכי' וקשי P עצמות רכים וקשים וחזקים P (ברא) N | כן ברא בגוף האדם P 8 (זרע) M 9 שאינם עושים לא זרע ולא פרי N | גם כן K | כן עשה לאנוש יש מהן שמולידין ויש מהן שאינם מולידין M 10 (פרי) N (אינם מולידים בלא עתם... בני אדם) K | כן בני אדם פרי וזרע בלא עתם וגם לא נזקקין M 11 וכמו שמזקיני' האילני' אף בני אדם מזקיני' P וכמו שנוקנין האילנות אף בני אדם P (האל) K 12 הצמיח P | כך צומח P (והגוף... הראש והזקן) M | ביערות N 13 כן ישרצו M | שער הראש והזקן ושערי' השחי' והערוה | P וביצי כנים עם בשער הראש והזקן | K ובזקן ובכל גופו M | בני כנים... וביצי כנים וחיית קטנות עם גדולות K 14 (בעולם) FN | ברקיע במזרח ועד מערב M | (מקצה אל קצה... אדוקין בו) ברקיע במזרח K אל קצה ושנים עשר מזלות וכל דבר K 16 בתוך חוט השדרה M אשר נק' ע'ה שלמ' הח' חבל הכסף והוא נטוי M ועד עצה השדרה ור'ב הנתחי' M 17 (של שדרה הוא) F של מוח של שדרה הוא עצם K של שדרה הוא מוח הראש וצר החבל השייני' [!] עצם העצה FM 18 (הראש וזנב החבל) K | וזנבו M | וזנב התלי' P | עצם הצה ועד הערוה P (עושה) P 19 וכמו שעשה M | כן זנב[?] חבל המוח עושה רעה K | ראש חבל האדם טובה וזנבו רעה NP 20 האל FM | האל ית' M | ככבי' ומזלות ומנהיג M 21 נתחים שהם שתי ידיים וב' רגלי' ושתי אמות F (שתי זרועות) P | וכמו שברא האל וקבע M | האל ית' M 22 (ששה מזלות... להיות) | K קבע האל (להיות) KP | (להיות) K (האלה) P 23 (ששה) ובצר ימינו ששה ובצד שמאל ששה K | ששה בצד ימינו של גוף N מהגוף

בכח רוחו של הקב"ה כן מתנהג כל גופו של אדם תחת ומעלה מבית ומחוץ בכח נשמת רוח החיים שנפח בו האל. וכמו שסובל האלהים את העולם תחת ומעלה עם כל אשר בו ונראה בדעת הסכלים וההדיוטים כי הוא נסבל כן סובל רוח החיים את כל גופו של אדם תחת ומעלה מבית ומחוץ מקצה אל קצה ונראה בדעת ההדיוטים כי הגוף סובל את הרוח ואינו כן כי בעת סוף יגיע קץ לחיי האדם תצא רוח חיים מן הגוף ותשוב אל האלהים אשר נתנה והגוף הוא הגולם נשאר מת כאבן ולא יועיל מאומה. וכמו שהאל חי לעולמי עולמים כן רוחו של אדם חי לעולם בין בטוב בין ברע אם היה האדם טוב וישר בחייו תהיה רוחו צרורה בצרור החיים ובשלום ואם היה רע וחוטא בחייו ולא חזר בתשובה תהיה רוחו בחיים רעים בצרה ובצוקה גדולה ככתוב [את נפשך] והיתה נפש אדני צרורה בצרור החיים את ה' אלהיך ואת נפש אויבך יקלענה בתוך כף הקלע [שמאל א כה כט] וכתוב הצדיק אבד ואין איש שם על לב [ישעיה נז א] וכתוב בתריה יבא שלום יגוחו על משכבותם הולך נכוחו [שם שם ב] וגם דוד בקש מלפניו על זה ואמר אל תאסוף עם חטאים נפשי ועם אנשי דמים חיי [תהלים כו ט]. מזה נבין כי לפי מעשיו של אדם תהיה הרוח לאחר מיתתו לפי מעשיו שעשה בחייו בין בטוב ובין ברע ועל החוטאים ועל הפושעים שלא שבו בתשובה ממעשיהם הרעים ככתוב ויצאו וראו בפגרי האנשים הפושעים בי תולעתם לא תמות ואשם לא תכבה והיו דראון לכל בשר [ישעיה סו כד] ועל פגרי הצדיקים ושל בעלי תשובה כתוב יחיו מיתך נבלתי יקומון הקיצו ורגנו שכני עפר [שם כו יט] וכתוב יצר סמוך תצור שלום כי כך בטוח [שם שם ג]. וכמו שהאלהים מלא כל הארץ וכל העולם כולו תחת ומעלה ככתוב קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא כל הארץ כבודו [שם ו ג] וכתוב אם יסתר איש במסתרים ואני לא אראה נאום ה' הלווא את השמים ואת הארץ אני מלא נאום ה' [ירמיה כג כד] כן נשמת רוח החיים של אדם מלא כל גופו שהוא כעולם קטן מכף רגליו ועד קדקדו מקצה אל

$K 1$ מקום בכוח רוחו של $K 2$ שנפח האלהים באפיו F האל ית' K האל את העולם ואת כל אשר בו \parallel (את) כל העולם M מעלה מבית ומחוץ מקצה אל קצה ונראה בדעת ההדיוטים' כי (הוא... ההדיוטים) הגוף סובל $K 3$ הסכלים וההדיוטיות שהגוף סובל K את גוף האדם (תחת ומעלה... מקצה אל קצה) ונראה $K 5$ כי בעת (סוף יגיע... האדם) שתצא F וקץ חייו תצא רוח האדם N לחיי העולם $P 6$ בלא יועיל K נתנה נשאר הגוף כאבן דומה ולא יועיל M מת מוטל כאבן שאין לו הופכי' ולא יועיל $N 7$ גם כן P כן רוחו N גם כן M רוחו או נשמתו M לעולמי עולמי' בין בטוב $K 8$ וישר מחייו P נפשו תהיה MN תהיה נשמתו K (צרורה) K (ובשלום) M ואם היה האדם רשע וחוטא N ואם היה האדם רע K וחוטא מחייו $M 9$ תהיה רוח ג' K ובצרה ובמצוקה M ובצרה וצוקה $FMNP$ (והיתה נפש... אלהיך ואת) $F 11$ (ואין איש שם על לב) N על לב ואנשי חסד נאספים K (בתריה) $F 12$ (על משכבותם הולך נכוחו) MN (הולך נכוחו) K (בקש מלפניו על זה) אמר $P 13$ נפשו $FMNP$ (ועם אנשי דמים חיי) P וגם מזה נבען M מזה נוכל להבין $M 14$ תחיה הרוח או נשמתו K תהיה מתתו לאחר מיתתו וגם פגר הגוף כמו כן לפי P מעשיו של אדם K (שעשה בחיים) FMN בין טוב ובין רע $K 15$ יועל החוטאים P בברע יהיה שבר הרוח אחר מיתתו ועל החוטאים K תשובה מדרכיהם הרעים P (ממעשיהם הרעים) בתשובה $P 16$ הפושעים (תולעתם... לכל בשר) FMN (תולעתם... לכל בשר) $K 17$ הצדיקים ועל נבילות של בעלי תשובה F תשובה אמר N תשובה אמר $MP 18$ (הקיצו ורגנו שכני עפר) FMP (כי כך בטוח) $F 19$ מלא כל הארץ (וכל העולם... כבודו) P (מלא כל הארץ כבודו) K (ככתוב... צבאות) $P 20$ מלא כל הארץ כבודו ועולם הזה הגדול תחת M מלא כל הארץ כבודו וכל העולם הזה הגדול תחת N מלא כל הארץ כבודו וכל העולם הגדול הזה תחת K (אם... נאום ה') F (ואני לא אראה... נאום ה') $M 21$ (נאום ה'... נאום ה') MP (הלווא את השמים... נאום ה') $K 22$ כן גם רוח נשמת החיים NP (מלא כל גופו) K קדקדן ועד צפרניו

קצה עד צפרני ידיו ורגליו. ומזה נבין האמת כי אם יגע באדם כלום דבר בגופו בלא
ראות עיניו כמו חיה או רמש או שרץ או עוף או אדם או בהמה או ברזל או קוץ או עץ
או אש או מים קרים או מים חמים בין בגופו בין בראשו בין מבית בין מחוץ בין בעור
בשרו בין בקצת ידיו או רגליו מיד מבין הגוף ואותו המקום הנוגע בו. אותו דבר מבין
כל ימי חייו על אשר גופו מלא מרוח החיים ואחרי מותו אינו מבין מאומה מה יעשה
לגוף בין טוב ובין רע ועל זה כתוב שופך דם האדם באדם דמו ישפך כי בצלם אלהים
עשה את האדם [בראשית ט ו] ללמדך שכל מי שרוצח את האדם כמו שהוא מחריב
את העולם כלו על אשר דמה את האדם לבריאת העולם ולצלם האלהים. טעם אחר
ופירוש אחר כי בצלם אלהים עשה את האדם [בראשית ט ו] דמהו האלהים לצלמו
כמעט קט מזער. כיצד. כמו שמתחלת בראשית הוציא רוח מרוחו בכחו הגדול והוציא
מים עם אותו הרוח בכוחו הגדול והוציא אש ממים בכחו הרב והקפיא מן המים ההם
מכח האש ועשה מהם הארץ ומארבע היסודות האלה יסד וברא את העולם כולו ואלו
הם ארבע יסודות רוח ומים ואש ועפר כן ברא גם את האדם מארבע היסודות מרוח
וממים אש ועפר והם דם וליחה ומרה אדומה ומרה שחורה. הדם כנגד הרוח. אמנם כי
הדם הוא הנפש [דברים יב כג] והנפש הוא הרוח וכח הרוח חם ולח וכח הדם חם ולח.
והליחה כנגד המים כי כח המים קר ולח וכח הליחה קר ולח. והמרה האדומה כנגד
האש כי כח האש חם ויבש וכח המרה האדומה חם ויבש. והמרה השחורה כנגד העפר
כי כח העפר קר ויבש וכח המרה השחורה קר ויבש. כל זה עשה האלהים בכחו הגדול
ובגבורתו החזקה והרבה. הרוח שנפח האל והוציא מרוחו בתחלת מעשה בראשית היתה
לאין חקר ושיעור והוציא מים מלחלוחו יחד עם אותו הרוח לאין חקר ושיעור והוציא
אש מלחלוחו מאותו המים לאין חקר ושיעור והקפיא מאותן המים ועשה את הארץ לאין
חקר ושיעור ומדה וכאשר ברא האלהים בתחלת בראשית את העולם הזה הגדול כן
ברא ויצר מן העולם הגדול את האדם שהוא עולם קטן. ודמהו אלהים בדמותו כמעט
קט מזער ובדמות העולם. ברא את האדם הראשון תחלה כדמות האלהים וחסרו מעט
מאלהים ככתוב ותחסרהו מעט מאלהים [תהלים ח ו] ונתן לו רשיון שיעשה אף הוא

K 1 האמת שאם P יגע האדם P (דבר) P 2 (ראות) K עיניו או חיה M (שרץ) K 3 או קוץ או אבן
או אש M מים קר"י או חמ"י K בין על בשרו K 4 ידיו ורגליו מיד מבין הגוף כולו | M ואותו הגוף הנוגע
 K 5 מלא גופו מקום החיים | F מלא רוח החיים | MN כל ימי חייו מפני שרוחו מלא גופן K מאומה אם
תעשה | P מאומה ממה שיעשה | F מאומה מה תעשה P 6 (באדם... את האדם) FMN (כי בצלם... את
האדם) F 7 מי שירצח K | מי שהורג את האדם כאילו שמחריב F 8 את כל העולם כלו | N את כל
העולם N דמה את האדם באדם | M דמה האדם | K אשר דומה לבריית עולם FK 9 (ופירוש אחר)
 MP 10 (מזער) K הוציא הקב"ה P בכחו (הגדול... ממים בכחו) K 11 (בכוחו הגדול) K בכחו
הגדול והקפיא K 12 בכח האש K (יסד) ברא את כל העולם | NP (וברא) P 13 הארבע יסודים
אש ומים ורוח ועפר F | אש ועפר (כן ברא... ועפר) P | האדם גם מארבע היסודים K 14 מן רוח מים
 M | ואלו הם דם וליחה N | הדם כנגד הרוח שבנינו P 15 והנפש הוא הדם N | וכח הרוח חם ולח כח
הלחה הלבנה ונקרי עליומא קרי ולחה ומרה האדומה P 16 (כי כח המים... וכח הליחה) N | כי כח
האש חם ויבש ומוליר קולדא P 17 וכן המרירה האדומה חם ויבש MN 19 החזקה והרבה והרוח |
 K החזקה ברוך הוא וברוך שמו. הרוח שנפח K 20 הרוח לאין חקר ושיעור ומדה M | ושיעור (והוציא
מים מלחלוחו... לאין חקר ושיעור) K 21 (מלחלוחו) K | המים לאין חקר ושיעור ומדה. וכאשר ברא
מאותם המים ועשה את העולם לאין חקר האלהים בתחילת בראשית FNP 24 כמעט (קט מזער) M |
(מזער) M | העולם הזה F | כיון ברא P | בתחלה MN 25 (ככתוב ותחסרהו מעט מאלהים) MN |
שיעשה גם הוא P | (אף הוא)

אדם מגופו ומיסודו לפי כחו כרצון הבורא ית' [עלה]. כיצד. מוציא רוח תאות המשגל
 מרוח החיים שלו כמו רוח מרוח ומסייע רוח התאוה את הזרע הדומה למים כמו מים
 מרוח ובאים בתוך הרחם רוח התאוה והזרע עם רוח החיים ומכח רוח החיים היוצא עם
 הזרע ומרוח התאוה מתחמם הזרע בחום בתוך הרחם כמו אש משקלה. הנה זה דומה
 5 לאש ממים ומן החום יקפיא הזרע ויברא הבשר והגידים והעצמות והעור שהם כנגד
 הארץ. הנה זה דומה לארץ שנברא מן המים. זה לך עולם קטן שיעשה האדם מגופו
 לפי מעוט כחו ברצון בוראו ובכח יצרו ובכח רוח נשמת חיים שנפח בו האל באפו של
 אדם הראשון. וכמו שלא חסר מאומה רוח אלהים חיים על שהוציא רוח מרוחו ולא חסר
 מאומה על שהוציא מים מלחלוחו עם אותו הרוח שהוציא מרוחו הקדש החי לעולמי
 10 עולמים כן איננו חסר האדם מאומה מרוח חייו על שמוציא רוח חיים מרוח חייו עם
 הזרע וכן איננו חסר מאומה על אשר מוציא הזרע מלחלוח גופו. ועוד על אשר ידמה
 האדם כי הדבר הזה שכתבנו בבריאת בני אדם הנולדים מאדם ראשון ועד סוף העולם
 זה מגופו של זה וזה מגופו של זה איננו נודע כי אם בשכל ובבינה מעומק חכמה ודעת
 ובחפץ להודיע כח מעשיו וגבורתו לבני אדם נתן לאדם רשות כדי להבין ולידע בראיית
 15 עיניו ובמעשה ידיו את מעשה האלהים שעשה בתחלת בראשית ולהאמין ולהודות לאל
 ולהעיד לו כי הוא אל גדול ונורא גדול בכוחו ונורא במעשיו ונתן לו רשות ודעת שיפח
 בגרונו עם בית הבליעה שלו בשפתים פתוחות ולהוציא רוח מגופו מרוח החיים שלו
 ועם אותו הרוח להוציא לחלוח מגופו. ומי שלא יאמין בדבר הזה יביא אבן או ברזל
 או דבר שהוא קשה ויבש קשה שאיננו שותה הלחלוח מהרה ויבש שאיננו מוציא לחלוח
 20 שלא יאמר האדם שזה הלחלוח מזה הדבר יוצא ולא ממנו ואז יראה ויאמין כי יוציא
 לחלוח מעט מגופו באותו הדבר שיפח עליו וכל זה עושה האדם כמעט קט מזער לפי
 מיצוט כחו וקוצר רוחו וסוף חייו ושניו כדי שידע את מעשה האלהים. ועל אשר הוא
 רוח חיים האדם מעט ומזער וקטן מוציא בנפיחת גרונו ובית בליעתו רוח מרוחו מעט
 וקטן ומזער. ועל אשר יהיה לחלוח גופו של אדם מעט וקטן ומזער מוציא עם נפיחת
 25 רוחו לחלוח מעט ומזער וקטן ואינו יכול האדם להוציא מזה הלחלוח המוציא מגופו

F 1 כרצון האל יתעלה P | ברצון האל (ית') K | (ית') K || מוציא האדם רוח תאות F 2 מרוח החיים
 סוד שלו N 3 הרחם (רוח התאוה והזרע... בתוך הרחם) K || מכוח התאוה והזרע עם רוח חיים P | בתוך
 הרחם רוח תאוה והזרע עם עם רוח החיים ומכח רוח החיים היוצאים עם הזרע ומרוח התאוה מתחמם
 הזרע בתוך בתוך הרחם כמו אש 4 KP (בחום) K || אש קלה P 5 זה דומה (לאש... הנה זה דומה) |
 MN לאש ומים ומן החום | F לאש ומים ומן החום M || יקפיא הזרע שנברא הבשר K | יקפיא הזרע
 ויבואו[?] הגידים 7 MN ברצון האל ית' MN (ובכח יצרו) K || (בו) F || (האל) MN || באפי אדם
 הראשון F (של אדם הראשון) 8 M על (שהוציא רוח מרוחו... עם אותו הרוח) שהוציא מרוחו הקב"ה
 9 N (על שהוציא מים מלחלוחו) K || מלחלוח הרוח וגם אותו הרוח P || (עם) | עם אותו הרוח
 11 P 11 $FGMNP$ | כן האיש איננו חסר FN | כן איש איננו חסר F || מאומה מכח חייו M || (על שמוציא רוח
 חיים מרוחו חייו) FN | על שמוציא רוח מרוחו חיים F || מן הזרע G || ועוד על אשר ראה האלהים F 12
 (כי הדבר הזה) M || ועוד סוף G || (העולם) N 13 בשכל ותבונה | FM בשכל ובינה F 14 וחפץ P ||
 נתן להם רשות 15 GP (לאל) G 16 במעשה F 17 הוציא לחלוח מגופו 19 $FMNP$ (שהוא)
 20 $FMNP$ (הדבר יוצא) G 21 במעט מעט ומזער P || כמעט קט FMN || כמעט מעט P 22 מסוף
 23 F רוח החיים של אדם P || ועל אשר רוח החיים מעט M || ובית בליעתו $FMNP$ || רוח
 מרוח 24 G גופו (של אדם... לחלוח ומזער וקטן) ואינו יכול P || (מוציא) P 25 רוחו לחלוח קטן מעט
 מזער N | רוחו לחלוח קטן מעט ומזער F || מאלה הלחלוחים שמוציא

אש על אשר יהיה הלחלוה שמוציא מעט וקטן ומוזער. ועל זה נתן לו האלהים דעת
ובינה והשכל לעשות חילופו. ועל אשר לא יוכל האדם לתלות המים באויר בלא כלי
כמו שעשה האלהים בכחו הגדול בתחלת בראשית נתן לו האלהים דעת ובינה והשכל
ליתן מים בכלי זכוכית זכה וצחה ותופש הכלי עם המים בידו ומרים באויר העולם.
ועל שאין לאדם אור ונגה וזהר כנגה וזהר של הקב"ה מרים בידו את הכלי ההוא של
5 זכוכית עם המים הזכים שבתוכו ומעמידו כנגד זהרו של שמש בחום הקיץ ויאחז בידו
האחרת נעורת פשתים רכה או צמר גפן או רקבון העצים אשר ביער הנקרא איסקא
בלשון יון ורומיים ומעמיד הנעורת או את צמר או את הרקבון הנקרא איסקא כנגד כלי
הזכוכית מרחוק כמעט ומפני זהר חום השמש אשר יזהיר בכלי הזכוכית יוצא ועובר
10 זהר חום השמש מתוך כלי הזכוכית ומתוך המים אשר בו אז יבער צמר הגפן או הרקבון
או הנעורת וידליק כמו אש. זה לך לדעת להוציא רוח מרוח ומים מרוח ואש ממים. ומי
שרוצה להבין ולידע ולהאמין איך נעשתה הארץ מן המים מכוח האש יעשה לו קומקום
של נחשת וימלאהו מים זכים וצחים וירתיחהו על האש וכל מה שיחסרו המים יוסיף
עליהם מים וירתיחם עוד ועוד ויוסיף עליהם מים וירתיחם ככה יעשה בכל יום עד
15 שנים רבות ואם ישבור את כלי נחשת או ימצא בתוכו כמו אבן קשה וחזקה. ואם ילחוש
אדם בלבו ויאמר מי יוכל לנסות את הדבר הזה ילך אל חרשי הנחשת וידבר אליהם
אם יבא לידם קומקום של נחשת שנרתחו בו המים מרוב שנים או הכלי של נחשת של
שרים הנקרא בלשון יון מוליארין הוא הכלי שמרתיחים בו משרתי השרים את המים
החמים להשקות את אדוניהם עם היין המהול ומסוך ומזוג בחמים ההם. אם יהיה הכלי
20 הזה בלה ונושן מרוב שנים שהיו רותחים בו את המים ויהפצו חרשי הנחשת לשבור את
הכלי ההוא או כלי קומקום הבלה והנושן שנרתחו בו המים משנים רבות או תמצא בו
כמו אבן קשה וחזקה או כמו ארץ עבה וקשה ואז יראה ויאמין האדם איך נקפים המים

G 1 (קטן) F | הלחלוה שמוציא מעט מוזער M | מוזער מוציא עם נפיחת רוח M 3 בתחלת מעשה
בראשית MN | דעת ותבונה והשכל MP 4 לאויר העולם MNP 5 לאדם אויר P | וזהר כאור נוהה
 G | ומרים אותו באויר $FMNP$ (בידו) M | הכלי ההם M 6 שבתוכם ומעמידם F | ומעמידו לזהרו של
שמש N (כנגד) P | ביום הקיץ FMP 7 הנעורת של פשתן זכה N | זכה דקה P | רקבון עצים M 8
אשר ביער איסקא שמו בלשון N | אשר ביער איסקא שמו בלשון F | אשר ביער איסקא שמני [!] | בלשון
 N | הנעורת או חלופו הנק' כנגד G | ויעמיד את הנעורת או את הצמר M | ומעמיד הנעורת או דבר אחר
כגו[?] | כנגד כלי הזכוכית N | ומעמיד הנעורת או חלופו הנו כנגד כלי הזכוכי' P | צמר גפן F | איסקא
9 $FMNP$ (כמעט) M | (אשר יזהיר... חום השמש) M | באותו כלי זכוכית FP 10 (חום) P | (הגפן) |
 MN צמר הגפן או חלופו וידליק כמו אש P 11 וילד וידליק כמו אש F | וידליקו כמו אש G | כמו מאש
 $FMNP$ (לך) F 12 ומי שירצה $FMNP$ | (להבין) M | בכח האש GM | קוקמום F 13 וימלאנו
 FP | ומרתיחו על האש M | וירתיחו על האש N | וירתיחו על האש P 14 וירתיחו עוד ויוסיף עוד
עליהם מים N | יוסיף עליהם מים זכים וצחים וירתיחו על האש וכל מה שיחסרו המים יוסיף עליהם מים
וירתיחו עוד ויוסיף עליהם (מים) F | וירתיחו עוד ויוסיף עוד עליהם (מים) M | וירתיחו עוד ויוסיף
עוד עליהם (מים) P | וירתיחו עוד יעשה ככה שנים רבות בכל יום F | וירתיח ככה יעשה | ככה יעשה
15 $FKMNP$ K 15 ואז ישבור את כלי ההוא שלנחשת וימצא M | (כמו) K | ואם ילחוש האדם ויאמר מי
יכול לנסות דבר זה עד שנים רבות ילך F 16 ילך אצל חרשי הנחשת K 17 ויאמרו להם שאם יבוא
 P | בא לידם M | אם יבא אליהם קוקמום K | (של נחשת) F 18 של השרים F | מוליאר N | מולארין
 KP | (המים) K | את החמים להשקות את היין במהול ומסוך במים חמים ההם M 19 מהול ומשוך
ומזוג בחמין ההם. או יהיה K 20 הכלי ההוא F | שהיו מרתיחין בו את המים החמים M | שהיו מרתיחין
את החמים K | (חרשי נחשת) לשבור אותו הכלי M 21 כלי קוקמום K | בו המים מרוב השנים F | או
תמצאנו K 22 כמו כן אבן M | כמו ארץ מעוטה וקשה M | וראה והאמין כי גם בגוף האדם FK | (האדם)
נקפים המים וירתיחם האש להעשות ארץ ועפר ואבן

מכח ריתוח האש ונעשים ארץ ועפר ואבן. גם מי הים מרוב השמש נקפא ונעשה מלח כארץ. כי גם בגוף האדם והבהמה והחיה תולדנה ותעשינה אבנים רכות וקשות וחזקות בשלפוחית ובכליות ובכבד ובריאה ובמקומות אחרים של גוף מלחלוח הגוף ומריתוח המקום ההוא. וגם חביות היין שהן מרוב שנים המובא בהן יין בכל שנה אם יגרם אדם בכלי ברזל יוציא מהן כמו אבן אותו הנקרא בלשון יון ורומיים טרטרון וזה נעשה מחום ריתוח התירוש ומכח היין. כל אלה הראיות החכים האלהים את האדם לעשות כמעט לפי כחו המזער כדי להבין את כח מעשה האלהים הגדול והנורא. ויתר על כל אומות העולם החכים האלהים את ישראל עמו לידע כח מעשיו ותחלת ברייתם ככתוב כח מעשיו הגיד לעמו [תהלים קיא ו] וכתוב למען יראו וידעו וישימו וישכילו יחדיו כי יד ה' עשתה זאת וקדוש ישראל בראה [ישעיה מא כ] למען ידעו ויבינו וישכילו את מעשיו הגדולים והנוראים וידעו כי אין כמוהו ואין זולתו הוא גדול ומעשיו גדולים ככתוב גדלים מעשי יה' [תהלים קיא ב] הוא נורא ומעשיו נוראים ככתוב אמרו לאלהים מה נורא מעשיך [שם סו ג] הוא נפלא ומעשיו נפלאים ככתוב אודך על כי נוראות נפליתי נפלאים מעשיך [שם קלט יד] הוא אמת ומעשיו אמת ככתוב מעשי ידיו אמת ומשפט [שם קיא ז] הוא נאמן ומעשיו ופקודיו נאמנים ככתוב נאמנים כל פקודיו [שם שם]. ברוך שמו המיוחד לעולם ועד שהוא עושה גדולות ונפלאות לבדו ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד וברוך שם כבודו לעולם וימלא כבודו את כל הארץ אמן ואמן [שם עב יט].

M 1 מכח רתיחת האש $FMNP$ (גם מי הים... ונעשה מלח כארץ) K 2 תולד בה ותעשינה כמין אבנים רכות וקשות וכבירות בשלפוחית ובכבד F 3 וכליות M מלחלוח הגוף שמריתח המקום ההוא K מלחלוח הגוף ומחום הריתוח המקום ההוא P 4 חביות היין שהם משנים רבות P (אדם) K 5 (כמו) אבן ששמו בלשון יון טרטירון P טרטרו N מחום ריתוח המרוש [!] ועפר היין P 6 אלהים את בני האדם F לדעת כמעט K לעשות כמעט מוער לפי כחו כדי להבין M (לעשות) K 7 כח כל מעשה האלהים | P (כח) $FMNP$ החכים (האלהים) M 8 להודיעה כח FP כמו שכתוב בתורה NP 9 לעמו לתת להם נחלת גוים | M לעמו וכת' למען יראו וידעו וישימו על לב וגו' כי אין כמוהו ואין זולתו הוא גדול ומעשיו גדולים כדכת' גדלי' מעשה ייי דרושי' לכל הפציהם הוא נורא K למען יראו וידעו ויבינו וישכילו את מעשיו הגדולים F וישימו וישכילו את מעשיו הגדולים P 10 דעל פה כי יי עשתה... למען ידעו וישכילו ויבינו עדל[?] פה כי יי ומעשיו נוראים K 11 ומעשיו ככת' כי אין כמוהו ואין כמעשיו ואין אלהים מבלעדיו ואין צור זולתו והוא גדול K 12 (הוא נורא ומעשיו נוראים) K 13 (ככתוב אודך... מעשיך) F 14 (מעשי ידיו אמת ומשפט... נאמנים ככתוב) K 15 (ומעשיו) | (ופקודיו) FP 16 ברוך שם K לעולמי עולמים M (שהוא) M גדולות עד אין חקר ונפלאו' לבדו ברוך שם מלכותו לעולם ועד וימלא K לבדו וברוך שם כבודו לעולם וימלא P 17 המיוחד בפי כל לעולם ברוך שם כבודו לעולם | (ועד וברוך שם) M אמן ואמן ועתה באה אתחיל פ' ספר היצירה בעזרת האל נורא N

[הקדמה לספר יצירה]

נתחיל פירוש תחילת בריאת בראשית וספר יצירת העולם שמסר הקב"ה לאברהם
 אבינו ע"ה ככתוב יה' קנני ראשית דרכו קדם מפעליו מאז מעולם נסכתי מראש מקדמי
 ארץ. באין תהומות חוללתי באין מעינות נכבדי מים. בטרם הרים הטבעו לפני גבעות
 חוללתי עד לא עשה ארץ וחוצות וראש עפרות תבל. בהכינו שמים שם אני בחקו חוג
 5 על פני תהום [משלי ח כב-כו] בשומו לים חקו ומים לא יעברו פיו בחוקו מוסדי ארץ
 [שם שם כט] ואהיה אצלו אמון ואהיה שעשועים יום יום [שם שם ל]. יש חכמים מפרשים
 ואומרים כי זה הדבור של שעשועים כמו פינוק ככתוב מפנק מנוער עבדו [שם כט כא]
 ואין פירוש כן כי אם במשמע הדבור הדומה לו כמו וישע יה' אל הבל ואל מנחתו
 [בראשית ד ד] וכמו ביום ההוא ישעה האדם על עשהו [ישעיה יז ז] וכתוב ולא ישעה
 10 אל המזבחות [שם שם ח]. וזוה השרש יראה כל נבון כי עשועים לשון ראייה והבטה
 הוא אבל הראייה וההבטה נקראים הרואה אדם לפי שעה ומביט פה ופה ושעשועים
 ראייה בכל לב ובכל נפש כמו אם יאהב האדם דבר מלב ונותן עיניו בו לראות ולהביט
 בו בכל לב ובכל נפש שעה גדולה שלא ליקח עיניו ממנו רגע ומרוב תקע וקבע עמידת
 העינים של אדם התוקע והקובע והמעמיד לראות ולהביט בכל לב את הדבר שהוא
 15 אוהב נכהים עיניו של אדם מרוב איחור הראיה וראיה לדבר הזה כמו שהכתוב אומר
 השמן לב העם הזה ואוניו הכבד ועיניו השע [ישעיה ו י] וכתוב שצו מני אמרר בבכי [שם

M 2 פירוש ספר יצירה פירוש תחלת בריאת בראשית | N זו תחלת פירוש ספר יצירה פירוש תחלת
 בריאת בראשית | F זו תחלת פירוש ספר יצירה ונתחיל פירוש P (תחלת) P 3 כתוב F הכתוב אומר
 F (קדם מפעליו מאז) M מאז וכת' מעולם FM 4 (מקדמי ארץ) FMN (באין מעינות נכבדי מים)
 F בטרם הרים הטבעו וגו' באמצו שחקים ממעל וגו' עד אשר לא עשה M (לפני גבעות חוללתי... מוסדי
 ארץ) וכת' F 5 (בחקו חוג על פני תהום) N (בחקו חוג על פני תהום) באמצו שחקים ממעל בשומו
 (ליום חקו ומים לא) F 6 (ומים לא... מוסדי ארץ) F 7 (ואהיה שעשועים יום יום) M שעשועים יום יום
 משחקת לפניו בכל עת הנה יש חכמי מפרשי ואומר שזאת המלה N שעשועים יום יום משחקת לפניו בכל
 עת [?] P שמפרשים N 8 (זה הדבור של שעשועים) [?] כמו פינוק בענין מפנק מנוער עבדו M שעשועי
 הוא מלשון פינוק כמה P (עבדו) FP 9 ואין פירושו N (כן כי אם במשמע) F (כן) M (אם) N וישע
 יה' אל הבל ואל קין ואל מנחתו M (ואל מנחתו) M 10 וכת' ביום ההוא על עשהו $FGMNP$ | G
 אל עוש ועיניו אל קדוש (וכתוב... אל המזבחות) ידיו ואשר עשו אצבע לא יראה והאשרים [?]... טי נביי
 ושע [?] קדוש יש' תראנה וכת' ולא ישעה ולא יראה נבין כי (שעשועים לשון) N (וכתוב) M וכן ולא
 ישעה P 11 לא יראה אל המזבחות MN (כל) P ומן השרש ראוה [?] נכון FNP (לשון) EMN 12
 (הוא) G (אדם לפי שעה) MN ומביט יפה יפה G 13 ובכל נפש כמו אם) P (דבר) $GMNP$
 לראותו P ולהביט בכל כוח שעה גדולה שלא לוקח עיניו MN 14 (ובכל נפש) G (ובכל נפש שעה)
 MN שלא יקח עינו G (ממנו) NP [?] תקע קבע G עמידת (עינים וקובע ומעמיד... לב את הדבר
 שהוא) G 16 האהוב נכהים עיניו של אדם לפי ש [?] (מרוב... וראיה) NP נכהים עיניו של אדם P
 וראיה לדבר זה כמו השמן M וראיה לדבר זה מה שכת' השמן N וראיה לדבר מה שאמ' הכתו' השמן
 G 17 לב ה [עם... ועיניו] P וכתוב אחר אומר שצו F והכתוב אומ' שצו ממני אמרר בבכי P וכת' אחר
 אומ' השע ממני F והכת' אומ' השע ממני ואבליגה G כת' האומ' השע ממני ואבליגה N שעה ממני

כב ד] וכתוב השע ממני ואבליגה [תהלים לט יד] ואינם דברי הפסוקים לשון סמיות ועורון כי אם כהות עינים הכהות לפי שעה מרוב איחור הראייה כי מאשר הכתוב אומר ואזניו הכבד ולא אמר ואזניו החרש כלומר יכבד לפי שעה מלשמוע אף נבין כי השע לשון כהות מרוב איחור הראייה יתקע העינים. כלומר השע את עיניו שיקבע ויתקע 5 ויעמיד את עיניו ולהביט ולראות ומרוב איחור הראייה לא להבין הוא נאמר כי דבר שעשועים אינו דומה לדבר וישע על שיש לו אותיות יתרות בה. גם לשון הקודש דרכו להכפיל את הדבור כמו תעתועים וכמו קעקע מקרקר קיר ואחרים רבים כמוהם. אבל יסוד הדברים האלה ושכמותם שתי אותיות הם שע תע קע קר כמו בנקור לכם כל עין ימין [שמואל א יא ב] ואות נון אינה מן היסוד של זה הדבור כמו לנגוע הנון והואו 10 אינו יסוד כי היסוד גע הוא וכמו בנפול תרדמה [איוב ד יג] והיסוד של דיבור פל הוא ואחרים רבים כמוהם. הנה פירשנו ואהיה שעשועים כלומר ואהיה ראייתו והבטות של הקב"ה בתאוה גדולה באהבה יתרה ובהשמת עין לרוב. יום יום. מהו יום יום. אלפים שנה ככתוב כי אלף שנים בעיניך כיום אתמול [תהלים צ ד]. מהו אתמול מטרם כלומר ביום ההוא של טרם בריאת העולם וכמו שמצינו כתוב שאמר הקב"ה לאדם הראשון 15 כי ביום אכלך ממנו מות תמות [בראשית ב יז] וזיה אדם אלף שנה חסר שבעים לקיים הכתוב כי ביום אכלך ממנו בעוד היום ולא בסוף היום. ואהיה אצלו אמון יש דעתי לפרשו כמו כאשר ישא האומן את היונק [במדבר יא יב] ויש לפרשו כמו נאמן כי הנון אינה מן היסוד. הנה למדנו כי אלפים שנה טרם בריאת העולם היה הקב"ה משעשע את כ"ב אותיות של תורה והיה מצרפן ומגלגלן ועושה מכלך דבור אחד ומגלגלו פנים 20 ואחור בכל כ"ב אותיות והיה עושה עוד מהם דבורים כלולים ודבורים בדולים. מלא

G 1 השע פן יראה בעיניו והכתוב (השעו מני... אמרר בבכי) || MNP ואבליגה מעט || G (ואינם דברי הפסוקים לשון סמיות) || MP דברי הפסוק P 2 (הכהות) לפי שעה | F כהות עינים והכהות | G (לפי שעה מרוב איחור הראייה) | G 3 (אמר ואזניו החרש) כלומר יכבדו || M ולא כת' החרש || P נבין אף פ' השע לשון כהות כי השע הבא מרוב איחור | F נבין איך פירוש השע כי לשון כהות השע הבא מן רוב איחור הראייה | G נבין אף פירוש השע כי לשון כיהות הוא לפי השעה הבא מרוב | N נבין פי? [השע כי הוא לשון N 4 יתקע העינים] | P יתקע ויעמיד העינים | M 5 פי השע את עיניו | F ויתקע ויקבע ויעמיד || P מלהביט ולראות || G לא יראה להבין ואם תאמר כי דבר שעשועים MN 6 אינו דומה לישע יי || P אותיות יתרות בהם | F (בה) | G (בה) נהגה לשון הקודש | M 7 גם לשון קוד [!] להכשיל | P גם דרך לשון הקודש להכפיל || M וכמו מקעקע מקרקר | P מקרקר קיר ושוע | G וכמו מקרקר קיר ושוע אל החר N (ואחרים) || F (כמוהם) | F 8 (האלה) || P ושכמותם שני דברים ושני אותיות הם || P (תע קע) || M ודב' כמו כן | G 9 כמו בנקר לכל עין | M עין ימין דשמואל שאות נון || G כמו לנגוע אליה הנון וו || MN 10 אינה מן היסוד וחבריהם ככה. הנה פירוש שעשועים || P כמו || G תרדמה על אנשים? [דיבור פל הוא ואחרים רבים כמוהם) | F 11 (כמוהם) || G (שעשועים כלומר ואהיה ראייתו והבטות) | P ואהיה אצלו אמון ואהיה שעשועים | MN (ואהיה) | שעשועים ענינו הוא ראיית MN 12 ואהבה יתרה | F של הקב"ה באהבה גדולה ובהשמעת עין | G ואהבה? [יתרה ובהשמת) | MN 13 מהו יום. אלף שנים | P אלף שנים || G (כי אלף שנים) | M מטרם פ' ההוא טרם בריאת העולם | N ביום ההוא טרם בריאת העולם | G (ביום ההוא של) || P וכמו כן מצינו || G (הקב"ה לאדם הראשון) | F 15 (מות תמות) והיה (אדם) אלף שנה | G ויהי (אדם) אלף שנים | M תמות ואדם הר' [?] חיה אלף שני' || M כדי לקי' הכתו' | G 16 ביום אכל' ממת' [?] (בעוד היום ולא בסוף) היום | M כלומ' בעוד היום לאחר שעבר היום || F (דעתי) | GM יש דעת | P 17 לפרשו כי הוא כמו כאשר || G (כמו כאשר ישא האומן את היונק) || M כי הנון אינה מן השורש | G 18 (אינה מן היסוד) || MN הנה למדת || P כי אלף שנים || MP קודם בריאת העולם | G (העולם היה הקב"ה משעשע) | PN 19 (כ"ב) || P דבור ומגלגלו פנים ואחור והיו מצרפם ומגלגלם ועושה מהם | G (והיה מצרפן ומגלגלן) || F ומגלגלן ועושה | F 20 ומגלגלן פנים ואחור | G (פנים ואחור) || P (עוד) || MN (מהם)

דיבור חצי דבור שלישי דבור פי שנים מדבור אחוז זה בזה וכלול זה בזה ובדול זה מזה ומגלגלם פנים ואחור באותיותיהם ובניקודיהם ומונה מספר מנינם עד כלה. וכל זה היה הקב"ה עושה על שהיה רוצה לבראת את העולם במאמרו ובכנוי שם הגדול לפיכך היה מגלגל האותיות כדי להוציא את שמו הגדול והנורא והנפלא והחזק והאמיץ בכח ובגבורה אשר מכנוי אותו השם הנקדש והנערץ היה נעשה כל מעשה בראשית ברגע 5 קטן בהרף עין בלי ליאות ויגיעה כי אם בדבורו ובמאמרו ובציווי ככתוב בדבר ה' שמים נעשו וברוח פיו כל צבאם [תהלים לג ו]. וכתוב בספר בראשית שמסר הקב"ה לארבהם אבינו ולמשה רבנו בהר סיני ויאמר אלהים יהי אור [בראשית א ג] ויאמר אלהים יהי כן ויהי כן באותו הרגע וכתוב כי הוא אמר ויהי הוא צוה ויעמד [תהלים לג ט] ועוד היה הקב"ה מגלגל האותיות כדי להוציא מהם כל דברי הלשונות שבארץ. 10 ואחר כלות האלהים צירוף האותיות וגלגול הדברים וחשבונם ומנינם ומספרם התחיל לחשב חשבון הכוכבים והמזלות וחשבון תקופות ומחזורות של כוכבים ושל תלי ושל מזלות שהיה עתיד לסדר ולבראת והיה עורך את החשבון כולו לפניו כדי לראות ולידע כל הדורות העתידות להבראות מראש ועד סוף ככתוב מי פעל ועשה קרא הדרות מראש [ישעיה מא ד] קודם בריאת העולם וכדי להבין מעשה כל אדם וצדקתו ורשעתו 15 ולגזור על כל אחד ואחד לפי מעשיו העתיד לעשות בין טוב ובין רע. כך ערך ומינה את מזלו וככבו שיזרח בשעת זריחתו ובשעת מולדו בין טוב ובין רע. כל זה עשה האלהים בחכמתו ובתבונתו טרם שיברא העולם ככתוב ה' בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה [משלי ג ט]. ואף על פי שערך ומינה את כוכבו ואת מזלו של כל אדם מטרם בריאת העולם לפי מעשיו שעתידי לעשות לא נתן הקב"ה רשות לכוכבים ולמזלות להרע או 20 להטיב לתכלה על אשר ראה כי האדם העתיד לבראות לא היה נכון להיות בלא יצר ככתוב כי יצר לב האדם רע מנעריו [בראשית ח כא]. ועל זה האלהים שהוא אל חנון ורחום ארך אפים ורב חסד ונחם על הרעה ערך ותקן את התשובה מטרם בריאתו של עולם ככתוב בטרם הרים ילדו ותחולל ארץ ותבל [ומעולם עד עולם אתה אל] 25 תשב אנוש עד דכא ותאמר שובו בני אדם [תהלים צ ב ג] שאם יחטיא יצר הרע את האדם ויחזור בתשובה לפני בוראו ויעזוב את מעשיו הרעים. ויבקש מחילה וסליחה

M 1 ומלא דיבור | NP וחצי דבור | M פי שני' דבור | N פי שנים בדבור | N (וכלול זה בזה) | G אחוז זה בזה וב[?] לול זה בזה | P ובדול מזה ומוה | MN ונדל זה מזה | F 2 ומגלגלם פנים ואחור | F (ובניקודיהם) | N ומונה מנין מספר מנינם ועל זה היה עושה | P ומונה מספרם ומנינם עד כלי | M עד כלם | G 3 שמו | F 4 היה מגלגל האותיות | P (כדי) | G כדי להוציא מהם | M הגדול הנורא | G 5 בכח ובגבורה | F הקדוש והנערץ | M 6 וכהרף עין | G ברגע קטן כהריפת עין | P 7 שמים נעשים | FMN (וברוח פיו כל צבאם) | G 8 שמסר אלי[?] למשה עבדו | M למשה רע"ה | P יהי אור ויהי אור | MN (ויאמר אלהים) | 9 יהי $FMNP$ | N יהי כן וכן ויהי כן | F (הוא צוה ויעמד) | F 10 כל דברים | FMN שבכל הארץ | M 12 התחיל בחשבון הכוכבי' | N (חשבון) | P כוכבים ומזלות וחשבון תקופות ומולדות ומחזורות | P (ושל תלי) ושל מזלות מה שהיה | M 13 עתיד לחדש ולברא | F 14 ככתו' מפעל ועשה | M 15 (כל) | F 16 כפי מעשיו | P (כך) | M 17 בשעה זריעתו ובשעת מולדתו | FN ובשעת מולדו בין בטוב ובין ברע | P 18 טרם שברא העולם | M טרם שנברא העולם | FMN (כונן שמים בתבונה) | P 19 (ואת מזלו) | F של כל אדם ואת מזלו ואת | P 20 העתיד אדם לעשות לא נתן הקב"ה לכוכבים ולמזלות רשיון | F 21 לתכלה | FP העתיד לבראות שלא היה נכון להיות בלא חפץ חסא | M לא נכון בלא יצר (ככתוב) | M 22 (האדם) | P (אל חנון ורחום) | N 23 עם הרעה | FM 24 (ותחולל... אתה אל) | N (ותחולל ארץ... עד דכא ותאמר) | P 25 בני אדם כי אלף שנים בעיניך | MN 26 (לפני בוראו ויעזוב את מעשיו הרעים) | MN (וסליחה לפני בוראו)

לפני בוראו ויטישר לעשות הטוב והישר בעיני ה' מתנחם עליו הקב"ה ומהפך מזלו הרע לטובה. ואחרי ראות האלהים כל תקנת העולם ותקנת כל בריותיו טרם שיברא העולם אלפים שנה מיד התחיל לבראת את העולם בכחו הגדול ככתוב בספר יצירה שמסר הקב"ה לאברהם אבינו ביום שכרת עמו הברית ככתוב ביום ההוא כרת ה' את אברם ברית לאמור לזרעך נתתי את הארץ הזאת [בראשית טו יח]. וכן כתוב בספר יצירה.

P_1 (והישר) F מרחם עליו הקב"ה F_2 ומתהפך מזלו הרע MN_4 לאברהם אע"ה M_5 לאמ'. וכן לשון בלימה דכתי' בספר יצירה וכו' שם אל ועתה אתחיל ית[?] EMN (לזרעך נתתי את הארץ הזאת)

[ספר ראשון]

- בשלושים ושתיים נתיבות פליאות חכמה חקק את עולמו יה ה' צבאות אלהי ישראל אל שדי רם ונשא שוכן עד וקדוש שמו וברא את עולמו בשלושה ספרים בספר וספר וספור. ואלו הם שלשים ושתיים נתיבות פליאות חכמה שחקק יה ה' צבאות את עולמו. עשר ספירות בלימה ועשרים ושתיים אותיות של תורה שהן יסוד העולם. עשר ספירות בלימה וכמו כן מכוונת ברית בדמיון מספר עשר אצבעות הידים ועשר אצבעות הרגלים וה' אחד מכוון בתוך עשר ספירות בלימה. וכמו כן מכוונת ברית יחיד בתוך עשר אצבעות הידים שהם חמש כנגד חמש בלשון ובפה ליחד האל. וכמו כן מכוונת ברית יחיד בתוך עשר אצבעות הרגלים שהם חמש כנגד חמש במלת המעור שהיא הערוה כלשון שאמר למען הביט על מעוריהם [חבקוק ב טו]. עשר ספירות בלימה. מדתן עשר שאין להם סוף. עומק ראשית שהוא טרם בריאת העולם ועומק אחרית של אחר סוף וקץ של העולם. עומק טוב ועומק רע. עומק רום ועומק תחת. עומק מזרח ועומק מערב. עומק צפון ועומק דרום. ואדון יחיד אל מלך נאמן מושל בכלן ממצון קדשו ועד עדי עד. זה שכתוב שאין להם סוף מלמדך שאין חכם בעולם שיוכל לדעת ולהבין ולהעמיק בדעת אל למצוא עד סוף לידע עשר הספירות האלה העמוקות. אם ירדוף החכם אחריהם ויבקש בדעתו כל ימות העולם להבין בהם אינו מוצא מאומה כמו שאמר שלמה בחכמתו ידעתי כי כל אשר יעשה האלהים הוא יהיה לעולם עליו אין להוסיף וממנו אין לגרוע והאלהים עשה שיראו מלפניו [קהלת ג יד] שלא יעמיק אדם בדעתו לרדוף כדי למצוא את עשר הדברים האלה העמוקים לאין חקר ותכונה כי לא יוכל להבין עומק ראשית שמטרם בריאת העולם ועומק אחרית של אחר סוף וקץ של עולם. ועומק של טוב ועומק של רע. ועומק של רום ועומק של תחת. ועומק של מזרח ועומק של מערב. ועומק של צפון ועומק של דרום. כי אם כן יאמר בלבו מה לי לרדוף בדעתי להבין ולידע דבר שהוא עמוק עמוק מה שאין חכם בעולם שיוכל למצוא את הדברים שאני

2 L אלהים חיים אל שדי | M (אל) F 3 בספר וספור וספור L 4 (חכמה) שחקק בהן P 5 (ועשרים ושתיים... ספירות בלימה) F 6 (ברית) P וכמו כן מכוונת ברית יחיד בדמיון F (מספר) MN עשר אצבעות הידים והרגלים עשר אצבעות הידים ועשר אצבעות הרגלים F 7 ואל אחד מכוון בתוך L ויין יחד מכוון | N מכוון כנגד עשר ספירות LN ברית יחוד F 8 כנגד חמש (בלשון ובפה... כנגד חמש) P במלה ולשון LN ברית יחוד 9 MNP היא ערוה | L שהיא הערוה מלשון הביט F שהיא הערוה שנאמר למען | M הערוה כדכת' למען P 10 עשר ספירות כנגדן מדתן עשר F 11 ראשית וסוף M ועומק אחרית פי שלאחר | L ועומק אחרית שהוא אחר F 13 ועומק צפון M (אל) M (קדשו) F קדשו ועדי עד M 14 פי זה שכתב להם סוף ללמדך EM שאין אדם בעולם M יוכל לדעת L 15 בדעתו F עד סוף להגיע לתכלית עשר הספירות האלה LN ולידע | P לידע עד עשרה ספירות | M לידע את סוף יוד הספי' האלה P אם ירדוף החכם יום אחר יום ויבקש L 16 ומבקש בדעתו FMNP (מוצא) M כמו שאמ' שלמ' המ' ע"ה | L שלמה בן דוד מלך ישראל PM 17 (בחכמתו) P (אשר) M (יעשה) L (וממנו אין לגרוע..שיראו מלפניו) N 19 (עשר) F לאין חקר ותכלית N 20 עולם ועומק אחרית FM וקץ העולם F 21 ועומק הרום | M ועומק רום L 22 כי אם אמר בלבו P (כן) L בדעת PM שהוא עמוק (עמוק) MNP יכול | F שאין יכול חכם בעולם למצוא L אלה הדברים

מבקש ורודפם לדעת כמו שאמר שלמה מה שהיה כבר הוא ואשר להיות כבר היה והאלהים יבקש את נרדף [שם שם טו] כלומר הוא לבדו יכול לבקש זה הדבר הנרדף בדעת בני אדם המבקשים לדעת. על זה אמר שלמה ע"ה כל זה נסיתי בחכמה אמרתי אחכמה והיא רחוקה ממני. רחוק מה שהיה ועמק עמק מי ימצאנו [שם ז כג-כד] כלומר עמוק עמוק הוא זה הדבר להמצא. ועוד אמר שלמה כל הדברים יגיעים לא יוכל איש לדבר לא תשבע עין לראות ולא תמלא און משמע [שם א ח] כלומר כל הדברים יגיעים הם להמצא ולא יוכל איש לדבר להשביע את עיניו לראות ולמלא און מן השמועה הזאת. ועוד אמר וראיתי את כל מעשה האלהים כי לא יוכל האדם למצוא את המעשה אשר נעשה תחת השמש בכל אשר יעמל האדם לבקש ולא ימצא וגם אם יאמר החכם לדעת לא יוכל למצא [שם ח יז]. וזה מעט מזער שאנו מוציאים ומפרשים ברשיון חנון הדעת והתבונה מקצת מטעמי חדות התורה ומקצת טעמי חידות ספר יצירה שמסר הקב"ה לאברהם אבינו באהבתו אותו להודיעו ולבניו אחריו אלהותו וייחודו וגדולתו וגבורתו וכח מעשיו ככתוב כח מעשיו הגיד לעמו [תהלים קיא ו] שאם לא היה כן מי היה רשאי אפילו להרהר ולחשוב בלבו להשיג דבר קל וקטן מכל הדברים האלה. עשר ספירות בלימה. צפייתן כמראה הבזק ותכליתן אין להם סוף וקץ. דברו בהם כרצוא ושוב ולמאמרו כסופה ירדופו ולפני כסאו הם משתחווים. מאשר כתוב צפייתן כמראה הבזק אסור לו לאדם ליתן דעתו בהם אפילו כהרף עין שאין דבר קל ומהיר בכל צבא השמים לרוץ ולשוב כבזק וזה הבזק מין אחד הוא משל מיני הברק הכתובים ומכוונים בספר החכמה הוא היורד מן השמים ביום סגריר ונראה כיורד כחוט המטוה של אש מתכת או כחוט דבר של מתכת הנתק באש ויוצק על הארץ ויורד כחוט מתעוות פה ופה כאש חיה וכהרף עין נראה לעין. ועל זה נאמר דברו בהם ברצוא ושוב ולמאמרו כסופה ירדופו. צוה בדברו שלא יהא אדם רשאי להרהר ולחשוב בהם כהרף עין ואם יפתחו רוחו ויהרהר יעשה רוחו כרצוא ושוב ולא יוסיף עוד להרהר כי למאמרו כסופה ירדופו כסופה המנשפת פתאום כהרף עין ולפני כסאו הם משתחווים. ועל כן יעשה האדם את רוחו כסופה בעת שיהרהר ויחזור מהרהר לבו מהרהר וישיב דעתו ביראת ה' ויודה

1 *FP* ורודף M לדעת מה שאמ' $P2$ (והאלהים יבקש את נרדף | L (והאלהים יבקש את נרדף כלומר) N (את) M פי הוא לבדו $P3$ (בני אדם) L ועוד על זה L (ע"ה) | M שלמה ע"ה (כל זה נסיתי... שלמה) $FL4$ (והיא רחוקה ממני) L (מי ימצאנו) $N5$ (להמצא) M (לא יוכל איש לדבר) $M6$ (לא יוכל איש לדבר) F (און) M פי' כל הדברי' האלה N הדברים האלה $M7$ (יוכל) N (את) M | להשביע את און משמוע ולמלא את עיניו לראות $N8$ משמוע שמועה זאת F וראיתי אני את כל מעשה L (האלהים) M לא יוכל האדם לדבר $P9$ למצוא את כל המעשה אשר יעשה L תחת השמים (בכל אשר... לבקש ולא ימצא וגם) FN בשל אשר יעמל האדם $MN11$ חנון הדעת והבינה P חידוד [!] התורה P (חדות) ספר יצירה $L12$ שמסר האלהים N באהבתו אותנו P להודיע M להודיע לן L אחריו מלכותו וגדולתו $MNP14$ מי יהיה רשאי F מי שהיה רשאי MNP להשיב דבר קל | להרהר או לחשוב בלבו דבר קל M מן הדברים $P15$ (בלימה) L (וקץ) N ודברו בהם $N16$ (כסאו) M פי' מאשר $P17$ (בהם) $LNP18$ (הוא) LMP משלשת מיני הברק | N מן לשונות מיני הברק P (ומכוונים) $L19$ בספרי החכמה הוא היוצא מן השמים P ביום הגריר | N ביום סגריר ויורד (כחוט המטוה... או כחוט) כחרט דבר של מתכת L ונראה ברד כחוט מטוה של אש נתכת או כחוט דבר של מתכת הנתק באש ויורד ויוצא על הארץ ויורד כחוט מתעוות P שורד M ויורד כחוט המטה לפי ראות עין ח[?] שלאש מתכת או כחוט דבר $F21$ כראש חיה L (נאמר) M דברו שהם P ומאמרו $P22$ שלא יהיה אדם LP להרהר בהן L לחשוב כהרף (עין) $P23$ ויהרהר בהן P (עוד) $M24$ כסופה ירדופו פי' המוסרת פתאום $M25$ ביראה ודעת

ייחודו וישתחוה לפניו ביראה ורעד בכל לבו ובכל נפשו. עשר ספירות בלימה. מהו פירוש בלימה. בלי מאומה ללמדך שכל אומן הרוצה לעשות בנין אם אין לו אבנים ועפר ועצים ומים וכלי הבנין אינו יכול לעשות בנין ואם רוצה לעשות כלי עץ או כלי זכוכית או כלי ברזל או כלי נחשת או כלי כסף או כלי זהב או מכל דבר אם אין לו עץ או זכוכית או ברזל או נחשת או כסף או זהב או אותו דבר שרוצה לעשות ממנו הכלי אינו יכול לעשות הכלי והאל הגדול והגבור והנורא ברא את העולם כולו בלי מאומה מכחו הגדול. וראיה לדבר הפסוק הזה נטה צפון על תהו תלה ארץ על בלימה [איוב כו ז]. תהו דבר רק וחשך שאין בו ממש ככתוב ונטה עליה קו תהו ואבני בהו [ישעיה לד יא] ללמדך שאין דרך האלהים כדרכי בני אדם כי האדם העושה בנין ותקרה אינו יכול לבנות ולקרות בלי יסוד האלהים תלה את העולם כולו על בלימה כי אם בכחו הגדול. עשר ספירות בלימה. פירוש אחר. כמו עדיו לבלום [תהלים לב ט] בלום לבך מלהרהר ובלום פיך מלדבר ואם רץ לבך שוב לאלהים שכן נאמר רצוא ושוב ועל דבר זה נכרתה ברית בלשון ובפה את לשון הקודש וייחוד האל ומילת המעור כדי לזכור את האלהים שנתן בו את הברית ולחזק את לבו ולהשיב דעתו אליו שלא להרהר כלום באלהותו. עשר ספירות בלימה. עשר ולא תשע. עשר ולא אחת עשרה. הבין בחכמה וחכם בבינה שלא להעמיק בהם בספירות כדי להבין ראשית לכל ראשיתם ואחרית של אחריתם כי אם בחזן וחקור בהם ודע וחשוב בלבך מראשיתו עד ואחריתו נצור בלבך שלא להרהר העמד דבר על ברוריו והשיב יוצר על מכונו להודות לו כי הוא יוצר ובורא לבדו ואין זולתו. ומדתן עשר שאין להם סוף לדעת אותם. נעוץ סופן בתחלתן ותחלתן בסופן כשלהבת קשורה בגחלת. תחלתן הוא האלהים וסופן הוא האלהים שהוא ראשון והוא אחרון ונעוצים הם אלה הספירות שהם עשר בלימה בכחו הגדול כשלהבת קשורה בגחלת שהכל יודעים כי מן הגחלת תולדת השלהבת והיא קשורה בגחלת. דע זה וחשוב יוצר בלבך שהיוצר אחד הוא והוא אדון יחיד ואין לו שני ולפני אחד מה אתה סופר.

L בכל לב ובכל נפש | F בכל לבו ובכל נפשו ובכל מאודו | F (מהו) $M 2$ עשר ספירות בלימה בלי מה פי' בלי מאומה וללמדך | N (בלי) $P 4$ לעשות כלי בנין וכלי זכוכית כלי עץ וכלי נחשת | L או זהב אותו דבר | F (או כלי זהב או... נחשת או כסף) | P (או מכל דבר...או זהב) $L 5$ הרוצה | $P 6$ לעשות (הכלי) | N אינו יכול לעשות ממנו הכלי והאל | F (כולו) | LMN מבלי מאומה | $F 7$ הפסוק הזה באיוב | P הפסוק הזה הכתוב באיוב כמו שכתוב | L הפסוק הכתוב באיוב | F (תלה ארץ על בלימה) | $M 8$ תהו הוא דבר רק | L רק וחשך הוא | P רק וחושך | P שאין לו ממש | $P 9$ עליו | LN ומלמדך הכתוב שאין האלהים כדרך | M ולמדך הכתוב שאין דרך האלהי' כדרך בי' | P (כי) | N כי האדם עושה | $MN 10$ ההקב"ה תלה | F והאלהים | MP (כולו) | F את העולם כלו בחכמה על בלימה ובכחו הגדול | $LMNP$ (על) | MNP בבלימה | F העולם כלו בחכמה על בלימה | FP (כי אם) | $F 11$ ובכחו הגדול | N פי אחר כלומר כמו | F (ובלום) | $M 12$ כמו במתג ורסן עדיו לבלום בלום פיך | MN שוב במקום | M שכן דכתיב | P (דבר) | $L 13$ ועל דבר זה | P בלשון ובפה לשון ואת ייחוד האל ומילה כדי לזכור | L ובמילת המעור | $L 14$ (בו את) | MNP את האלהים שנתן הקב"ה את הברית | M וגם להשיב דעתו | F (אליו) שלא ירהר | $M 16$ חכם בחכמה הבין בבינה | MN ראשית של ראשיתן | P ראש של ראשיתם | $P 17$ (של אחריתם) | F ואחרית לכל אחריתו | L כי אם בחזן בהם וחקור בהם | M כי אם בחזן בהם וחקור מהם | N וחקור מהם | MNP מראשיתו אחריתו | L מראשית ואחרית | P וגר בלבך | F יוצר בלבך | N ויצור בלבך | $LM 18$ והעמד | N ותעמוד דבר על ברורו | M ותשב יוצר על מכונו להודיע לו | $P 19$ ומדתן וכנגדן | F עשר ספירות בלימה מידתן עשר | $M 20$ פי' תחלתן | F בגחלת... (תחלתן... בכחו הגדול כשלהבת הקשורה בגחלת) | $P 21$ והוא אחרון ונעץ אלו הספירות שהם עשר בלימה | LMN הם אלה עשר ספירות בלימה | MN (שהם עשר) | $N 22$ כשלהבת הקשורה בגחלת | M פי' שהכל יודעים | $M 23$ דבר זה דע וחשוב בלבך | P שהיוצר אחד הוא ואין שני לו | N ולפני מי אתה סופר

אלו הם העשר ספירות בלימה. אחת רוח אלהים חיים חי העולמים נכון כסאו מאו
 ברוך ומבורך שמו תמיד לעולם ועד. קול ורוח ודבור זהו רוח הקדש הוא ראשון והוא
 אחרון לראשיתו אין חקר ולאחריתו אין תכלה. שתיים רוח מרוח. הא כיצד. הוציא
 האלהים רוח מרוחו הקדוש וחקק וחצב באותה הרוח שנפח והוציא מרוחו את חללו
 5 של עולמן וארבע פינות העולם מזרח ומערב צפון ודרום ורוח בכל אחד מהם מרשות
 האל. ממשלים אנו משל בהבדלת אלף אלפים ורבי רבבות לאין חקר ומספר בין קדש
 לחול ובין הטהור למי שאינו טהור ובין חזק ואמיץ בכחו ובגבורתו ובין האנוש החלש
 בכחו ובגופו ובין חי וקיים לעולמי עולמים ובין אנוש שכחציר ימיו והוא רמה ותולעה.
 האומן של זכוכית כשיחפוץ לעשות כלי זכוכית לוקח כלי ברזל שהוא נבוב מקצה אל
 10 קצה ולוקח מן הזכוכית הנותך שבכור הכבשן ונותן בפיו את קצה הכלי ההוא הנבוב
 ונופח רוח בפיו ועובר הרוח מתוך הכלי ההוא עם הזכוכית הנתכת והנמסת הדבוקה
 בקצה הכלי ההוא הנבוב ומכח נפיחת הרוח נמתחת הזכוכית ונעשית כלי בין גדול בין
 קטן בין גלול בין בעל ארבע פינות בין ארוך בין רחב בין קצר כמו אשר יחפוץ האומן
 לעשות כפי כחו המזער. והאל הגדול הגבור והנורא בכחו הגדול הוציא רוח מרוחו
 15 ונמתח חללו של עולם עד חפצו עד שאמר לו די. עשרים ושתיים אותיות יסוד עשאו
 הקב"ה שלשה ספרים שלש האותיות הנקראות אמות הם ספר אחד. ושבע האותיות
 הכפולות הם ספר שני. ושתיים עשרה הפשוטות הן ספר שלישי. ורוח אחת מהם. הרוח
 שנפח והוציא האל מרוחו הקדוש. אחת היא מן האותיות ואחת היא מן עשר הספירות
 כמו שכתבנו למעלה. עשר ספירות בלימה אלה הם. אחת רוח אלהים חיים. שתיים רוח
 20 מרוח. שלוש מים מרוח. הא כיצד. עם אותו הרוח שנפח והוציא האל מרוחו הקדוש
 בכחו הגדול הוציא מים מלחלוהו הרב לאין שיעור ומדה וחקק וחצב במים ההם תהו
 ובהו רפש וטיט. הא כיצד. נעשה הרפש והטיט שהוציא תהו זה קו ירוק המקיף את כל

M 1 פ' אלו הן ' ספי' F (חיים) M חיי לעולמים M 2 ברוך הוא ומבורך שמו F (לעולם) NP קול
 רוח ודבור LM ודבור זה הוא P 3 הוא ראשון והוא אחריתו L אין תכלית F (הא) כיצד MN 4
 הוציא הקב"ה LP (חקק) P (הרוח) M 5 (העולם) N וארבע פינות של עולם N ברוח בכל אחד
 6 MN מרשות האל ית' F מרשות האל יתעלה L אלף אלפי אלפים לאין חקר וריבי ריבי רבבת לאין
 מספר M 7 ובין טהור לשאינו טהור L בין קדש לחול ובין הטמא לטהור F למי שאינו טהור ובין חי
 וקיים לעולמי עולמים ובין חזק L החלש בכחו ובגבורתו P ובגבורתו $?$ ובין האנוש שהיא חלש L (אנוש)
 שבהציר MN ובין אנוש כחציר L 8 לעולם ולעולמי עולמים P 9 כלי (זכוכית) L שהוא נקוב
 נבוב ונקוב P והוא נבוב N כשהוא נבוב M 10 מן הקצה אל הקצה P מקצה אל קצה קנה $LMNP$
 (ולוקח) L הותך MN מן הזכוכית הניתן P (הכבשן) L ונותן פיו אל קצה P (את קצה הכלי...רוח
 בפיו) ועובר מתוך הכלי ההוא M בפיו את ראש הכלי L ההוא הנקוב L 11 ונופח רוחו M ונופח
 בו בפיו ועובר הרוח תוך הכלי ההוא ונוגע בזכוכית L הכלי (ההוא) P (הנמסת) הנתחתרת L 12
 ההוא הנקוב P (הרוח) P 13 כלי גדול בין קטן בין גדול בין בעל ארבע פינות M כלי גדול או קטן
 או בעל ארבע פינות L (בין קצר) M או עגול או רחב או קצר N בין ארוך בין רחב בין צר בין קצר
 MN ככל אשר יחפוץ F האדם האומן MNP 14 לעשותו $FKMNP$ P מרוחו הגדול F 15
 חלל של עולם K חלל העולם F (עד חפצו) M עד שאמר לעולמו די P 16 (ספרים שלש) P הם
 ספר ראשון N (ושבע) P 17 אותיות הפשוטות K 18 זו הרוח שנפח הקב"ה מרוחו הקדוש KP אחת
 היא מן הספירות K (עשר ספירות בלימה אלה הם) M 20 שתיים רוח מרוחו K (הא) כיצד מאותו
 רוח שנפח M עם אותו (הרוח) MN והוציא האל ית' P 21 מים מלחלוהו הרב F מים מלחלוהו
 הרבה K ובכחו הגדול וברא את עולמו הוציא מים מן לחלוהו הרוח עד אין שיעור וחקק ומספר ומדה
 N שיעור ומדר $!$ K 22 וטיט. תהו זהו קו ירוק N (תהו) FK שמקיף F (כל)

העולם מסביב והוא כדבר רק וחושך שאין בו מושב בריות ככתוב לא תהו בראה לשבת יצרה [ישעיה מה יח] וכתוב ונטה עליה קו תהו ואבני בהו [שם לד יא] ובהו אלו אבנים מפולמות המשוקעות בתהום ומביניהם המים רבים יוצאים ככתוב קו תהו ואבני בהו. המים ההם עשאן חקקן כמין ערוגה הציבן כמין חומה סככן כמין מעזיבה ותלאן באויר בחללו של עולם בכח מאמר קדוש. ארבע אש ממים. הא כיצד. לאחר שתלה האל 5 בכחו הנפלא את המים ההם באויר חללו של עולם מזהר נוגה אורו הגדול והנורא לאין חקר ושיעור הגיה זהרו וזיהר מתוך המים ומכח אותו הזהר שהגיה מתוך המים יצאה אש ומאותה האש חקק וחצב כסא הכבוד ואופנים ושרפים וחיות הקדש ומלאכי השרת וכל צבא המרום ומשלשתן יסד מעונו מרוח וממים ומאש ככתוב עשה מלאכיו רוחות משרתיו אש להט [תהלים קד ד]. ולא חפץ הקב"ה לעשתם מאשו הגדולה שלא ישוו 10 לו כי הוא אש אוכלה [דברים ד כד]. ועם אותה האש הרתיח הקב"ה את המים ההם והקפיא מהם שלישייתם ונעשו טיט ורפש ועפר ככתוב מי מדד בשעלו מים ושמים בורת תכן וכל בשלש עפר הארץ [ישעיה מ יב] הנה למדנו מזה הכתוב כי חלק האל את המים לשלושה חלקים. החלק האחד הקפיא ועשה את הארץ ומן החלק השני עשה כל צבא המרום והשמים העליונים. והחלק השלישי נשאר על הארץ והיתה הארץ תחתיהם 15 עד יום שלישי עד שנקוו המים ונראתה הארץ. וביום השני הקריש והקריח כקרח עוד מאותו החלק השלישי של מים הנשאר מיום ראשון אשר נעשה ממנו הארץ ועשה הרקיע הזה שעלינו להבדיל בין מים למים והעלה האלהים את הרקיע הזה עד חצים של מים שנשארו משליש החלק עד השמים העליונים ככתוב ויקרא אלהים לרקיע שמים

K 1 את העולם כולו מסביב K (והוא כדבר רק... קו תהו ואבני בהו) P (כדבר רק) P 2 לשבת ישרה F המים ובהו אלו אבנים 3 N ומהם המים רבים P המים זבים ויוצאים K המים זכים ויוצאים בעולם וראייה לדבר קו תהו ואבני בהו. וכיצד נעשה הרפש והטיט שהוציא מן המים ההם MN (ככתוב קו תהו ואבני בהו) 4 N (חומה) P [כתיב?] חומה K סככן מעזיבה אותם המים שהוציא מלחלוחו הקדוש ותלאן באויר 5 K מאמר קדושו M מאמ' קדוש ית' P ארבע אש ומים FK (הא) כיצד P 7 הגיעה הגיה זהירו וזיהר M הגיה אורו וזיהר F (ומכח אותו הזהר שהגיה) N ומכח גופו ומכח אותו הזהר P שהגיה בתוך המים 8 K לאחר שתלאן באויר הגיה זהר מזהרו הטוב והנורא והגדול בלי חקר ושיעור זהר כמים ומכח אותו הזוהר יצאה אש P ומאותה (האש) MN וחצב בה כסא M (שרפים) N וחיות הקדש הקדומים P וחיות הקדש ומלאכים וכל צבא המרום 9 K ומלאכים המשרתים וכל צבא מרום M וכל צבא מרום K ומים ואש שנ' 10 F (משרתיו אש להט) K כי לא רצה הקב"ה P (הקב"ה) F עשותן מאש P (ישו) 11 F (לו) M כי הוא ית' אש אוכלה הוא אל קנא K אש אוכלה הוא ואל תתמה היאך יצאה אש מן המים כי גם בדעת בני אדם המועטת והחלשת ניתן להוציא אש ממים. כיצד מביא כלי זכוכית טהור וממלאהו מים ונותן בשמש ומשים איסקן הניצוצים היוצאים מן הכלי ומבעיר וכיצד חצב מן המים הטיט והרפש עם אותו האש שהוציא מן המים הריתוח מן המים ההם והקפיא מהם שלישייתם P ועם אותו (האש) M ועם (אותה) האש 12 FN משלישייתם M משלישייתן K ורפש ועפר והם הוקרשו ונעשית האדמה ככת' וכל בשלש עפר הארץ וכת' מי מדד בשעלו מים. מזה הכת' אנו לומדים N ורפש עפר 13 F (ושמים בורת תכן וכל בשלש עפר הארץ) M (בורת תכן) N (הנה) F מזה הכת' למדנו | הנה מזה נבין 14 M החלק הראשון הקפיא K והחלק השני עשה F ומן החלק האחר 15 M והחלק הג' ממים M תחתיהן יום 16 N ועוד P וביום השני הקדיש וק' והזריח זרחה עוד M 17 מאותו החלק שלישי P החלק השלישי על מים הנשארים N ונעשה הרקיע K הנשאר על הארץ ועשה הרקיע 18 F (שעלינו להבדיל... את הרקיע הזה) N והעלה האלהים את הרקיע הזה שעלינו 19 K להבדיל בין מים למים שנ' ויאמר אלהים יהי רקיע בתוך המים וגו' והוציא המים השלישים האלה חצים ממעל החצים נקוו במקום אחר. והתיה הארץ תחת המים עד יום שלישי עד שנקוו המים ונראתה הארץ. והרקיע הזה שעלינו שעשה הקב"ה ביום שיני להבדיל בין מים למים העלהו הקב"ה את הרקיע הזה ביום שני עד חצים שלמים שנשארו משליש החלק עד השמים העליונים ככת' ויקרא אלהים לרקיע שמים

[בראשית א ח]. קראן שיעלה הרקיע עד חצים של מים עד השמים העליונים ומנבואת ישעיה למדנו כי באש הרתיח האל את המים ונעשו אבנים וארץ וכל מיניהם ואבני מלח ככתוב מי מדד בשעלו מים ושמים בזרת תכן [ישעיה מ יב] ללמדך בהבדלת אלפי אלפים ורבי רבבות לאין מספר בין קדש לחול כאדם המפרש זרתו לתקן עוגות לחם בידים פרושות. וכל בשליש עפר הארץ [שם שם] כלומר החלק של מים שבראתי וחלקתי במדת שעלי את עפר הארץ. ושקל בפלס הרים וגבעות במאזנים [שם שם] לתלותם בדבר השלישי ולא מכל השליש הנתלה להשקל בפלס ובמאזנים כמו שעשיתי אני ככתוב כה אמר יה' גאלך ויצרך מבטן אנכי ה' עשה כל נטה שמים לבדי רקע הארץ מאתי [ישעיה מד כד]. אל תקרי מאתי אלא מאשי כי בלשון תרגום משמשת תיו במקום שין. מאשי מן האש שהוצאתי והלהבתי מן המים מכח זוהר נוגה אשי הגדולה כי לא היו יכולים לעמוד לפני כח אשו הגדולה והחזקה כי היו נלחכים מפני האש הגדולה כמו שעשה במעשה אליהו ככתוב ותפל אש יה' ותאכל את העלה ואת העצים ואת האבנים ואת העפר ואת המים אשר בתעלה לחכה [מלכים א יח לח]. ועתה נחזור למנין עשר הספירות. חמש. חתם רום ביוד [†] שלש אותיות מן הפשוטות וקבען בשמו הגדול ואלו הן יוד הא ואו. יהו. וחתם בהם שש קצוות שבעולם. חתם רום ופנה למעלה וחתמו ביהו. גלגל עוד הקב"ה את שלש האותיות האלה ועשאן שם גדול ונורא שלו יוה. שש. חתם תחת ופנה למטה וחתמו ביהו. גלגל עוד שלש האותיות האלה ועשאן שם גדול ונורא שלו יהו. שש. חתם מורח ופנה לפני האל וחתמו בהיו. גלגל עוד שלש האותיות האלה ועשאן שם גדול ונורא שלו יהו. גלגל עוד שלש האותיות האלה ועשאן שם גדול ונורא שלו

1 M הרקיע הזה על חציי' שלמים | P עם חצים של מים || K ומנבואת ישעיה הנביא P 2 נעשו יום[?] אבנים וארץ || K הרתיח האלהים ונקפאו ונעשו ארץ ואבנים לכל מיניהם K 3 בשעלו מים וחלק כי תכן[?] שמים בזרתי ללמדך | PM בשעלו מים וחלקן ושמים | F בשעל ומים | N בשעלו מים וחלקם ושמים N 4 אלף אלפי' | K אלף אלפי אלפים | P (עוגות) P 5 (כלומר) K ומי כל בשליש החלק של מים | M פ' החלק שלמי' | K בשעלי ולא מכל השליש את עפר הארץ | P (בפלס) NP 7 כדבר בשליש | M בדבר בשליש | K (השלישי ולא מכל השליש) K 8 אני יי מבטן | P אנכי אנכי ה' עושה || FNP ורוקע הארץ 9 FP אל תקרא || P אלא מי אתי מאשי כי בלשון הקדש || MNP משמשין | K משמש ש' עם ת' מן האש שיצתי[!] והלהבתי M 10 בלשון שין || N (מן) P (שהוצאתי) F והלהבה || K מכח זוהר אשי הגדולה. כי מאשו הגדולה והחזקה לא היו המים יכולים לעמוד שהיו נלחכים כמות שנעשה בימי אליהו ש' ותפל אש יי | P מכח יגהוזהר אש הגדולה (כי לא היו... הגדולה) P 11 נלהבים מפני האש P 12 כמו שעשה במעשה בראשית ובמעשה אליהו | F במעשה אליהו ז'ל | N במעשה אליהו P 13 (את האבנים) ואת העפר וגו' (את המים אשר בתעלה לחכה) | F (ואת האבנים... לחכה) || K בתעלה לחכה. ולא תתמה איך מן המים מעשת הארץ כי מעשב המלוח עושים זכוכית האומנית ובכל יום אנו[?]. אישי הרימה והתוליעה רואים שנעשה על ירית[?] כי כל כלי הורתח על האש עם המים מכח האש המרתיתו ומחרשו. ותפש כמי לריץ ובמצא בו כן גם העולם מכח הרתוח שלאש חי מחי נקרשה ונחרשה הארץ. נחזור לענין עשר ספירות בלימה | P ועתה נחזור לחשבון ובין האותיות עשר ספירות N חש נחזור לחשבון מנין עשר ספירות M 14 למנין חשבון ' ספ' | P חמש כנגד רום שלש אותיות | K חתם רום. מן חתם רום דבר [?] שלש אותיות M 15 בשמו הגדול ית' || P ואלו הן יה יוד הא ואו יהו | M ואלו יהו והשם יהו | N ואלו הן יוד הא ואו האו 16 FMNP (עוד) || F גלגל ה' בה' || MN שלש אותיות || P שם גדול ונורא שלא יודה[!] | M (שלו) M 17 חתם ופנה למטה || P (האלה) K 18 שם גדול ונורא שלו הוי' || MP חתם מורח ופניו לפניו || לפני האל || FLMNP N (גלגל עוד שלש... שם גדול ונורא שלו ויה) F 19 (האלה) || P (ונורא) || FMP שלו הוי' | N שם גדול ונורא שלו (היו... נורא שלו) ויה || LM (לאחריו) FMP וחתמו בהוי' L וחתמו ביהו || M גלגל עוד ג' אותיות || L שם גדול ונורא שלו והי' P ונורא שלא

ויה. תשיעית. חתם דרום ופנה לימינו לימין האל וחתמו בויה. גלגל עוד שלש אותיות האלה ועשאן שם גדול ונורא שלו והי. עשירית. הספירה של בלימה חתם צפון ופנה לשמאלו לשמאל האל וחתמו בויה. אלה הן עשר ספירות בלימה. אחת רוח אלהים חיים. שתיים רוח מרוח. שלש מים מרוח. ארבע אש ממים. חמש רום. שש תחת. שבע מזרח. שמונה מערב. תשע צפון. עשר דרום. נתחיל פירוש גלגול עשרים ושתיים אותיות באר היטב. עשרים ושתיים אותיות יסוד. שלש מהן אמות ושבע מהם כפולות ושתיים עשרה מהם פשוטות. וכלן חקוקות בקול חצובות ברוח קבועות בפה בחמשה מקומות א"ח ה"ע ב"ו מ"ף ג"י כ"ק ד"ט לנ"ט ז"ס שר"ץ קשורות בראש הלשון כשלהבהת בגחלת. ואלו הן חמשה המקומות של פה הקבועות בהם עשרים ושתיים אותיות א"ח ה"ע משתמשות בסוף הלשון ובבית הבליעה. כיצד. אם יחפוץ אדם לומר א"ח ה"ע אינו יכול לאמרם במקום אחר של פה כי אם בסוף הלשון ובבית הבליעה. ב"ו מ"ף משתמשות בין השפתים. כיצד. אם יחפוץ אדם לומר ב"ו מ"ף אינו יכול לאמרם במקום אחר של פה כי אם בין השפתים. ג"י כ"ק על שלישייה של לשון נכרות. כיצד. אם יחפוץ אדם לומר ג"י כ"ק אינו יכול לאמרם במקום אחר של פה כי אם בשליש היד של הלשון. דט"ל נ"ט משתמשות בראש הלשון. כיצד. אם יחפוץ אדם לומר דט"ל נ"ט אינו יכול לאמרם במקום אחר של פה כי אם בראש הלשון. ז"ס שר"ץ בין השנים ובלשון שכובה ושטוחה. כיצד. אם יחפוץ אדם לומר ז"ס שר"ץ אינו יכול לאמרם במקום אחר [של פה] כי אם בין השניים ובלשון שכובה ושטוחה. עשרים ושתיים אותיות יסוד קבועות בגלגל במאתים ושלישים ואחד שערים. חוזר הגלגל פנים ואחור וזה סימן לדבר אם בטובה אין למעלה מענג ואם ברעה אין למטה מנגע. כיצד. אם תתן דעתך בזה הספר לטובה להרבות עלוי האל אין למעלה מענג ואם לרעה אין למטה מנגע. עשרים ושתיים אותיות יסוד חקקן חצבן שקלן המירן צרפן יצר בהם נפש כל יצור וכל העתיד ליצור. כיצד שקלן המירן צרפן אלף עם כלן וכלן עם אלף. בית עם כלן וכלן עם בית. גימל עם כלן וכלן עם גימל וכן שאר כל האותיות וכלן חוזרות חלילה נמצאו יוצאות במאתים ושלושים ואחד שערים והשערים הם תיבות של עשרים ושתיים אותיות נמצא כל היצור וכל הדבור יוצא בשם אחד. יצר מאמש תהו הוא חללו של עולם ועשאו

L 1 תשיעית || L וחתמו בויה || NF (שלש) L 2 שם גדול ונורא שלו הי || P חתם צפון ופנה לימינו לימין האל L 3 לשמאלו FLMP || L לשמאל השם וחתמו בהי || F אלה הם | P (הן) P 4 (שלש מים מרוח) P רביעית אש ממים חמישית רום ששית תחת שביעית מזרח | L ארבע אש ממים רום ותחת מזרח P 5 שמינית מערב. תשיעית צפון. עשירית דרום || L מערב צפון ודרום || L חסלת ונתחיל פ"י | M ועתה נתחיל (גלגול) L 7 (בקול) P 8 בחמשה מקומות א"ח ה"ע ב"ו ד"ט לנ"ט ז"ס שר"ץ || M קשורות בלשון L 9 כשלהבהת קשורה בגחלת || P 10 משתמשות הלשון || L ובית הבליעה L 11 במקום אחד || L בסוף הלשון ובית הבליעה || M אותיות בו"מף P 12 לא יכול לאמרם | F אינו יכול לאמרם P 13 כי אם בשפתים || M אותיות יכ"ק P 14 (של פה) F 15 בשליש של לשון | P בשלישית של לשון || L בראש הלשון משתמשות FL 16 (במקום אחר של פה) || P כי אם בלשון בראש הלשון F 17 (שכובה) FMP (כיצד. אם יחפוץ... ובלשון שכובה ושטוחה) L 18 בין שנים ולשון P 19 בשליש במאתים ושלישים ואחד שערים P 20 אם לטובה || F (אין) למעלה || PM ואם לרעה || L לדבר אין בטובה למעלה ב' [?]] מענג ואין ברעה למעלה מנגע || FL (כיצד. אם תתן דעתך... למטה מנגע) F 21 (אין) למטה מנגע || M עלוי האל בענג (אין למעלה מענג) ואם ברעה למטה למטה מנגע P 22 (יסוד) || M (יצר בהם... שקלן המירן) L 23 המירן צרפן וברהן וצר בהם נפש || M (בית עם כלן... חוזרות חלילה) FP 24 דלת עם כלן וכלן עם דלת וכלן עם גימל || F 25 תיבות של שתי [!] אותיות || L תיבת של בית [!] אותיות P 26 נמצאו כל היצור || P יצא מהם בשם אחד || FMP יצר מתהו ממש

באש והעמידו ויאמר לו די וישנו וחצב עמודים גדולים מאויר שאינו נתפש מבלימה מבלי מאומה דבר אלא משלו ומכחו הגדול עשה הכל בלא כלום דבר הנתפש בתפיסת ידים. זהו סימן השערים וסדר חשבונם רל"א שמסרתי אני שבתי הרופא הקטן והצעיר בבינה לפיכך אלף עם כלן וכלן עם אלף. בית עם כלן וכלן עם בית. זהו סימן חשבון השערים הנכתב בסדר והם רל"א של עשרים ושתיים אותיות.

5

אב בג גד דה הו וז חט טי יך כל לם מן נס סע עף פץ צק קר רש שת תא
 אג בד גה דו הו זח זט חי טך יל כם לן מס נע סף עץ פק צר קש רת שא תב
 אד בה גו דז הח וט זי חך טל ים כן לס מע נף סץ עק פר צש קת רא שב תג
 אה בו גז דח הט וי זכ חל טם ין כס לע מף נץ סק ער פש צת קא רב שג תד
 10 או בוז גז דט הי וך זל חם טן יס כע לף מץ נק סר עש פת צא קב רג שד תה
 אז בח גט די הך ול זם חן טס יע כף לץ מק נר סש עת פא צב קג רד שה תו
 אח בט גי דך הל ומ זן חס טע יף כץ לק מר נש סת עא פב צג קד רה שו תז
 אט בי גך דל הם ון זס חע טף יץ כק לר מש נת סא עב פג צד קה רו שז תח
 אי בך גל דם הן וס זע חף טץ יק כר לש מת נא סב עג פד צה קו רו שח תט
 15 אך בל גם דן הס וע זף חץ טק יר כש לת מא נב סג עד פה צו קו רח שט תי
 אל במ גן דס הע וף זץ חק טר יש כת לא מב נג סד עה פו צו קח רט שי תך
 אם בן גס דע הף וץ זק חר טש ית כא לב מג נד סה עו פו צח קט רי שך תל
 אן בס גע דף הץ וק זר חש טת יא כב לג מד נה סו עז פח צט קי רך של תם
 אס בע גף דץ הך ור זש חת טא יב כג לד מה נו סז עח פט צי קך רל שם תן
 20 אע בף גץ דק הר וש חת טא יב כג לד מה נו סז עח פט צי קך רל שם תן
 אף בץ גק דר הש ות זא חב טג יד כה לו מזו נח סט עי פך צל קם רן שס תע
 אץ בק גר דש הת וא זב חג טד יה כו לו מח נט סי עך פל צם קן רס שע תף
 אק בר גש דת הא וב זג חד טה יו כז לח מט ני סך על פם צן קס רע שף תץ
 אר בש גת דא הב וג זד חה טו יז כח לט מי נך סל עם פן צס קע רף שץ תק

2 M מבלי מה מאומה || P עשה הכלום בלא כלום דבר || P הנתפש בידים | L בתפיסת ידים הנה כתבנו
 א' עם כולן וכולן עם א' ב' עם כולן וכולן עם ב' ג' עם כולן וכולן עם ג' ושאר כן ועוד נכתבו בסדר. על
 כי שנו לכתוב התיבה העם [?] שנית כמו וף' ה"ע ח"ק אל ז'ין כ"ת ואחרים P 4 לפי אלף עם כלן || M
 (בית עם כלן וכלן עם בית) || F (השערים) P 5 והו חשבון השערים הנכתבים | M זהו סימן השערים
 הנכתבי' 6 אב בג גד FLMNP | א'ב ג'ד ה'ו ו'ח ט"י כ"ך ל'מ"ם ס"ע פ"ץ צ"ץ ק"ר ש'ת אב
 בג ד | L (תא) L 7 (שא תב) L 8 (רא שב תג) L 9 (קא רב שג תד) L 10 (צא קב רג שד תה)
 L 11 (פא צב קג רד שח תו) L 12 (צא פב צג קד רה שו תז) L 13 (סא עב פג צד קה רו שז תח) |
 M חע טף יק כף לר מש F 14 וס זע חף טץ יח | L (נא סב עג פד צה קו רו שח תט) L 15 (מא נב סג
 עד פה צו קו רח שט תי) L 16 (לא מב נג סד עה פו צו קח רט שי תך) בא נב דג הד והו זח טח יט כי
 לך L 17 אם בן גס דע הף וץ זק חר טש ית תל גא דב הגוד זה חו טז יח כט לי [?] מך L 18 אן בס
 גע דף הץ וק זר חש טת של תם דא הב וג זד הח טו [!] יז כח לט מי נך L 19 אס בע גף דץ הך ור וש חת
 רל שם תן הא וב זג חד טה יו כז לח מט ני סך L 20 אע בף גץ דק הר וש ות קל רם שן תס וא זב חג טד
 יה כו לו מח נט סי עך L 21 אף בץ גק דר הש ות צל קם רן שס תע זא חב טג יד כה לו מזו נח סט עי פך
 L 22 אץ בק גר דש הת פל צם קן רס שע תף חת טא יב כג לד מה נו סז עח פט צי קך L 23 אק בר גש דת
 על פם צן קס רע שף תץ טא יב כג לד מה נו סז עח פט צי קך L 24 אר בש גת סל עם פן צס קע רף שץ
 תק יא כב לג מד נה סו עז פח צט קי רך

אש בת גא דב הגוד זה חו טז יח כט לי מך גל סם ען פס צע קף רץ שק תר
את בא גב דג הדוה זה חז טח יט כי לך מל נם סן עס פע צף קץ רק שר תש

5 את בש גר דק היץ וף זע חס טן ים כל
אש בר גק דיץ היף ועזס חן טם יל כת
אר בק גץ דף העזס זן חם טל יך שת
אק בץ גף דע הס ון זם חל טך רת יש
אץ בף גע דס הן זל חך טי קת רש
אף בע גס דן הם ול יך חי צר קש צר [†]
אע בס גן דם הל וך זי חט פת צש קר
10 אס בן גמ דל היך וי זט עת פש צר קת
אן במ גל דך הי וט זח סת עש פר צק
אם בל גך די הט וחזת סש ער פק רץ
אל בך גי דט החזו מת נש סר עק פץ
אך בי גט דחזו לת מש נר סק עץ וף
15 אי בט גחזו חו כת לש מר נק סץ עף
אט בח גו דוית כש לר מק גץ סף הע
אח בוגו דה טת יש כר לק מץ נף סע
אז בוגה חת טש יר כק ליץ מף נע דס
או בה גדזת חש טר יק כץ לף מע נס
20 אה בדות זש חר טק יץ כף לע מס גן
אד בנהת ושוזר חק עץ יף כע לס מן
אג דת הש ור זק חץ טף יע כס לן במ
אב גת דש הר וק זץ חף טע יס כן למ
אל בת גש דר הק וצזפ חע טס ין כם

25 צופה וממיר ועושה את כל היצור ואת כל הדבור שם אחד וסימן לדבר עשרים ושנים
הפצים בגוף אחד כי לכלם סדר אחד הוא. שלש האותיות נקראות אמות ואלו הן אמש

L 1 אש בת גל סם ען פס צע קף רץ שק תר כא לב מגנד סה עו פוזח קט רי שך F 2 אבבג דד הה
וויזחחטטיי כך לל ממנן סס עע פף צץ קק רר שש תת | L את מל נם סן עס פע צף קף רץ שק תר לא
מבגנסד עה פוזקח רטשיתך נא סב עג פד צה קו רו שח תט עא פב צג קד רה שו תו F 3 (את בש גר
דק... אב גת דש הר וק זץ חף טע יס כן למ) | M פירוש אחר. את בש גר דק | MP את בש גר דק היץ וף
זע חס טן ים כל מנצפ"ך P 5 חם טל ית שת P 6 אק בץ גף דע הס ון זם חל טך רש יש | M אק בץ גף
דע הס ון חל טך יש רש P 7 אץ בף גע דס הן זל חך טי כת רש P 8 אף בע גס דן הם ול יך חי
טר קש צי P 9 אע בס גן דם הל וך זי חט פת אש קר | L שצ P 10 אס בן גמ דל היך וי זט חת פש צר
חק | M אס בן גמ דל היך וי זט חת עש פר צק P 12 אם בל גך די הט וחזת סש ער פק צן | M אם בל
גך די הט וחזת נש סר עק פץ P 13 אל בך גי דט החזו מת נש סר עק פץ צס | M אך בי גט דחזו ות
לש מר נק סץ עף P 14 אך בי גט דחזו ול תם שן רס קע צף P 15 אי בט גחזו חו כת לש מר נק מץ
עץ P 17 אח בוגו דה טת יש לק מץ נף סע P 19 או בה גדזת חש יק כץ לף מע נס P 20 אה בדות
זש חר טק יץ כף לע מף P 21 אג בנהת ושוזר חק טץ יק כע לס מן P 23 אב גת דש הר וק זץ חף יס
צן למ P 25 צופה FLMP L 26 הפצים כי לכלם סדר אחד הוא וגוף אחד הוא P וגוף אחד F (כי)

סודו גדול ומופלא הוא זה הדבור וחתום הוא בשש טבעות וממנו יוצאים אש ומים ורוח ומחותל בזכר ובנקבה כי כל דבר שנברא בעולם בין כוכבים ובין מזלות ובין בשאר הבריות שבארץ ובימים זכר ונקבה הם וגם הצמחים והפירות. דע וחשוב וצור שהאש נושא את המים. האל שהוא אש אוכלה נושא את המים. שלש אמות אמש. מס דוממת באמירה. שין שורקת. אלף חוק מכריע בנתיים. כיצד. אות המם נאמרה בדממה ואות השיין נאמרה בשריקה ואות אלף בנתיים ברוח ולא בדממה ולא בשריקה כי אם מתווכת בזה ובזה ומכריע בנתיים כרוח המתווך בין השמים ובין הארץ באויר. שלש אמות אמש ומהם נולדו שלשה אבות שמהם נבראו הכל ואלו הם האבות רוח ומים ואש. נוצר עם אלף רוח מרוח של הקב"ה. נוצר עם מם מים מרוח מאותו הרוח שיצא מן הרוח של הקב"ה. נוצר עם שין אש ממים. ועל זה נקראו אמות כי נולדו מהן שלש אבות האלה. שלש אמות אמש ומהם נולדו שלשה אבות והם רוח ומים ואש. ומאלה האבות נבראו ונולדו הכל. כיצד. תולדות האש שמים ותולדות השמים אש. כיצד. מן האש שיצא מן המים נבראו ונולדו השמים וכל צבאם ומן השמים יצאה אש. תולדות המים ארץ ותולדות הארץ מים. כיצד. מן המים שיצאו מן הרוח נבראה ונולדה הארץ וכל אשר בה ומן הארץ יזובו מים. תולדות הרוח אויר ותולדות האויר רוח. כיצד. מן הרוח שיצא מרוח אלהים חיים נברא ונולד האויר של עולם המתווך ומכריע בנתיים בין השמים ובין הארץ ומן האויר יצא רוח מכריע ומתווך בנתיים האש מלמעלה המים מלמטה ורוח הקדש מכריע ומתווך בנתיים בין האש ובין המים. שלש אמות אמש בעולם ובשנה ובנפש. כיצד. שלש אמות אמש בעולם רוח ומים ואש. שמים נבראו תחלה מאש וארץ נבראת ממים ואויר נברא מרוח חוק מכריע ומתווך בנתיים. שלש אמות אמש בשנה. אש ומים ורוח. חום נברא מאש. קור נברא ממים. רויה נבראה מרוח חוק מכריע ומתווך בנתיים בין החום ובין הקור. שלש אמות אמש בנפש. ראש נברא מאש ובטן נברא ממים וגויה נבראה מרוח מכרעת ומתווכת בנתיים בין הראש ובין הבטן. מן הראש יולד חום ומן הבטן יולד קור ממאכל וממשתה ומן הגויה ומן החוזה יולד רוח הוא נשמת הרוח המכריע בנתיים בין החום של ראש ובין הקור של בטן. שלש אמות אמש סוד גדול מכוסה ומופלא

$F 1$ סודן גדול M סוד FM (הוא) P וחתם בו בשש $F 2$ ומתחלקים לזכר ונקבה L הנברא בעולם $FP 3$ שבארץ ושבימים M הבריות שנבראו בארץ ובימים ובנחלים וזכר ונקבה הם עד הצמחי' P (וצור) L ש(האש. האל שהוא) אש אוכלה $L 4$ (מם דוממת באמירה) $L 5$ (נאמרה בדממה) L ואות אלף נאמרת בנתיים $P 6$ ואות א' מכריע בנתיים (ברוח) $F 7$ כי אם מי בזה ובזה MP מכריע בנתיים L כי אם במתווכת זה והיה כמכריע בנתיים המתווכת L [?] L שלש אמות בעולם אמש' $P 8$ שמאלו השלושה נברא הכל ואלו הן אבות F ואלו הם שלש אבות $M 9$ נוצר עם א' מים מרוח $MP 10$ נקראו שלש תיבות האלו אמות F ועל זה נקראו שלש אותיות אמות L ועל זה נקראו שלש אמות L האבות האלה הנכתב בסדר והן מאתים ושלושים ואחד $FM 11$ ומהם רוח ומים ואש P שהם רוח ומים ואש $M 12$ (כיצד... ותולדות הארץ מים) $P 13$ מן האש שיצא מן השמים נבראו השמים LP תצא F ומן המים יצאה אש $M 15$ ומן המים יזובו המים L יזוב מים $L 17$ (רוח) P יצא רוח ומכריע ומתווך F ומן האויר יצא רוח ומתווכת בנתיים L האויר של עולם המתווכת המכריע בנתיים F (האש מלמעלה... ומתווך בנתיים) בין השמים ובין הארץ שלש אמות P ומים מלמטה $L 18$ ורוח חוק מכריע P (בין האש ובין המים) $F 19$ רוח ומים ואש שמים $P 20$ והארץ נבראת ממים ואויר נברא מרוח הקדוש והוא מכריע M (ומתווכת) P (שלש אמות אמש בשנה... בין החום והקור) $F 21$ נברא מאש קור LM רויה נברא מרוח (חוק) $F 22$ בין החום והקור $P 23$ מן הראש נולד החום ומן הבטן נולד הקור L מן הראש יולד חום ומן המוח ומן הבטן M מן הראש יולד חום ומן החם ומן הבטן $M 24$ ממאכל ומשתה P ומן החוזה נולד רוח $P 25$ מכריע בנתיים בין החום של אש

והתום בשש טבעות הן תיבות והן דבורים. ומחותל זה הסוד בעולם ובשנה ובנפש זכר ונקבה כיצד שכל דבר שנברא לנהוג את העולם בין כוכבים ובין מזלות ובין פירות ועשבים וזרעונים בין אבנים בין כל דבר המתנהג בעולם לנהוג את הבריות נבראו כלם בכח זכר ונקבה כח הזכר לפי כח בריות הזכרים וכח הנקבה לפי כח בריות הנקבות. כיצד. שלש אמות אמש חקקן חצבן צרפן המירן וחתם בהם שלש אמות בעולם ושלש אמות בשנה ושלש אמות בנפש זכר ונקבה. המליך את האלף ברוח וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש התיבה הוא הדבור וצרף את האותיות זו בזו ועשאן שני דבורים וכנה את האחד אמש ואת השני אשם וצר רוח מרוחו וצר בו אויר בעולם ורויה בשנה וגויה בנפש וכל דבר שהוא מאלה זכר ונקבה הזכר באמש והנקבה באשם. המליך עוד את המם במים וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות זו בזו ועשאן שני דבורים וכנה את האחד מאש והשני משא וצר בהן ארץ בעולם וקור בשנה בטן בנפש וכל דבר שהוא מאלה זכר ונקבה, זכר במאש ונקבה במשא. המליך את שין באש וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות זו בזו ועשאן שני דבורים וכנה את האחד שמא והשני שאם וצר בהם שמים בעולם וחום בשנה וראש בנפש וכל דבר שהוא מאלה זכר ונקבה זכר בשמא ונקבה בשאם. יש אויר בעולם המוליד ומצמיח ומפריא זכרים בין בבריות בין בפירות ובעשבים ויש אויר בעולם המוליד ומצמיח ומפריא נקבות בין בבריות בין בפירות ובעשבים ויש רויה בשנה המולדת ומצמחת ומפריה זכרים בין בבריות בין בצמחים בין בצמחים ויש רויה בשנה המולדת ומצמחת ומפריה נקבות בין בבריות בין בפירות בין בצמחים ולכל אשר נשמת רוח חיים באפיו יש להם גויה לזכר ולנקבה הנה אמש ואשם. ויש ארץ בעולם המולדת ומצמחת ומפריה זכרים בין בבריות בין בצמחים בין בפירות בין באבנים בין בכל דבר ויש ארץ בעולם המוליד ומצמיח נקבות בין בבריות בין בצמחים בין בפירות וכל דבר. ויש קור בשנה מוליד ומצמיח זכרים בין בבריות בין בצמחים בין בכל דבר וכמו כן יש קור בשנה מוליד ומצמיח נקבות בין בבריות בין בצמחים בין בכל דבר ולכל אשר נשמת רוח חיים באפיו יש להם בטן לזכר ולנקבה

M 1 ומתובל זה היסוד | F והן דבורים. ומהו זה היסוד FMP 2 (כיצד) P שכל דבר שנברא בעולם בין זכר בין נקבה בין כוכבים בין מזלות | M שכל דבר שנברא בעולם בין כוכב ובין מזל P 3 (בין אבנים) P כל דברים המתנהגים בעולם | L כל דבר שמתנהג בעולם M לנהוג בו הבריות L 4 (בריות) M לפי בריות הזכר | F כח זכר לפי כח בריות הזכרים P וכח הנקבות לפי כח הנקבות P 5 צרפן המירן וחצב בהם שלש אמות M (וחתם) P 6 (ברוח) | L המליך את הא' בראש וקשר לו קשר P וקשר לו קשר כתר F (לו) P 7 וכנה את האחד באמש | M וכנה את האחד F 8 וצר רום מרוחו | L וצר בהם מרוחו M אויר בעולם ורוח בשנה P (ורויה) L 9 (בכל דבר) FM (מאלה) M 11 וכנה את האחד F 12 המליך את שין בראש L 13 (זו בזו) M וכנה את האחד | האחד שמא $FLMNP$ N 14 וחום בשנה ולח[?] בנפש MP 15 (יש אויר בעולם... ובעשבים) F בין בבריות בין בעשבים בין בפירות הארץ N 16 בין בפירות בין בבריות בין בעשבים N בין בבריות בין בפירות בין בעשבים [?] M 17 (המולדת ומצמחת ומפריה) בין בעשבים בין בצמחי' P בין בצמחים ובין בפירות הארץ ובין בבריות | FM בין בצמחים בין בבריות בין בפירות הארץ L 18 בפירות בין בעשבים | ויש רויה בשנה $FLNP$ | $FKLMNP$ (יש רויה בשנה... בין בצמחים) L 19 ולכל אשר $FLMNP$ וכל אשר נשמת M (להם) M 20 ויש אמ' בעולם המולדת L (ומצמחת זכרים בין) P (ומצמחת) M (בין בבריות) M 21 בין באבני' וכל דבר N (בין בפירות בין באבנים... בין בבריות בין בצמחים בין בכל דבר) וכל אשר נשמת רוח חיים באפיו... L בין באבנים... וכל דבר. (יש קור בשנה המוליד FP (יש ארץ בעולם... וכל דבר) L 23 (בין בצמחים... וכמו כן) F וכמו כן יש קור בנפש L ומצמיח נקבות (בין בבריות... רוח) חיים P 24 וכל שבר FMP וכל אשר נשמת

זה משא מאש. יש כי תצא גזירה מן השמים בעולם להוליד ולהצמיח זכרים בין בבריות בין בצמחים בין בכל דבר וכמו כן להוליד ולהצמיח נקבות ויש חום בשנה המוליד ומצמיח זכרים בין בבריות בין בפירות בין בצמחים ובכל דבר וכמו כן ויש חום בשנה להוליד ולהצמיח נקבות בכל דבר ולכל אשר נשמת רוח חיים באפיו יש להם ראש 5
 מאש משא שאם שמה. רוח ואויר ורויה וגויה בנפש וכל דבר שהוא זכר ונקבה נבראו באמש ואשם. מים וארץ וקור ובטן בנפש וכל דבר שהוא זכר ונקבה נבראו במאש ובמשא. אש ושמים וחום וראש בנפש וכל דבר שהוא זכר ונקבה נבראו בשמה ובשאם. השמים נבראו מן האש והארץ נבראה מן המים והאויר המתווך בנתיים נבראו מן הרוח. החום נבראו ויוצא מן השמים והקור יצא מן הארץ והרויה תצא מן האויר מכרעת בנתיים 10
 בין החום ובין הקור. הראש של אדם נבראו מן האש ומן החום והבטן נבראה מן המים ומן הקור והגויה והחזה אשר בתוכם הלב נבראו מן הרוח ומכריעים בנתיים בין הראש ובין הבטן. ומן הראש יצא חום ומן הבטן יצא קור ומן הגויה והחזה והלב יצא רוח הנשמה המכריע בנתיים ומתווך בין החום ובין הקור. השמים מאש והאויר מרוח והארץ ממים ומן השמים חום ואש ומן האויר רויה ורוח ומן הארץ קור וזיבות מים. והראש של אדם 15
 מאש והגויה והלב מרוח והבטן ממים. מן הראש חום ואש מן המוח ומן הגויה והחזה והלב רויה הוא הלחלוח העולה אל הפה ורוח הנשמה ומן הבטן קור ומים הם מימי רגלים. שלש אמות אמש. נוצר עם א' רוח ואויר ורויה ונשיפת הרוח של עולם מכריע בנתיים. ובנפש גויה חוק מכריע בנתיים והלשון המנהגת ברוח החיים ונשימת הרוח ורויה של גויה מכריעים בנתיים. נוצר עם מ' מים וארץ וקור ומבועי מים ובטן וקור וזיבות מים 20
 מי הרגלים וכף זכות. נוצר עם ש' אש ושמים וחום וראש וחום קל וחום כבד באש וכף חובה. מזה למדנו כי הזכות נתנה ונגזרה להיות מן הארץ ומן הבטן של אדם. החובה נתנה ונגזרה להיות מן השמים ומן הראש. ועל זה אמר דוד ע"ה אמת מארץ תצמח וצדק משמים נשקף [תהלים פה יב] ללמדך שבכל עת שמהלכין בני אדם באמת ובויושר יש

P 1 זה משא ומאש | L זה מאש וזה משא || P בשמים בעולם || L (להוליד ולהצמיח) בנקבות | P (להוליד...להוליד ולהצמיח) | M וכחו להוליד ולהצמיח והצמיח F 2 בין בבריות בין בכל דבר || L (בשנה) L 3 (בין בפירות) | M (בין בפירות בין בצמחים) | N בין בבריות בין (בין בפירות בין בצמחים) בכל דבר || וכמו כן $FLMN$ | $FKLMNP$ וכמו כן (יש חום בשנה... בכל דבר) L 4 ולכל אשר נשמה $FLMNP$ | P וכל אשר נשמת F 5 שש טבעות חתומות | M שש טבעות ואלו הם | L (טבעות) F 6 שאם שמה. אויר בעולם ורויה בשנה ומים בנפש. וכל דבר שהוא M (ורויה) || L (גויה) מים וארץ בעולם וקור בשנה ובטן בנפש וכל דבר P 8 (במאש ובמשא... זכר ונקבה נבראו) בשמה ובשאם F || אש ושמים בעולם וחום בשנה וראש בנפש וכל דבר שהוא זכר ונקבה || L (דבר שהוא זכר) M נבראו בשמה ואשם השני! || L 9 והאויר מתווך בנתיים (נבראו) מן הרוח והחום (נבראו) יוצא N 10 והקור נבראו מן הארץ | P והקור נבראו ויוצא מן הארץ || L והרויה יצא מן הארץ || LM ומכרעת בנתיים L 11 כן ראש של אדם | M המשוש של אדם || L מן החום L 12 מן הקור || P אשר בנתיים והלב | F אשר בתוכם והלב | L אשר בתוכם והלב נבראו P 13 יצא מן הראש יצא החום P 14 (ומתווך) L 15 (קור) | P קור בזיבות מים | M קור וזיבות מים || P והראש של אדם אש והגויה והלב והחזה מרוח P 17 היא הלחלוח L 18 עם ('א) | F נוצר עם האלף רוח ואויר בעולם ורויה בשנה ונשיפת הרוח של עולם || MN ונשיבת הרוח של עולם || P הרוח של עולם ומכרעת בנתיים P 19 והלשון הנתונה ברוח החיים | F והלשון הנתונה ברוח החיים | M והלשון המתנהגת ברוח החי" | N והלשון הנתונה! | ברוח החיים || P ורויה של גויה מכרעת בנתיים נוצר עם מים מים והארץ M 20 ובטן וקור ומבועי מ' ובטן וקור וזיבות מים F 21 (נוצר עם שין אש... חום כבד באש) N 22 הנה למדנו כי N 23 והחובה נתנה || L (ע"ה) || F (וצדק משמים נשקף) F 24 באמת ובויושר ובצדק יש להם זכות מן השמים ומצטדקן מן השמים

להם זכות ומצטדקין מן השמים וחלופו אם יחטאו וירשיעו מתחייבין מן השמים. וכמו כן גם בטנו של אדם הדומה לארץ בכל עת אשר יאכל האדם וישתה בחוקו ובמועדו ובעתו מאכלים ומשקים שלא ירעו לו אז יהיה ראשו שר ובריא בשלום ובמרפא. ואם יאכל וישתה האדם בלא חוק ומועד ובלא עתו גם אם יאכל מאכלים ומשקים שלא ירעו לו אז ישחיתו קרבו ובטנו ותעלה חמתם מן הבטן ומן הקרבים אל הראש ואז יחלה הראש ומן החלי והרוע של ראש יצטער ויחלה כל הגוף. זהו סוד אמש. נגמר הספר האחד והוא אמש והם שלש אמות.

LN 2 (גם) P || (לארץ) L || (וישתה) L 3 בשלום ומרפא ומשקים אשר הטיבו[?] לו יהיה ראשו שר ובריא F || יהיה הראש שר | P יהיה ראשו שלם ובריא N 4 (האדם) N || בלא חוק ובלא מועד ובלא עתו P || ואם יאכל אדם מאכלים וישתה בלא חוק ובמועד ובלא עתו ומאשר[?] אשר ירעו לו אז ישחיתו | וגם אם יאכל אדם וישתה מאכלים ומשקים אשר ירעו | MN גם אם יאכל מאכלים ומשקים המזיקים או ישחיתו קרבו וכרעיו ובטנו P 5 ואז יחלה הראש ו[!] ומן החלי הרע של ראש יצטער ויחלה הגוף L 6 (סוד) MN || ובכן נגמר הספר האחד הנקרא אמש M 7 וכן ג' אמות P | והוא סוד אמש שלש אמות אמש

[ספר שני]

נתחיל הספר השני של שבע אותיות הכפולות ואלו הן בגדכפרת. ולמה נקראו כפולות. על אשר נאמרות אלו שבעה האותיות במאמר רך ובמאמר קשה יותר משאר האותיות. כיצד. בב גג דד ככ פפ רר תת ואם יאמר אדם אלו שבע האותיות כל אחת ואחת לבדה יכול לומר כל אחת ואחת בשתי לשונות ובשני מאמרות במאמר רך ובמאמר קשה אבל שאר האותיות הנקראות פשוטות לא יוכל לומר כל אחת ואחת מהן לבדה בשני מאמרות במאמר רך ובמאמר קשה כי אם בכובד. אך אם יוסיף עמהם אות אחרת מלפניה או מלאחריה או אם תאמר בראש הדבור או אם יאמר דבור אחר מלפני אותו הדבור וידבק לו עם אותו הדבור הכתוב בתחלתו אות אחת מן האותיות הפשוטות יכול אדם לאמרו במאמר רך ובמאמר קשה ועל כן נקראו כפולות כי הכפולות תאמרנה בשתי לשונות ברך וקשה בין לבדן בין כל אחת ואחת בין בראש דבור בין בתוך דבור בין בסוף בין בכל מקום והפשוטות לא יכול אדם לאמרן כל אחת ואחת לבדה ברך וקשה כי אם בכובד ותלאה. שבע כפולות בגדכפרת. יסודן חיים שלום חכמה עשר זרע חן ממשלה ומתנהגות ומשתמשות ונאמרות אלה שבע האותיות בשתי לשונות שהן כפולות של תמורת בב גג דד ככ פפ רר תת כנגד רך וקשה תבנית גבור וחלש. וכמו שהן תמורות כן גם הדבורים שנתיסדו בהן יש להם תמורות. תמורת חיים מות. תמורת שלום מלחמה. תמורת חכמה אולת. תמורת עושר עוני. תמורת זרע שממה. תמורת חן כיעור. תמורת ממשלה עבדות. שבע כפולות בגדכפרת. שבע ולא שש. שבע ולא שמונה מכוון שש צלעות לששה סדרים והיכל הקדש מוכן באמצע בתוך ברוך כבוד ה' ממקומו [יחזקאל ג' ב] הוא מקומו של עולם ואין עולמו מקומו והוא נושא את כלם. שבע כפולות בגדכפרת חקקן חצבן שקלן צרפן המירן וצר בהם כוכבים בעולם וימים בשנה ושערים בנפש וכלן בכח זכר ונקבה שבעה שבעה. כיצד צרפן. שתי אבנים בנות שני בתים. שלש

P 2 (נתחיל) M עתה נתחיל מספר השני L שבע אותיות הכפולות. שבע אותיות כפולות ואלה הם P ואלו הן בגד ה' [!] כפרת F ואלו הן האותיות בגד כפרת F 3 אלו (שבעה) N (אלו שבעה האותיות) FM במאמר רך וקשה P יושר [!] משאר האותיות F 4 (כיצד) N עם M כל אלו F (כל אחת ואחת) לבד לומר אותם בשתי לשונות P לומר כל אחת ואחת מהן לבדה M (ואחת) F 6 (קשה) M לא יוכל אדם כל א' וא' (מהן לבדה) NP לא יוכל אדם לומר כל אחת ואחת L יכול אדם (לא) F (ואחת) M 7 בשתי לשונות ובשתי מאמרות F כי אם כד וכד P 8 אות אחת מלפניה F (אם) P בראש דבור (או אם יאמר...מלפני אותו הדבור) וידבק לו אות L 9 וידבקקו עם אותו הדבור M (בתחלתו) P בתחלתו. או אחת מן ה אותיות N בתחלה P 11 בשני לשונות. בין לבדה בין כל אחת ואחת F בין לבדן בין לכל אחת ואחת MNP בין בראש דבור בין בסוף דבור בין בבתוך דבור בין בכל דבור והפשוטות F בין בראש דבור בין בסוף דבור בין בבתוך בין בכל דבור והפשוטות F 12 לאמר M 13 (ברך וקשה) L ברך ובקשה P 14 בשתי לשונות שהן כפולות שנאמרות כנגד רך וקשה MN בשתי לשונות כמו שאמרנו כנגד רך וקשה F 15 של תמורות P וקשה תחת גבור חלש וכמו כן שהן תמורות F 16 וכמו שהן (תמורות כן גם הדבורים...להם תמורות) MNP (גם) L כל גם L 19 (מכוון שש צלעות) וששה סדרים P (מוכן) N (בתוך) L 20 של עולמו MN ואין עולם מקומו L 21 והמירן F 22 בכח זכר ונקבה (שבעה) שבעה MP שלש אבנים בנות ששה בתים

בונות ששה. ארבע בונות עשרים וארבעה. חמש בונות מאה ועשרים. שש בונות שבע
 מאות ועשרים. שבע בונות חמשת אלפים וארבעים. מכאן ואילך צא וחשוב מה שאין
 הפה יכול לדבר ומה שאין העין יכולה לראות ומה שאין האוזן יכולה לשמוע. כיצד. אות
 אחת לבדה נכתבת ולבדה נקראת אבל לבדה אינה עושה דבור כי אחת היא. שתים
 אותיות ביחד נקראות וביחד נכתבות ועושות דבור ולשני פעמים נכתבות ולשני פעמים
 אחת אחת נקראות זאת לפני זאת וזאת לפני זאת. הרי שנים דבורים כי שתי פעמים אחת
 שנים עושים. ודבור של שלש אותיות לשלשה פעמים שתיים נכתבות ולשלשה פעמים
 שתיים נקראות הרי ששה כי שלשה פעמים שתיים עושים ששה. ודבור של ארבע אותיות
 לארבעה פעמים ששה נכתבות ולארבע פעמים ששה נקראות. הרי ארבעה ועשרים כי
 ארבעה פעמים ששה עושים ארבעה ועשרים. ודבור של חמש אותיות לחמשה פעמים
 כ"ד נכתבות ולחמשה פעמים כ"ד נקראות. הרי מאה ועשרים כי חמשה פעמים כ"ד
 עושים ק"ך. ודבור של שש אותיות לששה פעמים ק"ך נכתבות ולששה פעמים ק"ך
 נקראות. הרי תש"ך כי ששה פעמים ק"ך עושים שבע מאות ועשרים. ודבור של שבע
 אותיות לשבעה פעמים תש"ך נכתבות ולשבעה פעמים תש"ך נקראות. הרי חמשת
 אלפים וארבעים כי שבעה פעמים תש"ך עושים חמשת אלפים וארבעים. ובענין זה
 אדם מוסיף ועולה לדברים הרבה עד כי יחדל לספור כי אין מספר. כמו שמתגלגל
 ומתקרא דבור של שתי אותיות כן כלם וכן מתגלגלים וכן מתקראים. אות אחת מדבר
 של שני אותיות מתגלגל ומתקרא לשני פעמים וכל אחת ואחת מדבור של שלושה אותיות
 מתגלגל ומתקרא לב"ב פעמים על שני פעמים עד שלשה פעמים ועושים ששה דבורים.
 וכמו שמתגלגל ומתקרא דבור של שלש אותיות כלו כן מתגלגל אות אחת מדבור של
 ארבע אותיות. דבור של שלש אותיות מתגלגל ומתקרא לו' פנים. וכל אחת אחת אות
 מדבור של ארבע אותיות מתגלגל ומתקרא לששה פנים ו' פנים על ששה פנים עד
 ארבעה פנים ועושים כ"ד דבורים. וכמו שמתגלגל ומתקרא דבור של ארבע אותיות
 כלם כן מתגלגל ומתקרא אות אחת מדבור של חמש אותיות. דבור של ארבע אותיות

MP 1 ארבע אבנים F עשרים וארבע בתים $M 2$ ה' בונות ק"כ בתים. ו' בונות תש"כ בתים. ז' בונות
 חמשת אלפי' וארבע' בתי' $M 3$ הפה יכולה לספור $P 4$ (לבדה נכתבת) L (אבל) ולבדה בדר
 $M 5$ (נקראות) F (נכתבות ולשני פעמים) אחת אחת נקראות זה לפני זה. הרי שנים $F 8$ כי שלשה
 פעמים שלש $L 9$ לארבעה פעמים ששה נכתב לארבע פעמים ששה נקרא M (ששה) נקראות $M 10$
 כי כ"ד פעמי' ו' N (עושים) P ודבור של ארבע חמשה אותיות L לחמש פעמים ארבע ועשרים נכתב
 ולחמש פעמים ארבע ועשרים נקרא. $P 11$ (כי) $P 12$ לששה פעמים ק"ך $P 13$ נכתבות ולו' פעמים
 נכתבות ק"ך נקראות P (הרי תש"ך) F (הרי) M הרי תש"כ כי סס"כ ק"כ הם תס"ב! ודבור של
 ז' אותיות לו' פעמים תס"ב נכתבות ולו' פעמי' נקראות תש"כ $P 14$ (אותיות) $P 15$ כי שבעה
 פעמים ז' כ"כ! עושים $M 16$ אין מספר. כמו כן מתגלגל וקורין דבור של ב' אותיות בין כן זה חשבון
 שמנין N אין מספר. כמו שמתגלגל וקורא דבור של ב' אותיות כן כלם זה חשבון שמנינו בלא נקוד $P 17$
 כמו מתגלגל ומתקרא דבור (של) F (וכן) מתקראין $F 18$ אות אחת מדבור של שלש אותיות (מתגלגל
 ומתקרא... אחת ואחת) ודבור של שתי אותיות מתגלגל ומתקרא לשני פנים וכל אחת ואחת אות מדבור של
 שלש האותיות מתגלגל ומתקרא לכ"ב פעמים $L 19$ עד שני שלש פעמים FP (ששה) $L 20$ (וכמו
 שמתגלגל... ועושים כ"ד דבורים) P וכמו מתגלגל ומתקרא אות אחת מדבור של ארבע אותיות דבור של
 שלשה אותיות מתגלגל ומתקרא שלשה פנים ששה פנים על ששה פנים עד ארבע פנים וכל אחת ואחת אות
 מדבור של ארבע אותיות מתגלגל ומתקרא לששה פנים. ועושים כ"ד דבורים L וכן מתגלגלת ומתקראת
 אות אחת מדבר של ג' אותיות שבר של שתי אותיות וכן אחת ואחת אותו מדבור $F 23$ עד ד' פעמים P
 ועמו מתגלגל ומתקרא L וכמו מתגלגל דבור של ארבע (אותיות) $P 24$ (דבור של ארבע אותיות)

בראשונה. בהשמת אות ה' בסוף הדבר כן אם תשים אות נ' בסוף הדבור נעשים שבע מאות ועשרים. וכמו כן אם תשים אות ו' בסוף הדבר נעשים תשק' כ. וכמו כן אם תשים אות ש' בסוף הדבר נעשים תשק' כ. וכמו כן אם תשים אות א' בסוף הדבר נעשים תשק' כ. וכמו כן אם תשים אות ש' בסוף הדבר נעשים שבע מאות ועשרים. וכמו כן אם תשים אות ב' בסוף הדבר ותגלגלם פנים ואחור כסדר האמרנו למעלה נעשים שבע מאות ועשרים דיבורים אחרים. הנה עולה המנין של כל הדברים הנעשים מן דבר של שבע אותיות חמשת אלפים וארבעים דברים וכמו כן מתגלגל הדבר של שתיים עשרה האותיות הפשוטות וכן כל האותיות וכן בנין האבנים אבל אין קץ ואין סוף ואין תכלית ואין שעור למספר חשבון ומנינם של דיבורים של עשרים ושתים אותיות. שבע כפולות בגדכפרת. המליך את הבית וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את שבע האותיות האלה זו בזו ועשאן דבור אחד וכנהו בגדכפרת וצר בו בשבתי בעולם ושבת בשנה ופה בנפש וחיים ותמורתו מות. המליך את הגמל וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות זו בזו ועשאן עוד דבור שני וכנהו בגדכפרת וצר בו צדק בעולם ואחד בשבת בשנה ועין ימין בנפש ושלום ותמורתו מלחמה. המליך את הדלת וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות זו בזו ועשאן עוד דבור שלישי וכנהו דגבכפרת וצר בו מאדים בעולם ושני בשבת בשנה ועין שמאל בנפש וחכמה ותמורתו אולת. המליך את הכף וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות זו בזו ועשאן עוד דבור רביעי וכנהו כדגבכפרת וצר בו חמה בעולם ושלישי בשבת בשנה ואף ימין בנפש ועושר ותמורתו עוני. המליך את הפא וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות זו בזו ועשאן עוד דבור חמישי וכנהו פגדבכרת וצר בו נוגה בעולם ורביעי בשבת בשנה ואף שמאל בנפש וזרע ותמורתו שממון. המליך את הריש וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות זו בזו ועשאן עוד דבור ששי וכנהו רפכדגבת וצר בו כוכב חמה בעולם וחמישי בשבת בשנה ואזן ימין בנפש וממשלה ותמורתו עבדות. המליך את התו וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות זו בזו ועשאן עוד דבור שביעי וכנהו תרפכדגב וצר בו לבנה בעולם ויום ששי בשבת בשנה ואזן שמאל בנפש וזן ותמורתו כיעור. ואף על פי שהמליך כל אחת ואחת את של בגדכפרת ועשאן שבעה דבורים מכל אחת ואחת דיבור עשה שבע מאות ועשרים דבורים כסדר שכתבנו למעלה בראשונה. כיצד בגדכפרת. אם יתגלגלו האותיות פנים ואחור בהשמת ב' בתחלת הדבור יוצאים ממנו שבע מאות ועשרים דבורים וכמו כן בהשמת גימל בראש הדבור וכמו כן בהשמת ד' בראש הדבור וכמו כן בהשמת כ' בראש הדבור וכמו כן

N 1 באחרונה בסוף הדבור וכמו כן אם תשים N 3 אם תשים אות ר' N 5 כסדר האמור למעלה 8 וכן כל האותיות *FLMNP* || *FNP* זהו יסוד ובנין האבנים | *M* זהו סוד ובענין האבנין || *NM* ואין סוף ותכלית | *EP* ואין סוף ותכלית 9 *FNP* למספר חשבון מנינם || *FM* של דבור *L* (שבע) *F 11* (אחד) || *M* וצר לו *P 12* ותמורת מות *L 13* וצרף את שבע האותיות *L 14* ואחד בשבת שניה *L* וקשר לו קשר כתר *L 15* (זו בזו) *L 17* וקשר לו קשר כתר | *P* (כתר) *P* (עוד) *M 18* (בשנה) *P 19* ותמורת *N* המליך את ע' *P 20* (וכנהו) *LN 21* וזרע ותמורתו שממה *L 22* ועשאן עוד דבור חמישי שיש *P* (ששי) *M* (וכנהו) *P 24* קשר לו את ק' [?] כתר *L 25* (ויום) *M* (בשבת) *P 26* (של) *LN* כל אחת ואחת (אות) של בגדכפרת *M 27* מאות ועשרים כתי' [ובים?] || *FP* (דבורים) | *L* דבורים כמו שכתבנו למעלה בראשונה | *N* (דבורים) כסדר שכתבנו למעלה בראשונה כבר (כיצד בגדכפרת) *F 28* ואם יתגלגלו *N 29* (ממנו) *P 30* וכמו כן בהשמת ב' בתחלת הדבור יוצאים ממנו ג בראש הדבור

בהשמת פ' בראש הדבור וכמו כן בהשמת ר' בראש הדבור וכמו כן בהשמת ת' בראש הדבור. הנה חשבון כלם כשתגלגלם עולה לחמשת אלפים וארבעים דבורים. **ומהם נחקקו ונוצרו בעולם שבעה הכוכבים האלה שצ"ם חנכ"ל ושבעה רקיעים להיות מעונותם של שבעה הכוכבים האלה ושבע ארצות להיות בממשלת שבעה הכוכבים האלה ובשנה שבע שעות של יום ושל לילה להיות בממשלת שבעה הכוכבים האלה** 5 **ובנפש שבעה שערים כדמות שבעה הכוכבים האלה. כי כאשר לא יכון העולם להיות בלא שבעה הכוכבים האלה ובלא שבעה רקיעים שהם מעונותם של שבעה הכוכבים ובלא שבע ארצות ולא יכון השנה להיות בלא שבע השעות ובלא שבעת ימי השבוע כן לא תכון הנפש להיות בלא שבעה שערים האלה וכל אחד אחד דבר מהם נוצר כסדר בשורתו. נוצר המים כסדרן זה אחר זה ונוצרו הרקיעים כסדרן ביום שני זה על** 10 **על זה. נוצרו שבעה כוכבים הם שצ"ם חנכ"ל בליל רביעי כסדרן במעונותם זה על זה. נוצרו שבעה שערים האלה בנפש כסדרן ביום ששי. נוצרו שבעה הדברים שכתבנו הצריכים לגוף ביום ששי וגם תמורתם נוצרו ביום ששי וכלן שבעה שבעה הם. לפיכך חבב אלהים שבעה לכל חפץ תחת כל השמים ככתוב מכל הבהמה הטהורה תקח** 15 **לך שבעה שבעה [בראשית ז ב] וכתוב שבעת ימים תאכל מצות [שמות יג ו] וכתוב שבעה שבועות תספר לך [דברים טז ט] וכתוב שבעת ימים תחג לה' אלהיך [שם ש טו] וכתוב שבעת ימים יהיה עם אמו [שמות כב כט] וכתוב מקץ שבע שנים תעשה שמיטה [דברים טו א] וכתוב שבעת ימים תהיה בנדתה [ויקרא טו יט] ואחרים הרבה כמותם. החצה האלהים את שלשת העדים האלה להעיד כי הוא אלהים ואין זולתו.** 20 **עולם לבדו בפני עצמו מעיד עליו. שנה לבדה בפני עצמה מעידה עליו ונפש לבדה בפני עצמה מעידה עליו. אלה השלשה עדים מעידים עליו כי הוא אלהים אחד ואין לו שני ואין עוד מלבדו. שבע כפולות בגדכפרת. נוצר עם בית שבתאי ושבת ופה וחיים ומות. נוצר עם גימל צדק ואחד בשבת ועין ימין ושלוש ומלחמה. נוצר עם דלת מאדים ושני בשבת ועין שמאל וחכמה ואולת. נוצר עם כף חמה ושלישי בשבת ואף ימין ועושר ועוני. נוצר עם פה נוהג ורביעי בשבת ואף שמאל וזרע ושממה. נוצר עם ריש כוכב** 25

FMNP 2 וכן ד' וכן כ' וכן פ' וכן ר' וכן ת'. חשבון כלם *F* כהתגלגלם *FMNP* 3 (האלה) *L* 4 (האלה) *F* (ושבע..חאלה) *N* להיות מעונותם של ז' רקיעים האלה | *M* להיות תחת ממשלת ז' כוכבי הללו *P* שבעה הכוכבים (האלה) ובשנה *MN* 5 (ובשנה... הכוכבים האלה) *P* 6 כדמות (שבעה) *F* (כי..חאלה) ובלא *L* 7 כדמות שבעה בלא שבעת הכוכבים האלה *L* הם מעונותם *F* (של שבעה הכוכבים) *P* 8 ולא יכון העולם *F* ולא תכון השנה *LP* (להיות) *M* להי בלא שבועות ובלא ז' ימי השבוע *N* (בלא שבע השעות... הנפש להיות בלא) שבעה שערים *L* ובלא שבעת ימים *P* 9 (להיות) *M* שערי האלו. וכן מכל אלו נסדרו ובצורתו ובתשורתו נוצרו *N* וכל דבר מאחד מהם *FNP* (נוצר) *L* 10 הרקיעים בראש ביום השני *L* 11 שבעה כוכבים בליל רביעי האלה שצ"ם חנכ"ל *M* 12 בתחלה נוצרו המים כסדרן זה אחר זה *M* (בנפש) *F* 13 (תמורתם) *M* (הם) *F* 14 חבב הב"ה | חבב אלהים את יום השביעי לכל חפץ תחת השמים | *M* חבב אלהי' השביעי *LN* שביעי *L* (כל) *P* 15 שבעת ימים מצות תאכלו *F* (וכתוב שבעה שבועות...אלהיך) *L* 16 (תספר לך... אלהיך) *P* שבעת ימים תהיה עם יי אלהיך *FP* 18 (תעשה שמיטה) *L* ואחרים שכמותם לפיכך חבב אלהים שביעי לכל חפץ השמים הראה [1] האל את שלשת העדים... *N* 19 החצה הק' ב'ה | *M* (האלהים) *FP* את שלשה *P* להעיד עליו כי הוא *F* זולתו לאל *N* 20 (שנה לבדה בפני עצמה מעידה עליו) *L* מעידה עליו הנה שלשת העדים מעידים *M* 21 אלה שלשה עדי' מעיד' עליו נאמנ' | *N* אלה שלשת עדים נאמנ' מעידים עליו *F* (עדים) *FLP* (עליו) *L* (אלהים) *MN* | אלהים חיים ומלך עולם *N* 23 (ועין ימין ושלוש ומלחמה. נוצר עם דלת מאדים ושני בשבת) *N* ועין ואף ימין *M* 24 ועין שמאל וחכמ' ותמורתו אולת *F* 25 עושר ועוני *F* ושמימן

חמה וחמישי בשבת ואזן ימין וחן וכיעור. נוצר עם תיו לבנה וששי בשבת ואזן שמאל
 וממשלה ועבדות. זה פירוש בגדכפרת. נגמר הספר השני וזה פירושו. ואף על פי שנוצר
 עם אות בית שבתאי ושבת ופה וחיים ומות אינו מושל שבתאי בחיים ולא בפה אלא ביום
 שבת ובליל רביעי ובעושר ובעוני ובאף השמאלי. ועל זה הנולד בשבתאי קשה לכעוס
 5 וקשה לרצות על אשר יהיה כחו של שבתאי קר ויבש למאד ככח הארץ וככח המרה
 השחורה השוכנת בטחול בצד שמאל. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות גימל צדק ויום ראשון
 בשבת ועין ימין ושלום ומלחמה ורעה אינו מושל צדק אלא ביום חמישי בשבת ובליל
 שני ובחיים ובשלום ובאזן הימנית להודיע בשמיצה לגוף את שלומו וטובתו ועל זה יהיה
 כח של צדק ממוסך חם ולח ככח הדם הנובע ממקורות הכבד השוכן בצד הימני וככח
 10 הרוח שבאוויר המתווך בנתים בין החום ובין הקור. ועל זה יהיה הנולד בו קשה לכעוס
 ונוח לרצות. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות דלת מאדים ושני בשבת ועין שמאל וחכמה
 ואולת אינו מושל מאדים אלא ביום שלישי בשבת ובליל שבת ובאף הימני על אשר
 עולה החמה באף ככתוב תעלה חמתי באפי [יחזקאל לח יח]. ועל זה מושל במלחמה
 ובשממה ועל זה יהיה הנולד בו נוח לכעוס ונוח לרצות על אשר יהיה כחו של מאדים
 15 חם ויבש כאש הנבערת מהרה ונכבת מהרה וככח המרה האדומה השוכנת בכבד בצד
 הימני. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות כף חמה ושלישי בשבת ואף ימין ועושר ועוני אינה
 מושלת החמה אלא ביום אחד בשבת ובליל חמישי ובעושר ובממשלה ובעבדות של
 כל מלאכה ופעולה ובעין הימין. ועל זה יהיה הנולד בה נוח לכעוס וקשה לרצות על
 אשר יהיה כחה של חמה חם ויבש ככח האש הגדולה והחזקה הנבערת מהרה ונכבת
 20 באיחור. ועל זה יהיה מאור העין הימנית יותר ממאור העין השמאלית. ואף על פי
 שנוצר עם אות פא נוגה ורביעי בשבת ואף שמאל וזרע ושממה אינה מושלת נוגה אלא
 ביום ששי בשבת ובליל שלישי ובאזן השמאלית להודיע בשמיצה לגוף שמחה וגילה
 על שהשחוק בטחול ועל שעוברים מי משתה מתוך גידי הטחול ועל זה מושלת בזרע
 ובפריה ורביה וגילה ושמחה ובתאוה כי כח נוגה קר ולח ככוח המים ועל זה יהיה הנולד
 25 בו קשה לכעוס ונוח לרצות כי השמחה מארכת האף. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות ריש
 כוכב חמה וחמישי בשבת ואזן ימין וחן וכיעור אינו מושל כוכב חמה אלא ביום רביעי
 בשבת ובליל ראשון ובפה ובלשון ובשפתים ובחכמה ובאולת בחכמה כתוב פי צדיק
 יהגה חכמה ולשונו תדבר משפט [תהלים לו ל] ובאולת כתוב נצר לשונך מרע ושפתיך

1 FNP ואזן ימין וממשלה ועבדות | M ואזן ימין וממשלה ותמורתו עבדות 2 NP ואזן שמאל וחן וכיעור |
 F (ואזן שמאל) וחן וכיאור | M ואזן שמאל וחן ותמורתו כיעור || M (זה פירוש בגדכפרת) | L (פירוש)
 M וזה פירושו לברכ' יהיה אמן | L (זה פירושו) | P 3 (אות) F (ופה) M אלא מושל 4 L ובמות
 ובעוני P ועל זה יהיה הנולד MN הנולד בשבת || M כעס קשה לכעוס 5 F על אשר יש כחו של שבת
 M (למאד) F 6 (השוכנת) 7 FMNP (ומלחמה) MP (בשבת) 8 F את שלותו 9 M כוחו של
 צדק... חם ולח כן הדם || F מן המקורות שלהכבד 10 M כח הרוח || M (בנתים) FM (יהיה) F (בו)
 11 M שהנוצר P 12 בשבת אלא בשלישי L 14 (יהיה) MN לרצות מפני שכחו של מאדים חם ויבש
 P (יהיה) 15 P (ונכבת מהרה) L 16 (ובעושר) P 17 ובעבדות שכל מלאכה ועבדות ופעולה ועין
 הימני | M ובעבדות שכל מלאכה P 18 הנולד בו | L (הנולד בה נוח) M 19 (יהיה) P || הנבערת
 מהרה ונכבוש וכבית באיחור 21 FLMN (אות) F וזרע ושמן 23 PM בתוך גידי הטחול || M ועל
 זה מושל 24 M ושמחה ותאוה || M כי כח הקור קר ולח | L כי כחה קר ולח | F קר ולח כמים N (נוגה)
 P ועל כן (יהיה) הנולד בו | F (יהיה הנולד בו) 25 F (אות) P 27 (בחכמה) FL 28 (ולשונו תדבר
 משפט) L (כתוב) FL (ושפתיך מדבר מרמה)

מדבר מרמה [שם לד' יד] וכתוב דברי פי חכם חן ושפתות כסיל תבלענו [קהלת י
 יב] כי נבל ונבלה ידבר ולבו יעשה און לעשות חונף [ישעיה לב ו]. מזה אתה למד
 כי החכמה תלויה בפה. אם הוא חכם גדול ושותק לא נשמעת חכמתו ואם הוא אויל
 מחריש לא נשמעת אולתו וכתוב גם אויל מחריש חכם יחשב [משלי יז כח]. וגם זה יהיה
 הנולד בו קשה לכעוס וקשה לרצות אבל לא כשבתאי כי כחו של כוכב חמה קר ויבש
 5 כקרח וככפור הנמסים. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות תו לבנה וששי בשבת ואוזן שמאל
 וממשלה ועבדות אינה מושלת לבנה אלא ביום שני בשבת ובליל ששי ובעין השמאלית
 ובחן ובכיעור בחן על מילוא ובכיעור על חסרונה ומיעוטה וכחה כמתווך וממוסך
 מעט חם ולח ומעט קר ולח כמימי השלג הנמסים. וסדר מעונותם של שבעה כוכבים
 האלה בשבעה רקיעים כן הוא בסדר שצ"ם חנכ"ל. כיצד. ברקיע העליון שעל כלן
 10 הוא השביעי הנושא את המים העליונים תהיה מעונתו של שבתאי. וברקיע השני שתחתיו
 תהיה מעונתו של צדק. וברקיע השלישי שתחתיו תהיה מעונתו של מאדים. וברקיע
 הרביעי שתחתיו היא התיכונה תהיה מעונתו של חמה. וברקיע החמישי שתחתיו תהיה
 מעונתו של נוגה וברקיע הששי שתחתיו תהיה מעונתו של כוכב חמה. וברקיע השביעי
 שתחתיו תהיה מעונתו של לבנה. ואם תחשבם מלמטה למעלה העליון הוא השביעי.
 15 ואם תחשבם מלמעלה למטה התחתון הוא השביעי והחשבון הנכון כן הוא שתחשבם
 מלמטה למעלה. וכחם של שבעה כוכבים האלה לפי רום המעונה של כוכב כן הוא
 כחן הכוכבים החמים מקבלים החום מן החמה והקרים מקבלים הקור מן המים והארץ.
 כיצד. כל הכוכבים מאש הגדול והחזק שבכלם הוא החמה והיא סדורה ברקיע הרביעי
 20 הוא התיכוני והאמצעי ומנהגה ודרכה של אש וחזקה כן הוא לעולם להעלות החום
 והלהב מלמטה למעלה יותר משלמעלה למטה. שבתאי סדור ברקיע שתחת המים
 העליונים והוא מקבל הקור עד מאד מן המים העליונים ועל אשר הוא ברום עד למאד
 ברחוק מן החמה אינו מקבל חום מאומה מן החמה והוא קר ויבש כמו ברד וכפור.
 ומאדים על אשר הוא ברקיע החמישי ממעל לחמה מקבל חום עד מאד מן החמה והוא
 25 חם ויבש כאש. וצדק על אשר הוא ברקיע הששי והוא כמתווך בין הקור של שבתאי

N 1 (וכתוב דברי פי חכם... כסיל תבלענו) FL 2 (ולבו יעשה און לעשות חונף) P | ידבר בו ולבו
 יעשה און MN | לעשות חונף ולדבר אל ה' תועה P 3 אם הוא חכם גדול ושותק ולא יכעיס ושמעה
 חכמתו F | אם הוא חכם גדול ושותק ואינו כועס נשמעת חכמתו M | אם הוא חכם גדול ושותק ולא יכעוס
 נשמעת תהלתו חכמתו N | אם הוא חכם גדול ושותק ולא יכעוס נשמעת חכמתו P (אויל) L 4 יהיה
 הנולד בכוכב חמה N | יהיה P 5 קשה לכעוס לרצות F | ונוח לרצות L (אבל לא כשבתאי) P | קר
 ולח L 6 (אות) P | יום ששי בשבת F 7 (לבנה) LP | ביום שני בשבת ובליל חמישי F 8 (ובחן)
 ובכיוור M | בעין על מילוא P (חסרונה) P 9 כמימי שלך [!] שלג הנמסים L | הנמס N | הנמס F של
 'ז' הכוכבים L 11 של תהיה FP | תהיה מעונתו (של שבתאי... תהיה מעונתו של) צדק FM 13 וברקיע
 החמישי (שתחתיו) תהיה L | יהיה FM 15 וברקיע החמישי (שתחתיו) תהיה FM (ואם תחשבם... העליון
 הוא השביעי) P | מלמטה למעלה מזה העליון F 16 והחשבון הנכון בעיני כן הוא P (כן הוא) N |
 תחשבם P 17 וכחם של שבעה הכוכבים האלה לפי רום המעונתו של כוכב L | כחות של שבעה כוכבים
 האלה לפי רום המעונה של כוכב כן הוא כחו F 18 כן הוא כחו M | מקבלים כחם והחום מן החמה
 P 19 והכוכבים קרים מקבלים הקור מן המים הקרים ומן הארץ M | מאש הגדול והחזק שבעולם N | מאש
 והגדול והחזק L | מאש הם והגדול והחזק היא החמה והיא ברקיע הרביעי התיכוני והאמצעי $FMNP$ 21
 והלהב מלרע לעיל P | יותר משלמעלה למטה P 22 והם מקבלים הקור L | עד מאד F 23 (אינו
 מקבל... מאד מן החמה) P 24 חום עד למאד N 25 (ברקיע)

ובין החום של מאדים הוא כחו ממוסך בינוני לא חם לרוב ולא קר לרוב והוא חם ולח. הלח מקבל מן הקור של שבתאי והחום מן מאדים. ולבנה סדורה ברקיע התחתון אשר מעלינו ומקבלת את הקור מן הארץ ומן המים התחתונים ועל אשר ברום מאד למעלה מן הארץ ומן המים התחתונים איננה קרה כשבתאי ויש ללבנה חום מעט כי מקבלת חום מעט מן המזלות ומן כוכבי צבאותיהם וחיילותיהם הנתונים ברקיע התחתוני עם הלבנה. ועל זה יהיה כחה של לבנה ממוסך בקור וחום. ושבתאי קר לרוב על אשר יהיו המים העליונים על פני הרקיע השביעי ובו המים נתונים כמו בכלי ולא העלה אותם האלהים על פני הרקיע השביעי כי אם לתקנת הברואים שבארץ ושבימים שלא היו יכולים לחיות אפילו רגע קטן ומוזער כי היו נשרפים מפני חום האש הגדולה והחזקה שעל השמים העליונים אבל מרוב הרום ומרוב שפעת המים העליונים ומעובי הרקיע הוזה החלוק לשבעה רקיעים הוא המבדיל בין מים למים בין מים העליונים למים התחתונים וסובלות הבריות לחיות מתחת האש הגדולה ההיא כי הבריות אינן יכולות לסבול בימי הקיץ אפילו חום השמש שהוא מאש קלה מן האש ההיא וכל שכן לסבול את חום האש ההיא. ועל זה ברא אלהים מתחלת בריית בראשית את רומו של עולם לאין חקר ושיעור והמים העליונים והתחתונים לאין חקר ושיעור ומדה. וגם השמש הוא החמה על כן קבעו וסדרו ברקיע הרביעי הוא התיכוני והאמצעי לתקנת הבריות והצמחים להיות בנתים בין הקור של מעלה ובין החום של מטה כדי שיהיו יכולין לסבול חמתו כי לא יכוננו בלי חום ובלי קור אלא להיות חום השמש מלמעלה וקור הארץ מלמטה. ועל אשר תהיה הלבנה ברחוק מתחת לחמה אינה מקבלת חום מאומה מן החמה והיא קרה כשלג הנמס ומקבלת חום מן המזלות ומחיילותיהם ומצבאותיהם ועל זה יהיה כחה אמצעי כמתווך וממוסך לקור ולחום. כוכב חמה סדור ברקיע השני אשר מעל הלבנה והוא קר וחם מעט קר אשר מקבל הקור מן הלבנה וחם כי מקבל החום מן המזלות ומחיילותיהם אשר תחתיו ועל אשר הוא הולך תמיד קרוב לחמה בין מלפניה בין מלאחריה. ונוגה סדורה ברקיע השלישי אשר מעל לכוכב חמה מתחת לחמה והיא

P_1 ובין הכעס של מאדים יהיה כחו ממוסך F ולא קר לרוב והוא חם ולא הלח מקבל מן הקור ... P_2 (הלח) מקבל M הלח הוא מקבל N_3 ברקיע אשר מעלינו ומקבל מהקור מן הארץ P ומקבל הקור של שבתאי מן הארץ F ומקבל מן הקור מן הארץ MN (ועל אשר ברום מאד למעלה מן הארץ ומן המים התחתונים) P_4 (מאוד) F היא ברום למאוד N אבל איננה קרה כשבתאי F חום כמעט מקבלת חום NP (כי מקבלת חום מעט) M חום מעט ומקבלת חום מעט M_7 על אשר יהיו מים העליוני P על אשר יהיה יהיו N (ובו המים) P ובו חם המים L ובו היו נתונים F (כמו) F_8 כי אם בתקנת שבארץ ושבימים M כי אם לתקנת הארץ והימים P (הברואים) P_9 שלא היו יכלו לחיות L אפילו רגע אחד קטן ומוזער N אפי' S [?] רגע קטן EMN מפני כח האש P מפני כח האש האחד הגדולה והחזקה M_{11} ומרוב עובי הקיע M (בין מים למים) F_{12} (לחיות) P_{13} (בימי הקיץ אפילו חום... לסבול) N אפילו החום שהיא מאש אלא מהאש EMN (השמש) L_{14} (בריית) L_{15} ושיעור ומדה F והמים העליונים והמים התחתונים MN (והמים העליונים והתחתונים) L לאין חקר ומדה N עד השמש M וגם השמש הוא חם L_{16} ברקיע השביעי LP_{17} בין הקור של מעלה ובין הקור של מטה L_{18} מבלי חום ובלי קור M חום השמש שלמעלה וקור הארץ שלמטה M_{19} מתחת החמה P מתחת (לחמה) L_{20} והיא קרה כשמש הנמס M (יהיה) P ועל זה יהיה כחה של לבנה כמתווך וממוסך MN_{21} כמתווך וממוסך לקור וחום M אשר ממעל לחמה והוא קר ולח N אשר מעל ללבנה P_{22} כמעט L כמעלו אשר מקבל הקור M ומיט חם כי מקבל החום מהמזלות ומחיילותיהם אשר עליו L ויום על אשר מקבל חום L_{23} (הוא) L הולך תמיד נגד לחמה L_{24} והיא מתחת לחמה והיא קרה [?]
וחמה קור על אשר מתקבלת הקור על אשר...

חמה וקרה. קרה על אשר מתקבלת הקור מכוכב חמה ומן הלבנה אבל מתחממת מעט מתחת מן החמה ונמס קרתה מפני חום החמה שעליה. ועל זה היא קרה ולחה כמים. ולפי הכח שיש להם לשבעה הכוכבים האלה כן יהיה אף ממשלתן וכח מעשיהם וכח התולדות של בני אדם וכח הארצות אשר מושלים עליהם. כיצד. שבתאי על אשר הוא קר ויבש למאד נתמנה על המיתה ועל העוני כי המת קר הוא למאד והעוני גופו ולבו כמת ונתמנה על יום השבת שאין בו מלאכה ופעל ונתמנה על העצלות כי הקור הרב עושה את האדם ואת הצמחים עצלים ומאחרים וקודרים ונדאגים וחולים. ועל זה נתמנה על הרעה והוא למשה. צדק על אשר הוא חם ולח וממוסך בכחו נתמנה על החיים ועל השלום כי החיים ממוסכים הם לא חמים לרוב ולא קרים לרוב ולא יבשים לרוב ולא לחים לרוב וכל עת אשר יהיה הזמן ממוסך כן יהיו גם הבריות והצמחים בשלום ובשלוח ובחשקט בגילה ובשמחה בעלו ובעושר וביופי ובכבוד ובגדולה ובמלכות ובמרפא ועל זה נתמנה על הטובה ונתמנה על יום חמישי שנבראו בו העופות והדגים והתנינים והשקצים והרמשים שהם בעלי חיים כי עד יום חמישי לא נברא דבר בעולם בעל חיים ונשמה והוא לאהרון. מאדים על אשר הוא חם ויבש כאש נתמנה על החמה ועל האף ועל הקצף כי החמה נבערת מרוב חום המרה אדומה ומתוך החמה נעשת המריבה והקטטה והקנאה והשנאה והאיבה והתחרות והחבורות והמכות והפצעים ושפיכות דמים והמלחמה ועל זה הוא ממונה על החרב ועל הברזל ועל הרשע ועל השטן ועל האש ועל השרפה ועל החנקה ועל המפולת ועל השממה ונתמנה על יום שלישי על אשר נקוו המים בו ונראתה הארץ והאבנים אשר מהם תצא האש והברזל ונבראו בו האילנות ועשבים המבעירים האש והוא לדוד וכל סוד משיח אצלו. חמה על אשר היא אש והיא מתוּיך בתוך הרקיע הרביעי. כחה ממוסך מארבעה דברים מקר ולח חם ויבש ולפי כחה יהיה כח של ארבע עתות השנה שהם קור וחום וקיץ וחורף ועל זה היא ממוסכת בארבעה דברים האלה ועל תקנת העולם ותקנת הבריות והצמחים כי חום והיובש יש לה ממשלה על אשר היא אש והקור מקבלת מן הרום הרב שעליה מן המים העליונים

P 1 (חמה וקרה) P (מעט) 2 FMNP (מן החמה) 3 M וכפי MNP שיש להם לאלו הכוכבים | F שיש להם לכוכבים האלה P 4 של בני אדם הנוגדים בהם וכח הארצות 5 N (נתמנה על... קר הוא למאד) M והעוני ג' כ גופו ולבו כמת | P גופו ולבו קרים כמת 6 EM (על יום השבת... ונתמנה) P עושה בני האדם עצלים | F עושה את האדם ואת העצבים עצלים | M עושה את האדם ואת הפועלי' עצלים | N עושה את האדם ואת העשבי' עצלים 7 N נתמנה על החיים והשנו | L נתמנה על החיים והשלום | P נתמנה [!] על החיים 9 L (ולא יבשים לרוב) 10 M ובכל עת | L וכל עת אשר יהיה הזמן ממוסך לא יבשים לרוב כן יהיה... P על הזמן ממוסך F גם כן יהיו F בשלום ובגילה ובעושר וביופי ובכבוד ובגדולה וכה שקע [!] ובמנוחה ובמרפא ועל זה | L בשלום בהשקט בגילה בשמחה בעושר ביופי בכבוד בגדולה מלכות ובמרפא 11 N ובשמחה בעושר ובעושר ביופי בגדולה ובמלכות ובמרפא M ובמלכות וברביא 12 L על שנבראו בו 13 P והדגים והתנינים והצק [!] והשקצים P (נברא) FMNP (בעולם) 14 FNP ונשמות | M ונשמת רוח P והוא היא לאהרון P חם ויבש כאש ותמות [!] על הארץ ועל החמה 16 M והקנאה והשנאה ומריבה והתחרות 17 M ועל זה הוא מורה על החרב LP (הוא) P נתמנה 19 P על אשר נתמנו המים | M על אשר נתמנו המים בו | L על שנקוו המים בו ביום F על אשר נקוו בו המים P אשר מהם תצא מקור והחום והברזל ביום האילנות... F האילנות... דבר שהוא דק ורקיק שהוא חי) | MN ונבראו בו ביום האילנות 20 MN וכל יסוד משיח אצלו L (אצלו) 21 L (מתוּיך) MP בין הרקיע P ממוסך מן מקור ומלח מחום לפי כחה | M כחה ממוג ומתוך מארבעתם ר' ל מקר ולח | N (הרביעי) כחה ממוסך מקר ולח חם ויבש L מחום ויבש 23 M (דברים) NL (כי) 24 P יש למטה לממשלת | M יש לממשלה | N יש לה ממשלת MNP והקור מקבלת מן החום הרב L מן המים העליונים הרוח לחלוץ מקבלת מן ראית

והלחלוח מקבלת מן רווית האויר ומלחלוח העולה מן המים התחתונים ככתוב ואד יעלה מן הארץ [בראשית ב ו]. ועל אשר היא ממוסכת מארבע דברים האלה נתמנה על המאור להבדיל בין היום ובין הלילה ומפני אורה מתכסה אור הלבנה וגם הכוכבים בלי להראות לפנייה ועל אשר יהיה אורה גדולה יותר מן הלבנה ויותר מכל הכוכבים ונתמנה על הממשלה ועל המלכות ועל ההלוך ממקום למקום ועל כל מלאכה ופעולה ועבודה כי ביום נעשה כל דבר עבדות יותר מן הלילה כי הלילה לא נתנה כי אם ליום ולהשקט מכל דבר ולנום ולישן ועל זה נתמנה על יום אחד בשבת על אשר הוא היום אחר השבת שבו שבות ממלאכה ומעשה והוא למלכים. נוגה על אשר היא קרה ולחה כמים ומתחממת מעט מחום החמה שעליה נתמנה על התאווה ועל החמדה ועל החסד ועל החן ועל האהבה כמו שהם המים בעת שרואים אותם הבריות שמחים וששים וגלים עליהם ונושאים חן וחסד בעיניהם ובלבם ומתאווים וחומדים ועורגים הבריות והצמחים לשתות מהם להתרוות ולהתחדר ולהתלחלח ולהתרחץ בהם ועל זה נתמנה על תאווה היצר והמשגל ועל הזרע ועל פריה ורבייה באדם ובבהמה ועל פירות הארץ ועל פירות האילן ועל הצמחים כי כל אלה לא יכוננו לחיות בלא לחלוח ועל זה נתמנה גם על הגילה ושמחה ועל השחוק כי אם יהיה האדם דואג וקודר ולא ישמח לבו לשמוח ולגיל איננו מתאוה המשגל ועל כן נתמנה על יום ששי בשבת על אשר נבראו בו אדם וחיה ונתנה להם שמחה וגילה וששון ותאווה הדבוק ומשגל ופריה ורבייה ועל זה נתמנתה גם זאת על הטובה והיא ללוים. כוכב חמה על אשר הוא קר וחם ויבש ולח מעט כי מקבל קור מן הלבנה שהיא קרה כשגל והיובש והחום מקבל מן המזלות והכוכבים אשר תחתיו והלח מקבל מעט מנוגה שהיא קרה ולחה כמים. על אשר מתחממת מעט מן החמה אך אינו כוכב חמה קר ויבש וחם ולח לרוב אלא למעט והוא ממוסך ועל זה נתמנה על החכמה ועל השכל ועל בינה ועל הדעת ולימוד לפתוח כל פתח ולחשוב מחשבות בכל מלאכת אומנות ועל הכתב של כל לשון ועל אשר הוא כוכב חמה לא קר ולא יבש לרוב ולא חם ולא לח לרוב. כי אם יהיה קר ויבש לרוב היה מעצל את הלב ומדאיג ומקדיר את הרוח ואת הדעת מלהבין ומלחשוב כל מחשבת חכמה ומלאכת אומנות ומכתב כמו שעושה שבתאי ברוב קרתו ויובשו. ואף על פי שמדאיג ומקדיר שבתאי את הגוף והדעת חושב מחשבות להרע בסתר ולא להטיב אך מתעצל הוא לגמור את

$M 1$ וגם הלחלוח $MN 2$ יעלה מן הארץ והשקט את כל פני האדמה P ועל זה היא ממוסכת $L 3$ מתכסה אור הלבנה ומתכסים הכוכבים $P 4$ ולא יכלו לראות לפניו N יהיה אורה גדולה P יהיה אורה יותר מאור הלבנה ויותר מאור הכוכבים $P 6$ כי ביום נעשים M כל דבר עבודה M (לא) נתנה $P 7$ ולהשקט ועל דבר לנום ולישן P (זה) $M 8$ ועל אחר הוא היום אחר השבת M והוא למלכים ולשרים $P 9$ (מעט) $L 10$ כמו שרואים M שרואים אותם הבהמות $M 11$ ונושאי חן וחסד בלבם עליהן בעיניהן ומתאווין $L 12$ להתרוות ולהתקרר ולהתלחלח ולהתרחץ L נתמנה על תאווה הבריות הרבה והמשגל $P 13$ באדם ובהמה L ועל פירות האילן והצמחים $LM 14$ כי כל אלה לא יכוננו להיות P כי כל אלה לא יכלו לחיות P (זה) $L 15$ (ועל השחוק) M (האדם) $P 16$ ולא יתאוה המשגל LNP ועל זה M נתמנה על ו' בשבת $P 18$ ועל זאת נתמנתה גם זאת על הטובה L והוא ללוים N (וחם) $M 19$ שהיא קשה כשגל MNP מן (המזלות) $P 20$ והלחות מקבל מעט מנוגה N (שהיא) $LM 21$ מעט $L 22$ ועל השכל ועל בינה ועל הדעת ועל המדע לפתוח N ועל הדעת ועל הלמוד $M 23$ ועל הכתב של לשון N ועל הכתב (של כל לשון) P (כל) L כוכב חמה וחם לא $?$ לרוב ולא יבש לרוב ולא לח לרוב $P 24$ לא קר לרוב ולא יבש לרוב NP כי אם היה קר ויבש $P 27$ הדעת MN ואת הדעת חושב L חושב מחשבות P ולא בסתר ולא להטיב

המחשבה. ואם היה כוכב חמה חם לרוב כמאדים היה מתחרחר M (לחשוב) מריבת וגם מלחמות P ומלחמות ורעות ולא היה מאריך רוחו לישא וליתן בדעתו לחשוב מחשבות חכמה ודעת כי הוא כאש הלוהטת בקש. ואם היה כוכב חמה ממוסך בחום וקור ולח כצדק לא היה חושב מחשבות חכמה להתייגע בלהג או בכתב או במלאכות אומנות כי אם לחיות חיים טובים בשלום ובשלוה ובהשקט ובגדולה. ואם היה כוכב חמה קר ולח כנוגה היה מחשב מחשבות תאות המשגל ותאות שמחה וגילה וכל חמדה והיה רועה אחרי מחשבות האלה ולא אחרי מחשבות חכמת ודעת ותבונה. ואם היה כוכב חמה ממוסך לרוב בארבעה דברים בקר ולח וחם ויבש כחמה היה מנהיג את הלב למלוך ולמשול ולהלך ולפעול ולעמול בעבודת מלאכה ולא היה מנהיגו במחשבת חכמה ודעת ותבונה. ואם היה כחו של כוכב חמה ככח הלבנה היה משתנה בדעתו פעם להיות חכם פעם להיות אויל כמו שמשנתה הלבנה מכחה כי יש לה כח חן ממולדה עד חצי החודש ומחצי החודש ועד מולדה יש לה כח כיעור. וגם כוכב משתנה מכחו להיות פעם הוא זכר ופעם הוא נקבה בזמן שנכנס במזל זכר וזמן שנכנס במזל נקבה נעשה נקבה. ועל זה נתמנה על האולת ונתמנה על יום רביעי על אשר נבראו בו המאורות והכוכבים שצריכים חכמה וחשבון והוא לשלמה. לבנה אשר היא קרה כשלג כי מקבלת הקור מן הארץ ומן המים התחתונים ומן הרום שבין הארץ לרקיע הסדורה והנתונה בו הלבנה ונקפת הקור שלה כשלג והיא ממוסכת בחום על אשר מקבלת חום מן המזלות ומן כוכבי חיילותיהם הנתונים וסדורים עמה ברקיע התחתון במעונה של לבנה ועל זה אמר שמואל לבנה אמצעיתם על אשר היא ממוסכת מקר וחום. ועוד על אשר מתמלאה משעת מולדה עד חצי החודש נתמנה על החן ועל הטובה. כיצד. קפאון קרתה שהיא כשלג מצמחת את הצמחים כמו השלג ככתוב כי כאשר ירד הגשם והשלג מן השמים [ישעיה נה י]. ועל אשר מתמלאה ועל אשר יש לה כח חם מעט נתמנתה על החן ועל הטובה כי מכח הלבנה נגרשים ונדשאים הצמחים והזרעים והפירות והמגדים ככתוב וממנד תבואות השמש וממנד גרש ירחים [דברים לג יד] ומכח מלואה מתמלאים המוחים של עצמות ומוח של ראש ומתרבה הדם ומימי הבורות והשיחים ומתגדל הכבוד והטחול ומתעבה כל דבר שהוא דק ורקיך שהוא חי. ונתמנתה על הכיעור על אשר מתחסרת מחצי החודש ועד

P 1 ואם היה כוכב חם לרוב כמאדים היה חם לרוב מתחרחר M (לחשוב) מריבת וגם מלחמות P לחשוב מרימת ומלחמות P 2 ולא היה מאריך כח כחו לישא M ולא היה מאריך כחו ורוחו לישא N ולא היה מאריך במ רוחו לישא P 3 ואם היה כוכב חם ולא לרוב ממוסך בחיים והשלום ולא כצדק M ואם היה כוכב חם ממוסך בחיי לא כצדק N ואם היה כוכב חמה ממוסך בחיים [?] כצדק P 4 לא היה חושב מחשבות מחכמה (להתייגע בלהג) L (חושב) M 5 וגם בהשקט ובגדולה MP קר ולא כנוגה MN 6 והיה נוטה N 7 ואם היה כוכב קר ולח ככוכב חמה ממוסך לרב בד' דברים בקר ולח וחם ויבש כחמה M 8 בד' דברים הללו M (ולהלך) P 10 (של כוכב חמה) MNP היה משתנה מדעתו L 11 (הלבנה) MN כי יש לה רוח חן ממולדה L ועד חצי M ומחצי החודש ועד מול ניגודה [?] יש לה כח כיעור N ומחצי החודש ועד מולדה יש לה רוח כיעור M 12 וגם כחו מכחו NP ופעם נקבה M 13 (בזמן שנכנס במזל זכר... נקבה נעשה נקבה) L | בזמן שיכנס במזל זכר נעשה זכר ומזל ומזל נקבה נעשה נקבה P 14 (על אשר נבראו... וחשבון) M 15 (וחשבון) L (היא) P מקבלת הקור מן השלג M 16 (ומן הרום) P (הרום) L 17 ונקפה האור שלה כשלג MNP 18 (וסדורים עמה) L 19 (ועוד) N (על) M מתמלאה מעת מולדה ועד חצי החדש P 20 ועל חצי החדש MNP מן קפאות קרתה N (שהיא) P 21 מן השמים ושמה לא ישוב L (ועל אשר מתמלאה) L 24 (וממנד גרש ירחים) P המוח של עצמות L ומוח הראש MN 25 (והשיחים) P | והשיחים והמערות FM ומתעבר כל דבר N 26 (שהוא חי) F כיאור

מולדה ומחסרת ומרקת ומרקקת כל חי המתמלא במלואה ועוד בשעת מולדה ובשעת
 התחלת חסורה משחתת הבגדים והמטוה הנטבלים במים והעצים הנכרתים בשעות
 ההם נבקעים ונרקבים מהרה. וגם הזרעים והפירות והנקצרים והנלקטים בשעות ההם
 נשחתים ונרקבים מהרה. וגם הצמר והשער שנגזו בשעות ההם נשחתים ונאכלים מעצמם
 5 מהרה. ועוד כל זמן ועת שהלבנה ברקיע מעל הארץ רעה היא לכל דבר. וכל עת שהיא
 הולך התהום מתחת לארץ טובה היא לכל דבר. וכל זמן שהולכת הלבנה עם כוכב
 טוב או עם מזל טוב טובה היא לכל דבר וכל זמן שהיא עם כוכב רע רעה היא לכל
 דבר. ומפני כל אלה נתמנתה על החן ועל הכיעור ועל הטובה ועל הרעה ועל מפתחי
 שמים וארץ וערכה לכל הבריות להעמידם לרעה ולטובה ונתמנתה על יום שני על
 10 שהוא קר כשלו יוש לו חום וגם נקפאו המים ביום שני ונברא הרקיע הזה שעלינו והוא
 ככפור וכקרח על אשר נבראה בו ביום האש של בשר ודם שנתנה לצורך תקנת הבריות
 ולטובה ולרעה. ועל אשר נבראה בו ביום האש של גהנם אשר נערכה לרשעים עוובי
 ה' לרעתם ולנקמת הצדיקים לטובתם. הנה למדת כחם של שבעה כוכבים כיצד הוא
 וכח ממשלתם לפי שבעת ימי השבוע בוא ולמוד למה מושל כוכב פלוני בליל פלוני
 15 ככתוב ה' בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה [משלי ג יט]. בראשית ברא אלהים את
 השמים ואת הארץ [בראשית א א] כלומר בתחלת שעה ראשונה בליל ראשון. ועל אשר
 מנה האלהים את כוכב חמה על החכמה מנהו למשול בליל ראשון בשעה ראשונה. ועל
 אשר עשה אלהים את הרקיע שעלינו בשעה ראשונה בליל שני והעלהו עם חצים של
 מים עד השמים העליונים לתקנת חיי הבריות שבארץ לסובבן בהן כדי שלא ישחתו
 20 מכח האש של מעלה ופנה את האויר של עולם להיות חלל כדי שיהיו הבריות בנושמת
 האויר כי בלא אויר וחלל אינם יכולים הבריות להיות להנשם ברוח לחיות אפילו שעה
 אחת כי אם יסתמו במקום צר שאין לו אויר מאומה מיד ימותו. ועל אשר נתמנה צדק
 על החיים והשלום והטובה ועל זה נתמנה למשול בשעה ראשונה של לילה השני. ועל

M 1 ועד מולדתה P (ומרקת) ומרקקת כל המתמלא במלוא L (ומרקקת) LM כל דבר חי P 2
 ובשעת תחלת חסורה P 3 (נבקעים) F | נבקעים ונרקבים ונשחתים הפירות L הנקצרים P | ונלקטים
 5 FN (ועת) FP (וכל עת שהיא...לכל שבר) | L וכל עת שהיא דרך התהום F 6 (היא) L ועוד כל
 זמן שהולכת P 7 וכל זמן שהלבנה שהיא עם כוכב רע N (היא) M 8 ומפני כל אלה נתנה על החן
 F | על החן? ועל הכיאר F 9 (וארץ) M | להעמידם לרעה או לטובה LNP 10 (קר) P | כשלו
 הוא קר ויש לה גם חום עם נקפאו המים MN | כשלו הוא קר ויש לו גם חום וגם נקפאו המים F | ויש לו
 גם חום $FMNP$ 11 נברא בו ביום האש P האש של בשר ודם שנשתנה לצורך $FMNP$ 12 ועל אשר
 נבראה בו ביום האש של גהנם M | אשר נערכה לכל רשעים MN 13 הא למדת F | הנה למדת כחם
 של שבעה כוכבים וכח ממשלתם | L הנה למדת כחם של 7 כוכבים וממשלתם כיצד הוא וכח ממשלתם
 L | כוכבים וממשלתם P 14 בו ולמוד F | למה מושל פלו' בליל פלוני' L | למה מושל כוכב פלוני
 ביום פלוני בוא ולמוד למה מושל כוכב פלוני ביום פלוני N 15 (ככתוב) F | (כונן שמים בתבונה) L |
 (בתבונה) FL 16 (את השמים ואת הארץ) L (כלומר) N | כלומר בתחלת שעה ראשונה) M | פ'
 בתחלת שעה ראשונה P 17 (חמה) P | מנה אותה למשול בליל ראשון בשעה ועל אשר עשה F (ועל)
 אשר עשה אלהים את הרקיע שעלינו בשעה ראשונה) N 18 את הרקיע הזה שעלינו L 19 תקנת חיי
 הבריות L 20 מכח חום האש של מעלה P | ופנה את אורו של עולם M | כדי שיהיו ויחיו הבריות FMP
 בנושמת הרוח | N בנושמת אויר הרוח L 21 כי אם לא באויר F | אינן יכולין הבריות לחיות להנשם
 ברוח להיות שעה ראשונה כי אם P | (הבריות) LN (אפילו) P 22 שעה ראשונה כי אם במקום צר שאין
 בו M | (כי) בלא אויר וחלל לפי שלא ויכלו הבריות לחיות לבלתי הנשמה ברוח M | במקום בני אדם או
 כל בריה חיה שבעולם במקום צר L | שאין להם אויר P | אויר (מאומה) מיד (ימותו) P 23 על החיים
 והשלום ועל הטובה | MN על החיים ועל השלום והטובה

אשר הקוה האלהים את המים התחתונים אל מקום אחד ונראתה היבשה בשעה ראשונה
 של לילה שלישי ובאותה שעה הצמיח האלהים מן הארץ כל עץ עושה פרי וכל עשב
 זורע זרע להיות לאכלה לבריות. ונתמנתה נוגה על הפירות ועל הזרעים והצמחים
 ועל זה נתמנתה עליו נוגה למשול בשעה ראשונה של לילה השלישי. ועל אשר נבראו
 הכוכבים והמזלות בשעה ראשונה בתחילת ליל רביעי וסדר האלהים אותם בשבעה
 מעונות של רקיע הזה שעלינו ובמעלה העליונה שעל כלם סדר את שבתאי ונבראו
 המאורות בפנה מערבית של עולם היא התיכונה אשר שם שוקעת החמה בתקופת ניסן
 ותשרי ומיד שקצו המאורות באותו הרגע של תחלת שעה ראשונה של ליל הרביעי והלכו
 כל הלילה אחרי גבהה של ארץ ממערב למזרח עד שהגיעו בבוקר יום רביעי לזרוח
 במזרח בשעה ראשונה. ועל אשר שקצו המאורות מיד ונתמנה שבתאי על החשך ועל
 המיתה ועל הרעה נתמנה למשול בשעה ראשונה של ליל רביעי על שהוא עליו על
 כלם וכל רעה נעשית בלילה יותר מביום ובני אדם ישנים בלילה ודומים למתים. ועל
 אשר שרצו המים בשעה ראשונה של ליל חמישי שרץ נפש חיה דגים ותנינים ועופות
 לכל מיניהם מכח חום החמה שחממה את הארץ ואת המים שרצו כמו שאנו רואים
 עד עתה כי מחום החמה מתחממים המים באגמים ובמעיינות ובמקואות הזורח עליהם
 השמש נשרצים ונולדים בהם תולעים וצפרדעים ועלוקות ודגים טהורים ומשוקצים
 ורוב מיני שרץ מאליהם בלא תולדת אב ואם. ועל אשר נתמנתה החמה על החום ועל
 המאורות להאיר לעיני הבריות החיות בכח הנשמה על זאת נתמנתה החמה למשול
 בשעה ראשונה של ליל חמישי. ועל אשר הוציאה הארץ בשעה ראשונה של ליל ששי
 נפש חיה למינה בהמה ורמש וחיתו ארץ למינם טובים ורעים המטיבים והמריעים ועלה
 במחשבת האל באותה שעה לבראות אדם היודע טוב ורע ונתמנתה הלבנה על הטובה
 ועל הרעה ועל החן ועל הכיעור וערכה היא לכל הבריות להעמידן לטובה ולרעה.
 ועל זה נתמנתה הלבנה למשול בשעה ראשונה של ליל ששי. מזה אתה למד כי נתנה
 רשות לבריות להרע ולהטיב. ועל אשר כלה האלהים כל מלאכתו ביום הששי שבת
 מכל מלאכתו בתחלת שעה ראשונה של ליל שבת וראה כי מפני היצר הרע שנתן לכל
 בריה כי אינם יכולים להיות בלא קנאה ושנאה ואיבה ותחרות ומריבה ורשע ושטנה
 (ראשונה) $F 26$ קנאה ושנאה [?] ואיבה ותחרות וקטטה ואינן יכולן לעמוד בלי אש

$L 1$ ועל אשר כנס האלהים LN בשעה ראשונה של יום שלישי $L 2$ (ובאותה שעה הצמיח... בשעה
 ראשונה של לילה השלישי) P וכל עשב מזרוע זרע לחיות לאכלה לבריות $F 3$ זורע זרע לאכול
 לבריות NP ועל הצמחים $P 4$ (עליו) P בשעה ראשונה של ליל השלישי שצמחו בה ועל אשר נבראו
 L ועל אשר נבראו המאורות והכוכבים והמזלות בשעה בתחילת ליל רביעי $P 5$ אותם ברקיע השמים
 בשבעה מעונות $L 6$ וממעלה העליונה P של כלם $L 7$ היא הפנה התיכונה $F 8$ מיד F באותו
 הרגל M שללילה הרביעי $P 9$ (גבהה) L גובהה של ארץ למערב ממערב למזרח $L 11$ ועל
 המיתה הרעה M שללילה הרביעי N של לילה הרביעי F שהוא עליון על כלן ועל רעה P והוא
 עליון על כלם וכל רעה L (עליו) $F 12$ ועל רעה נעשית יותר מביום L עותר מן הום [!] $L 14$ וכל
 מיניהם M מכח חום שלחמה שחממה L (את הארץ) $L 15$ F כי מכח P מתחממים המים בגאמים [!]
 ומעינות ובמקורות ובמקומות הזורח עליהם השמש L (באגמים) $L 16$ נשרצים ונולדו בהם P ודגים
 טרוהים $P 17$ ורוב מיני צר שרץ מאליהם F (על החום ועל המאורות... נתמנתה החמה) $L 18$ על
 החום ועל המאור P לא לעיני הבריות L כל בריות החיות ברוח נשמה MN ברוח נשמה P על זאת
 נתמנה החמה $MN 20$ וחיתו ארץ למינה... (טובים ורעים... ועלה במחשבת האל) $M 21$ באותה שעה
 לברוא האדם L (אדם) $M 22$ כדי להעמידם לטובה ולרעה $F 23$ (ששי. מזה אתה למד... של ליל
 שבת) $L 24$ להרע או להטיב L (האלהים) L (כל) FN (ביום הששי שבת מכל מלאכתו) $NP 25$
 (ראשונה) $F 26$ קנאה ושנאה [?] ואיבה ותחרות וקטטה ואינן יכולן לעמוד בלי אש

ואינם יכולים להיות בלא אש ובלא ברזל בין בטוב ובין ברע. ועל אשר נתמנה מאדים למשול בשעה ראשונה של ליל שבת על זה נתמנה מאדים על כל אלה הרעות. ואחרי אשר חטא האדם ועבר על צווי האל יתברך לאכול מעץ הדעת טוב ורע ונגזרה עליו גזרה בעצבון תאכלנה כל ימי חייו [בראשית ג יז] וקוץ ודרדר תצמיח לך [שם שם 5 יח] בועת אפיך תאכל לחם [שם שם יט]. ידוע כי האדם צריך להצית את הקוצים באש וצריך הוא לשבות ולנוח מיגיעתו וכאשר ינוח מיגיעתו אז יעלה על לבו דברים ומחשבות טובות ורעות כי בעת אשר הוא עוסק במלאכתו אין לו פנאי לחשוב בחכמה כי אם במחשבת מלאכתו והחוטאים והחושבים און והיועצים עצת רע בעת אשר ישבתו ממלאכתם אז יעלו על לבם מחשבותם און ככתוב און יחשוב על משכבו [תהלים לו ה]. ועל אשר הוא יום השביעי יום שבות משקיעת השמש של יום ששי נתמנה מאדים למשול בשעה ראשונה של ליל שבת. בתחלת טרם כל ימי השבוע נברא יום השבת באות בית כי בטרם שהתחיל האלהים לבראת את העולם שבת היה ובמוצאי יום השבת ההוא התחיל האלהים לעשות מלאכה בעולם וכל ששת הימים עשה מלאכה ובערב שבת כלה מלאכתו וביום השביעי שבת בו עוד כמטרם בריית העולם ומנה על יום השביעי שבתאי בשעה ראשונה בזרוח השמש. ואם תתחיל לחשוב השעות של יום השבת שנים 15 עשר שעות קטנות ליום ושנים עשר שעות קטנות ללילה במוצאי שבת וכן לכל הימים ולכל הלילות של שבוע ותחלק שבעה שעות לשבעה כוכבים לפי ממשלתם בסדר שצ"ם חנכ"ל. ותתחיל משבתאי משעה ראשונה של יום השבת מזרוח השמש ועד בוא השמש לחשוב שבתאי בשעה ראשונה וצדק בשעה שנייה ומאדים בשעה שלישית וחמה בשעה רביעית ונוגה בשעה חמישית וכוכב חמה בשעה ששית ולבנה בשעה שביעית. הנה 20 לך שבעה השעות לשבעה הכוכבים. ומן שעה שמינית של יום שבת תתחיל עוד לחשוב משבתאי בשעה שמינית וצדק בשעה תשיעית ומאדים בשעה עשירית וחמה בשעה אחת עשרה ונוגה בשעה שנים עשרה ומשעת בוא השמש נכנסת שעה ראשונה של ליל יום ראשון וחשוב בשעה ראשונה של ליל יום ראשון כוכב חמה ולבנה בשעה ב' ושבתאי בשעה ג' וצדק בשעה ד' ומאדים בשעה ה' וחמה בשעה ו' ונוגה בשעה ז' הנה שבע שעות של ליל א' לז' הכוכבים ומן שעה ח' ללילי א'. תתחיל עוד לחשוב מן כוכב חמה ח' ולבנה בשעה ט' ושבתאי בשעה י' וצדק בשעה יא' ומאדים בשעה יב' ומשעת זריחת

N 1 ואינן יכולין לחיות בלא אש ובלי ברזל L ועל אשר נתמנה מאדים על כל אלה הרעות למשול בשעה ראשונה של ליל שבת ואחר אשר חטא F על אשר נתמנה מאדים P 2 (כל אלה) P 3 האל ברזך הוא L (האל יתברך) N | האל (יתברך) F (טוב ורע) P | (עליו) F 4 (כל ימי חייו) N | ימי חייו לאכול מעץ הדעת F 5 כידוע כי האדם צריך להצית M | דבר ידוע כי האדם צריך להצית L 6 ביגיעתו P 7 (הוא) F | במלאכה L | (במלאכתו) L | (בחכמה) FM 8 (היועצים) L 9 ממלאכה P | מחשבות און אן על לבם ככת' F | (און ככתוב... על משכבו) F 10 ועל אשר יום שביעי L | משקיעת החמה N 11 (ראשונה) N | (טרם) P | כי טרם F | וברא N | באות בית בתחלת כי בטרם P 12 (הוא) F 13 ועל ששת הימים P | וכל ששת ימי בראשית M | וכל ששת ימי המעשה L 14 (עוד) F | וביום השבת כמטרם M | ונתמנה שבתאי על יום השביעי שבתאי P 15 כזרוח השמש M | בזריחת השמש L | שתיים עשרה ביום ושתיים עשרה השעות קטנות ללילה L 16 (שעות קטנות) F 17 ותחלת שעות לז' כוכבים N | (לשבעה) M 18 והתחיל משבתאי P | (של יום השבת... שבתאי בשעה ראשונה) N 20 ונוגה בחמישית N | ולבנה ברביעית F 21 ומשמינית של יום שבת M | ובשעה ח' של יום שבת FMN 22 (בשעה שמינית) P | (בשעה) M 23 נכנס שעה ראשונה F | של ד' $!$ | ליל יום ראשון בשעה ראשונה של ליל יום א' M | של ליל (יום) ראשון $FMNP$ 24 (ולבנה בשעה ב' ושבתאי בשעה ג'... ונופלת בממשלת צדק ושעה ב' במאדים)

השמש הוא החמה ליום ראשון נכנסת שעה ראשונה של יום ראשון וחשוב בשעה א' של יום א' ונוגה בשעה ב' וכוכב חמה בשעה ג' ולבנה בשעה ד' ושבטאי בשעה ה' וצדק בשעה ו' ומאדים בשעה ז' ושעה שמינית נופלת עוד בממשלת חמה וט' בממשלת נוגה וי' בממשלת כוכב חמה וי"א בממשלת [לבנה] וי"ב של יום ראשון בממשלת שבטאי ומשעה הוא השמש ליום א' נכנסת שעה ראשונה לליל שני ונופלת בממשלת צדק ושעה 5 ב' במאדים. ובדעת החשבון הזה חשוב כל השעות של ימים ושל לילות של כל השבוע ומשעה ראשונה של יום השבת מזרוח השמש ועד שעה ראשונה של יום השבת הבאה בזרוח השמש בסדר שצ"ם חנכ"ל ליתן שבע שעות לשבעה כוכבים והשעה השמינית ליתנה עוד לאותו כוכב המושל בשעה ראשונה של אותו היום ושל אותו הלילה זה לאחר זה עד כלות שנים עשר שעות ביום ושנים עשר שעות בלילה עד כלות ימי השבוע משעה 10 ראשונה לשבת שעברה עד תחלת שעה ראשונה לשבת הבאה לפניך. ואז תמצא חשבון ממשלת שבעה הכוכבים שהם שצ"ם חנכ"ל כסדר שכתבנו למעלה לפי שבעה ימי השבוע ושבעה לילותיהם ולפי שנים עשר שעות של יום ולפי שנים עשר שעות של לילה. ואף על פי שמשנתים הכוכבים למשול זה אחר זה כסדר שצ"ם חנכ"ל בין ביום בין בלילה כל אחד ואחד בשעת סדורו אותו הכוכב שהתחיל למשול בשעה ראשונה בין 15 ביום ובין בלילה כל היום ההוא וכל הלילה ההוא נחשב בממשלת אותו הכוכב שהתחיל למשול בראש היום או בראש הלילה על שהוא ראשון ועמו מושל עוד אף כוכב השעה הבאה לפניו כסדר שני חברים. נגמר הספר השני של שבע האותיות הכפולות של בג"ד כפ"ר"ת וזהו סדורן וחשבונן ונגמר סדר סדורן וגלגולן וצירופן.

F 6 (ובדעת) ובחשבון F כל השעות שלמים [!] ושל לילות L כל השעות של הימים והלילות L 7 ומשעה ראשונה של יום השבת זה או [?] מזרוח השמש F 8 (שעות) M 9 ובשעה ח' ליתן עוד N | ובשעה השמיני נתנה עוד M של אותו יום MN 10 יש לאותו הלילה זה לאחר זה P שנים עשר שעות ליום L | עד י"ב השעות ליום וי"ב שעות ללילה F | (שנים עשר שעות ביום... עד כלות) P 11 עד תחלת שעה ראשונה לשבת שעברה עד תחלת שעה ראשונה הבאה לפניך P 12 שהיא שצ"ם חנכ"ל | L ממשלת והכוכבים הם שצ"ם חנכ"ל L ולפי י"ב שעות של יום (ולפי) וי"ב שעות של לילה F 13 (שעות) L לפי סדר שצ"ם חנכ"ל N 15 (כל אחד ואחד... בין ביום ובין בלילה) כל היום ההוא וכל הלילה P | כל אחד ואחד היום ההוא וכל הלילה ההוא L (שהתחיל למשול) M 16 (ההיא) FNP 17 (למשול) FM בראש הלילה עד שהוא ראשון P 18 לפני L לפני P כסדר כשני חברים M | וכן נגמר ספר שלישי שני של ז' כפולות אותיות וסדורן וחשבונן וגלגולם וצירופן N נגמר הספר השני של ז' אותיות הכפולות וסדרן וחשבונן וצירופן וגלגולם L נגמר השניה [?] של ז' האותיות של בג"ד כפ"ר"ת ונגמר סדר יסודן P 19 וזהו סדר סדורן וחשבונן ונגמר סדר סדורן וגלגולן וצירופן

[ספר שלישי]

נתחיל ספר שלישי של שני עשר האותיות הנקראות פשוטות ואלו הן זה טי לן סע צק. יסודן ראייה שמיצה ריחה שיחה לעיטה משגל הוא משכב התשמיש ומעשה מלאכה והלוך רוגו ושחוק והרהור מחשבה ושינה. שנים עשר פשוטות הן זה טי לן סע צק. שנים עשר ולא אחד עשר. שנים עשר ולא שלושה עשר. שנים עשר גבולי אלכסון מפוצלין לששה סדרים מופסקין בין רוח לרוח. גבול מזרחית צפונית. גבול מזרחית דרומית. גבול מזרחית רומית. גבול מערבית תחתית. גבול מערבית דרומית. גבול מערבית צפונית. גבול מערבית רומית. גבול מערבית תחתית. גבול דרומית רומית. גבול דרומית תחתית. גבול צפונית רומית. גבול צפונית תחתית. ומרחבין והולכין עד עדי עד והן הן זרועות עולם. שנים עשר פשוטות הן זה טי לן סע צק. חקקן חצבן צרפן שקלן המירן וצר בהם מזלות וחדשים ומנהיגים. שני לועזים ושני עליזים ושני נועצים ושני עליצים ושני טורפין ושני ציידין. שני לועזים. הם המרה והכבד כי הם המרגיזים את האדם וגורמים לו לעז. ושני עליזים הם המסס הוא סטומכוס והטחול הם המשמחים את האדם. המסס באכילה ושתיה והטחול בשחוק כי ממנו יולד השחוק. שני נועצים הם שתי כליות שנאמר אברך את ה' אשר יעצני אף לילות יסרוני כליותי [תהלים טז ז]. שני עליצים הם הקרקבן הוא הושט והקיבה הוא הבטן התחתון והם מעלצים את האדם הושט בבליעה והבטן בהוצאת הצואה ומימי רגלים. שני טורפין הם שני ידיים ושני ציידין הם שני רגלים. עשאן כמין מריבה ערכן כמין מלחמה. גם את זה לעומת זה עשה האלהים [קהלת ז יד]. שלושה אחד אחד אחד לבדו עומד כשלושה עדים ומעידים על האלהים כי הוא אחד והם עולם שנה ונפש. שבעה נחלקים בשלושה שנים שנים הרי ששה והשביעי הוא אחד חוק אחד מכריע בנתיים. ועוד נחלקים השבעה לשני חלקים שלושה שלושה ושביעי הוא אחד חוק מכריע בנתיים לקיים על פי שני עדים או על פי שלשה עדים [דברים יט

F_2 (נתחיל) MN (הנקראות) L פשוטות י"ב פשוטות M_3 וסימנם ראייה L משגל הוא התשמיש מעשה והלוך רגו שחוק הרהור N (הוא משכב) M (הוא משכב התשמיש) MN_4 הילוך רוגו שחוק הרהור $FLMN_5$ (שנים עשר ולא שלושה עשר) FLP_7 (רומית. גבול מזרחית) P (גבול מערבית צפונית... גבול צפונית תחתית) N_8 (גבול דרומית רומית. גבול דרומית תחתית) L_{11} ושני יועצים ושני עליצים P_{12} הם המרגיזים בני אדם וגורמים להם לעז N_{13} (שני עליזים) FMP ושני עליזים NP (הם) P סיטומכוס M סטומכוס F (את האדם) N (המסס) FN_{14} באכילה ובשתיה P כי ממנו תצא השחוק N ב' נועצים הם הכלי' שני MN (אברך את ה' אשר יעצני) F_{15} (אף לילות יסרוני כליותי) F (הם) P (הם הקרקבן) M_{17} (שני ידיים) FLP_{18} (גם את) L (עשה האלהים) EP_{19} שלושה אחד אחד לבדו L (לבדו עומד כשלושה עדים) P (עומד במלחמה עדים ומעידים) M (כשלושה עדים) L האלהים שהוא אחד והם עולם ונפש שבעה נחלקים FN_{20} נחלקים לשלושה FN (שנים) P (הרי ששה) F והשבעה FL_{21} הוא חוק FL (ועוד נחלקים השבעה... אחד חוק מכריע בנתיים) N (השבעה) N בשני חלקים P (שלושה שלושה) M_{22} הוא חוק מכריע FL (או על פי שלשה עדים) M | או שלשה עדי'

טו] ונחלקים הששה בשלושה כתי עדים שנים שנים ומעידים על האחד כי הוא אחד ואין לו שני. שנים עשר עומדים במלחמה שלושה אויבים ושלושה אוהבים שלושה ממתים ושלושה מחיים ואל מלך נאמן מושל בכלן. אחד על גבי שלושה ושלושה על גבי שבעה ושבעה על גבי שנים עשר וכלן אדוקין זה בזה. וסימן לדבר עשרים ושנים חפצים בגוף אחד עשרים ושנים אותיות הם החפצים והם אדוקין בעולם ובשנה ובגוף. שני עשר פשוטות הן זה טי לן סע צק. חקקן חצבן שקלן צרפן המירן וצר בהן שני עשר מזלות בעולם ושנים עשר חדשים בשנה ושנים עשר מנהיגים בנפש. כיצד. צרפן והמירן המליך את ה' וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות הפשוטות זו עם זו ועשאן דבורים רבים מן ה' בראש הדבור ובנה את הראשון הן זה טי לן סע צק וצר בהן מזל טלה בעולם וחדש ניסן בשנה וכבד מנהיג בנפש. המליך את ה' וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות זו בזו ועשה דבורים רבים מן ה' בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות ובנה והן זה טי לן סע צק וצר בו מזל שור בעולם וחדש אייר בשנה ומרה מנהיג בנפש. המליך את ה' וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות ועשה ממנו דבורים רבים מן ה' בראש הדבור ובנה את הראשון זה הח טי לן סע צק וצר בו מזל תאומים בעולם וחדש סיון בשנה וטחול מנהיג בנפש. המליך את ה' וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור ועשה ממנו דבורים רבים מן ה' בראש הדבור ובנה את הראשון חזו זה טי לן סע צק וצר בו מזל סרטן בעולם וחדש תמוז בשנה והמסס מנהיג בנפש. המליך את ה' וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות זאת בזאת ועשה ממנו דבורים רבים בהשמת ט' בראש הדבור ובנה את הראשון טח זו זה הי לן סע צק וצר בו מזל אריה בעולם וחדש אב בשנה וכוליא הימנית מנהיג בנפש. המליך את ה' וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות זאת בזאת ועשה ממנו דבורים רבים בהשמת י' בראש הדבור ובנה את הראשון יט חזו זה הי לן סע צק וצר בו מזל בתולה בעולם וחדש אלול בשנה וכוליא השמאלית מנהיג בנפש. המליך את ל' וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות זאת בזאת ועשה ממנו דבורים רבים בהשמת ל' בראש הדבור ובנה את הראשון לי טח חזו זה הן סע צק וצר בו מזל מאזנים בעולם וחדש תשרי בשנה וקרקבן

F 1 ונחלקים הששה לשלושה כתי עדים שלשה וג' מעידין על האחד | L ונחלקים השלש בשלוש כתי עדים P שלשה ושלושה ומעידים על האחד | L ומעידים על האחד ולקים אותן[?] | לפי שלשה עדים נחלקים הששה בשלושה כתי עדים שלשה ושלושה ומעידים על האחד כי הוא אחד MN 2 ואין שני לו | L (לו) L 3 והשם מלך נאמן P 4 (אדוקין) | P לגוף אחד | M בגוף אחד פ" כ"ב אותיות הם החפצים L 5 בעולם בשנה ובגוף[?] | F בעולם ושנה ובנפש N 6 (חקקן... מזלות בעולם) | FP (צרפן) | P שני עשר מזלות בעולם ושני עשר מזלות בעולם חדשים בשנה F 7 (בעולם) | M פ" כיצד L 8 (והקקו בראש) | M וצר בו האותיות P | זאת בזאת F 9 בראש ה' הדבור | LN מן ה' בראש הדבור וה' בסוף הדבור F | וצר מזל טלה בעולם בהן וחדשים בשנה L 10 טלה בעולם ויד ימין בנפש | L (והקקו... וצרף את) L 11 (רבים... סע צק) | FMN מן ה' (בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות) | P וצר בהן שור בעולם אייר בשנה L (בשנה... בנפש) | FMP (וצרף את האותיות) L 14 ב (ראש הדבור... מן ה' בראש הדבור) | P ובנה את האחד | L ובנה את הראשון של אותיות (הח טי לן... וצר בו מזל תאומים) בעולם L 15 (מנהיג בנפש. המליך את ה') | N (מנהיג) L 16 (ועשה ממנו) דבורים רבים (מן ה' בראש הדבור) | L בנה את הראש חזי' | ה טי לן סע צק וצר בו מזל סרטן P 18 וקשר לו קשר כתר | FMNP (וצרף את האותיות זאת בזאת) L 19 ועשאן דבורים רבים | FMNP מן ט' בראש הדבור | M וצא ובנה את הראשון | P (את הראשון) | L וצר בדבור [?] | L 20 מנהיג בנפש) | FMNP 21 (וצרף את האותיות זאת בזאת) | L (ממנו) | FMNP 22 מן ה' בראש הדבור | F (את הראשון) | L 23 (מנהיג) | FMNP (וצרף את האותיות זאת בזאת) | FMNP מן ל' בראש הדבור | P 25 ובנה את האחד לי טח חזו זה הן סע צק | L וצר בדבור [?] (מזל מאזנים)

מנהיג בנפש. המליך את נ' וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות ועשה ממנו דבורים רבים מן נ' בראש הדבור ובנה את הראשון גל יט חזו וה סע צק וצר בו מזל עקרב בעולם וחודש מרחשון בשנה וקיבה מנהיג בנפש. המליך את ס' וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות ועשה ממנו דבורים רבים מן ס' בראש הדבור ובנה את הראשון סן לי טח זו הע צק וצר בו מזל קשת בעולם וחודש כסליו בשנה ויד ימין 5 מנהיג בנפש. המליך את ע' וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות ועשה ממנו דבורים רבים מן ע' בראש הדבור ובנה את הראשון עס גל יט חזו וה צק וצר בו מזל גדי בעולם וחודש טבת בשנה ויד שמאל מנהיג בנפש. המליך את צ' וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות ועשה ממנו דבורים רבים מן צ' בראש הדבור ובנה את הראשון צע סל יט חזו וה נק וצר בו מזל דלי בעולם וחודש שבט בשנה ורגל ימין מנהיג 10 בנפש. המליך את ק' וקשר לו כתר וחקקו בראש הדבור וצרף את האותיות ועשה ממנו דבורים רבים בהשמת ק' בראש הדבור ובנה את הראשון קץ עס גל טח זו יה וצר בו מזל דגים בעולם וחודש אדר בשנה ורגל שמאל מנהיג בנפש. הצה האלהים את העדים האלה והעמידן אחד אחד אחד עולם לבדו שנה לבדה נפש לבדה. שנים עשר פשוטות הו 15 זה טי לן סע צק ונקראו פשוטות על אשר אין דרכן להאמר לבדן בשני מאמרות במאמר קשה ובמאמר רך כמו בגד כפרת או בראש הדבור או בתוך הדבור או בסוף הדבור ונאמרות גם אלו האותיות הו זה טי לן סע צק בשתי מאמרות במאמר רך ובמאמר קשה ועל זה יש גם לאותיות האלה תמורות בדברים שנוצרו בהן. כיצד. תמורת ראייה עורון. תמורת שמיעה חרשות. תמורת ריח תתרות הוא סתם הנחירים. תמורת שיחה אלמות. תמורת לעיטה רעבון. תמורת משגל סריסות. תמורת מעשה מלאכה גדמות. תמורת 20 הלוך חגרות. תמורת רוגז רחמים. תמורת שחוק בכיה. תמורת הרהור מחשבה שמחת הלב. תמורת שינה שקידה היא עירות. שנים עשר פשוטות הו זה טי לן סע צק. נוצר עם ה' טלה וניסן וכבד וראיה וסמיות. נוצר עם ו' שור ואייר ומרה ושמיעה וחרשות. נוצר עם ז' תאומים וסיון וטחול והריח ותתרות. נוצר עם ח' סרטן ותמוז והמסס ושיחה ואלמות. נוצר עם ט' אריה ואב וכוליא של ימין לעיטה ורעבון. נוצר עם י' בתולה ואלול וכוליא 25

1 FMN (וצרף את האותיות) | P (וצרף את האותיות... ועשה ממנו דבורים רבים) N 2 ועשה ממנו דבורים הרבה | L ועשאן דברים רבים (מן נ' בראש הדבור) M 3 (וחודש) M || המליך את ס' בראש וקשר לו כתר FNP 4 (וצרף את האותיות) | M (וצרף את האותיות... ועשה ממנו דבורים רבים) || N ועשה ממנו דבורים הרבה || L (מן ס' בראש הדבור) P 5 ובנה את האחד N קשת בעולם וחודש שבט בשנה FMNP 6 (וצרף את האותיות) | L 7 ועשאן דברים רבים (מן ע' בראש הדבור) L 8 וצר בדבור של ע' מזל גדי ו'ה בעולם || FLM (מנהיג) FMNP 9 (וצרף את האותיות) || N ועשה ממנו דבורים הרבה | L ועשאן דברים רבים (מן צ' בראש הדבור) || L (מן צ' בראש הדבור) L 10 וצר בדבר של צ' מזל דלי || FM (מנהיג) | PF 11 (וצרף את האותיות) | MN (וצרף את האותיות... בהשמת ק' בראש הדבור) L 12 ועשאן דברים רבים || FMNP מן ק' בראש הדבור L וצר בדבר של ק' מזל דגים FP 13 (מנהיג) || L (האלהים) FLM 14 והעמידן אחד אחד P בעולם F (נפש לבדה) || P שנים עשר האותיות הפשוטות הו זה טי לן סע צק ונקראו פשוטות... להאמרן לבדן) L 15 לבד הן בשני מאמרות P (כמו בגד כפרת... במאמר רך ובמאמר קשה) במאמר רך ובמאמר כך קשה F 16 או ברגש הדבור FN או תוך MN או סוף F 17 ונאמרות במ אלו האותיות P 18 יש גם לדברים האלה || L תמורת ראייה עורון היא סמיות M 19 (תמורת שיחה אלמות... תמורת משגל סריסות) M 23 חם נוצר עם ה' טלה F וכבד וראיה ועורון | M וראיה וסמיות טלה מזל אש זכר M יבש נוצר עם ו' שור M ושמיעה וחרשות שור ארץ נקבה M 24 קר נוצר עם ז' תאומי' M והריח ותתרות תאומים רוח זכר M מים נוצר עם ח' סרטן M ושיחה ואלמות סרטן מים נקבה M 25 לעיטה ורעבון אריה ואש זכר

של שמאל ומעשה מלאכה וגדמות. נוצר עם ל' מאזנים ותשרי וקרבן ותשמיש וסירוס. נוצר עם נ' עקרב ומרחשון וקיבה והלוך והגרות. נוצר עם ס' קשת וכסליו ויד ימין ורוגז ורחמים. נוצר עם ע' גדי וטבת ויד שמאל ושחוק ובכיה. נוצר עם צ' דלי ושבת ורגל ימין והרהור ושמחת הלב. נוצר עם ק' דגים ואדר ורגל שמאל ושינה ושקידה. זה הוא ספר שלישי של שנים עשר אותיות הו זח טי לך סע צק. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות ה' טלה וניסן אינו מושל מזל טלה בכל ימות חודש ניסן אלא מיום תקופת ניסן ועד שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות ו' מזל שור ואייר אינו מושל מזל שור באייר אלא מיום כלות מזל טלה ועד שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה ולבא שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה לכל חודש וחודש. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות ז' תאומים וסיון אינו מושל מזל תאומים בסיון אלא מיום כלות מזל שור שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה לבא. ואף על פי שנוצר עם את ח' סרטן ותמוז אינו מושל מזל סרטן ב תמוז כולו אלא מיום כלות מזל תאומים שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה ולשעה ועד שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה לבא. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות ט' אריה ואב אינו מושל מזל אריה באב כולו אלא מיום כלות מזל סרטן שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה ועד שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה לבא. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות י' בתולה ואלול אינו מושל מזל בתולה באלול כולו כי אם מיום ליום מזל אריה שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה מיום ליום ומשעה לשעה ועד שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה לבא. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות ל' מזל מאזנים ותשרי אינו מושל מזל מאזנים בתשרי כולו אלא מיום כלות מזל בתולה שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה לבא. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות נ' מזל עקרב ומרחשון אינו מושל מזל עקרב במרחשון כולו כי אם מיום כלות מזל מאזנים שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה מיום ליום ומשעה לשעה עד שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה לבא. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות ס' מזל קשת וכסליו אינו מושל מזל קשת בכסליו כלו כי אם מיום

M מעשה וגדמות בתולה ארץ נקבה. קר נוצר עם ל'... P וקרבן ומשגל וסירוס M ותשמיש וסירוס מאזני' אויר זכר. גשמי נוצר עם נ' M 2 והלוך והגרות עקרב מ' נקבה M 3 חם נוצר עם ס' קשת M ורוגז ורחמים קשת אש זכר. עפר נוצר עם ע' גדי M 3 ושחוק ובכיה גדי ארץ נקבה. רוח נוצר עם צ' דלי M 4 והרהור ושמחת הלבב דלי אויר זכר. גשמי N והרהור מחשבה ושמחת הלב N (ושינה) ושקידה M | $?$ | M ושינה ושקידה דגים מ' נקבה M | $?$ | M (זה הוא ספר שלישי... הו זח טי לך סע צק) L 5 (ואף על פי שנוצר) M (אות) P 6 כל ימי ניסן M (ועד) שלושים יום ו' שעות ומחצה שעה N 7 ועשר שעות ומחצה L (ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות) N עם אות (ר') $?$ מזל שור M (אות) L אינו מושל מזל שור אלא באייר מיום כלות מזל טלה ל' יום ויום וי שעות... M 8 ומחצה שעה MN (ולבא שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה) וכן לכל חודש וחדש אינו מושל המזל שנוצר עם החדש כל אותו החדש שנוצר עמו אלא מתחיל מזל טלה מיום יא' לאחר קלנדש והוא יום התקופה ומשמש עם החמה ל' יום וי' שעה ומחצה וחורין ומתחילין מן טלה ומסיימין מן דגים. י"ב פשוטות הו זח טח לך סע צק... F 9 וכן לכל חדש וחדש. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות זין מזל תאומים וסיון ועם אות ח' סרטן ותמוז ועם אות ט' אריה ואב ועם אות י' בתולה ואלול ועם אות ל' מאזנים ותשרי ועם אות נ' עקרב ומרחשון ועם אות ס' קשת וכסליו ועם אות עין גדי וטבת ועם אות צ' דלי ושבת ועם אות ק' דגים ואדר אינו מושל המזל הנוצר עם החדש כל אותו החדש שנוצר עמו אלא מתחיל מזל טלה מיום י"א לאחר קלנדש והוא יום התקופה ומשמש עם החמה ל' יום וי' שעות ומחצה וחורין ומתחילין מטלה ומשלימין בדגים. י"ב פשוטות הו זח טח לך סע צק... P ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות ז' מזל תאומים וסיון ועם אות ח' סרטן ותמוז ועם אות ט' אריה ואב ועם י' בתולה ואלול ועם ל' מאזנים ותשרי ועם נ' עקרב ומרחשון ועם ס' קשת וכסליו ועם ע' גדי וטבת ועם צ' דלי ושבת ועם ק' דגים ואדר אינו מושל המזל שנוצר עם החדש כל אותו החדש שנוצר עמו אלא מתחיל מזל טלה מיום אחד עשר לאחר קלנדא והוא יום התקופה ומשמש עם החמה ל' יום ועשר שעות ומחצה וחורין חלילה ומתחילים מן טלה ומסיימין. שנים עשר פשוטות הו זח טח לך סע צק

כלות מזל עקרב שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה ועד שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה
 לבא. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות ע' מזל גדי וטבת אינו מושל מזל גדי בטבת כלו כי אם
 מיום כלות [מזל] שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה ועד שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה
 לבא. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות צ' מזל דלי ושבט אינו מושל מזל [דלי] בשבט אלא עד
 5 כלות שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה שלושים מיום ליום ומשעה לשעה ועד שלושים יום
 ועשר שעות ומחצה לבא. ואף על פי שנוצר עם אות ק' מזל דגים ואדר אינו מושל דגים
 באדר כלו כי אם מיום כלות מזל דלי שלושים יום ועשר שעות ומחצה ועד שלושים יום
 ועשר שעות ומחצה לבא. שנים עשר פשוטות הוזה טח לן סע צק. אף על פי שנוצר עם ה'
 כבד וראיה וסמיות הראיה והשמיעה והרחמים מן כח הכבד הם על אשר יהיו תולדות
 הדם מן הכבד. ואף על פי שנוצר עם ו' המרה והשמיעה וחרשות מן בעירות המרה
 10 יכעוס האדם וירגז ויתעוררו עיניו ותחרשנה אוניו. ועל זה דמעת העינים חריפה ומלוחה
 וצואת האזנים מרה. ואף על פי שנוצר עם ז' הטחול וריח ותרתות מן הטחול יוצא
 השחוק ומן המרה השחורה שבתוך גידי הטחול תגרה הבכיה כי כל הטחול דם הוא
 וממרה השחורה מעורבים. מן הדם תולדות השמחה והשחוק ממרה השחורה הדאגה
 והבכיה. ותולדות המרה השחורה ממרה האדומה הן ומן הליחה כאשר היו תולדות
 15 הארץ שהיא כמרה השחורה מן האש שהיא כמרה האדומה ומן המים שהיא כליחה.
 ואף על פי שנוצר עם ח' המסס והשיחה ואלמות מן המסס יבא הריח והשינה כי הוא
 המריח מתוך האף והוא המגרה את השינה כל שכן כאשר יתמלא ממאכל וממשתה
 לשובע יכבד בכובד ויכביד את העינים ועפעפים לנום ולישן בכובד תרדמה. ועל זה
 לא יוכל האדם כאשר הוא רעב וצם לישן בכובד תרדמה. ואף על פי שנוצר עם ט'
 20 כוליא של ימין ולעיטה ורעבון ונוצר עם י' כוליא של שמאל ומעשה וגדמות מן הלב ושתי
 הכליות יבא ההרהור והמחשבה והעצה והעליוה מן הכליות ככתוב ותעלונה כליותי
 [משלי כג טז]. ומשתי הכליות יוצאה השיחה עם הקול כי הם החושבים ומגרים השיחה
 עם הקול והם מגרים התשמיש הוא המשגל כי בתוכן יתלבן הזרע כי ראשית הזרע אדום
 25 הואכדם ומרוב חום הכליות מתלבן ויעבור מתוך גידיהם אל ביצי המבושים והעורה
 ומן שתי הכליות יבא הסירוס כי אם יכוה אדם במכות אש על שתי כליותיו מבחוק
 יעשה סריס. ואף על פי שנוצר קרקבן עם ל' ותשמיש וסירוס הקרקבן לועט הלעיטה
 של מאכל ומשתה והבליעה. ואף על פי שנוצר עם נ' הקיבה והילוך וחרגרות מן הקיבה

P 9 (הראיה והשמיעה והרחמים... תולדת הדם מן הכבד) מן כח הכבד || FMN מן כח הכבד הראיה
 והשמיעה והרחמים || F (הם) || F (יהיו) || L 10 ואף על פי שנוצר עם ו' המרה והשמיעה וחרשות [?] מכח
 המרה בא הרוגו וסמיות וחרשות כי מבעירות המרה || F 11 (וירגז) || L ועל זה תהיה [?] דמעת העינים
 || F 12 וצואת האזן || F 13 (השחורה) || P 16 (הארץ) || P שהיא כמריחה השחורה ומן האדומה ומן המים
 M || ומן המ' שהם כליחה || P 17 כי היא המריח מתוך || L 18 והוא המגרה השינה || LNP כאשר ימלא
 || L מאכל ומשתה || F 19 לשובע ויכבד בסופה [!] ויכביד את העינים || L (בכובד) || M העיני' העפעפיהן
 || N (ועל זה לא יוכל האדם... בכובד תרדמה) || F 20 כאשר הוא נרעב (וצם) || F (ט) || F 21
 (מיין ולעיטה ורעבון ונוצר עם י') || L ולעיטה ורעבנות || N ומעשה מלאכה וגדמות ההרהור והמחשבה
 מן הלב || L 23 (יוצא) || MN (כי הם החושבים ומגרים השיחה עם הקול) || FP 24 (והם) || L המגרים
 במשגל והוא התשמיש || F (התשמיש הוא) || P (ראשית) || L כי בראש || L 25 (אדום) || M (הוא) || NP יתלבן
 || L ומרוב היא אדום ויעבור || F ועובר מתוך גידיהם לגידי המבושים || MNP אל גידי המבושים || LN 26
 על שתי הכליות || F נעשה סריס || F 28 של מאכל והמשקה || N של מאכל ושל משתה והבליעה || P מן
 הקיבה יבא הרעב לרעב הוא המריקות כל המעים להוליך || F מן הקיבה יבא הרעב לאדם לרעב || LN
 מן הקיבה יבא הרעב לאדם הרעב

יבא הרעב לאדם כי היא מרקת כל המעים להוליך את שמר המאכל והמשתה חוצה כדרך כל אדם. ואף על פי שנוצר עם ס' יד ימין ורוגז ורחמים הרוגז ממרה שבכבד והרחמים מן הכבד הם. ואף על פי שנוצר עם ע' יד שמאל ושחוק ובכיה השחוק מן הטחול והדאגה והבכיה מן המרה השחורה שבתוך הטחול ומעשה המלאכה והפועל בשתי הידים הוא והגדמות בידיים כי אם אין ידים אין מעשה מלאכה. ואף על פי שנוצר עם צ' רגל ימין והרהור המחשבה ונוצר עם ק' רגל שמאל ושינה ושקידה היא עירות וההלוך והחגרות ברגלים, בזמן שאדם שלם חזק ובריא הולך ברגליו לכל מקום שירצה ובזמן שהוא חולה בגופו או ברגליו אינו יכול להלוך אנה ואנה כחגר וכפסח. זהו זה טח לן סע צק. הראיה והשמיעה והרחמים מן הכבד. הרוגז והסמיות והחרשות ממרה האדומה שבכבד. השחוק והשמחה מן הטחול הדאגה והבכיה והשקידה ממרה השחורה המעורבת בתוך הטחול כי המרה השחורה קרה ויבשה כארץ וממנה תתגרה הדאגה. ומן הדאגה הבכיה והשקידה והאלמות מתגרת המרה השחורה שבטחול ואלמות הלשון מלדבר. הריח והשינה והתרתות מן המסס. ההרהור והמחשבה והעצה והעלז והשמחה עם הקול מן הכליות ומן הלב המשגל והסירוס מן הכליות הלעיטה והבליעה מן הקרקבן והרעבון מן הקיבה. מעשה המלאכה והפועל בידיים והגדמות הוא בטול המעשה והמלאכה והפועל בידיים ההלוך והחגרות ברגלים. נגמר ספר שלישי של שתיים עשרה פשוטות והן זה טי לן סע צק ויצירתן ויסודן ותמורתן ונגמר כל פעולתן והלוכך וסודן. סדר עשרים ושתיים אותיות יסודן וצירופן וגלגולן שיצורן ודיבוריהן ויצירתן וסודן ותמורתן ומעשיהן וכולן אדוקין בתלי וגלגל ולב. ומי הוא התלי. כשברא האלהים את הרקיע הזה שעליו החלוק לשבעה רקיעים ברא את התלי ממים ומאש בדמות תנין גדול כנחש עקלתון ועשה לו ראש וזנב ונטהו ברקיע הרביעי הוא אמצעי הוא מעונה של חמה ונטהו מקצה אל קצה כבריח כנחש עקלתון והעוקל שלו באמצע ארכו בחצי ונטייתו כטבעת עגולה וכל הכוכבים והמאורות והמזלות אדוקין בו כמו שאדוקין חוטי שתי הארג במנור אורגים. כן הם אדוקין בו כל הכוכבים שבשבעה הרקיעים תחת ומעלה ושני המאורות ושנים עשר מזלות. והוא נתמנה מלך על כלם לנהגם בין בטוב ובין ברע. והוא מכה את האור של שני המאורות ושל חמשה הכוכבים. והוא

P 1 (כי) הוא המרקות[!] כל המעים M על המיעים F והמשקה M 2 (ואף על פי שנוצר עם ס'... מן הכבד הם) P 4 מן הטחול והשמחה והדאגה מן המרירה השחורה שהיא בתוך הטחול F והדאגה והבכי M 5 (הוא) M (אם) F (מלאכה) P 6 רגל ימין והרהור המחשבה ושמת הלב F 7 הולך ברגליו לכל מקום שהוא רוצה | L הולך על רגליו וכל[!] מקום שהוא רוצה | N הולך עם רגליו לכל מקום שירצה | L והחגרות באדם מן הרגלים F 8 אינו יכול ללכת | L כחגר וכפסח F 9 הרוגז והערוך והחרשות | L הרוגז והסמיות והחרשות[?] F 10 והבכיה והשקידה | P (הבכיה) | P (השחורה) P 11 כי המרירה השחורה המורבת קרה ויבשה כארץ ממנה | F כי המרה (השחורה... והאלמות מתגרת) L 12 (הבכיה) | L (מתגרת) | P מתגרת המרירה שבטחול P 14 (ומן הלב המשגל והסירוס מן הכליות) P (הבליעה) P 15 המעשה והמלאכה בידיים ההלוך M מלאכה והפועל והרעבון מן הידים והגדמות L והפועל מן הידים והגדמות | FMN (הפועל בידיים) M 16 ובוה נגמר M 17 שלי"ב פשוטות שהם זהו זה טי לן סע צק | L (כל פעולתן והלוכך וסודן) | P (ונגמר כל פעולתן) F 18 סוד כ"ב אותיות | M סדר סוד עשרי ושתי אותיות M 19 ומהו התלי. דע בני כשברא האלהי | L ומי הוא זה התלי N כשברא הקב"ה F 20 (הזה) MN ברא את התלי מן המים ומן האש $FMNP$ בדמות תנין גדול כנחש גדול עקלתון M 23 וכל הכוכבים וכל המזלות אדוקין בו F 24 חוטי שתי הערב P (הם) P 25 בין טוב ובין רע והוא מכסה F 26 מכה את האור על ב' המאורות ועל ז' הכוכבים MP ושל שבעה כוכבים

המוליך והמביא את המאורות והכוכבים והמזלות ממזרח למערב ומערב למזרח
 והוא המחזיר את הכוכבים לאחור והוא המעכב אותם לעמוד במקום אחד מלילך
 לא לפנים ולא לאחור. והוא המהלך אותם לילך הלוך ישר והוא מאש וממים וכחו
 כמים ואינו נראה לעין כי אם ממסורת למוד הספרים הקדמונים אנו מוצאים לדעת את
 5 התלי וכחו וממשלת מלכותו ובריאתו וטובתו ורעתו והכרת פני הנולדים בו וזמן מהלכו
 ממזל למזל ומנהג הלכו להפך. וכיצד הוא הולך הראש אחר הזנב וגבהו ושפלותו ואיך
 אדוקין בו שנים עשר מזלות מצד דרום וששה מצד צפון. ויש ספרים שאומרים כי
 שנים תליים הם כשני תנינים גדולים וכשני נחשים עקלתונים והעוקל שלהם כשני טבעות
 זה כנגד זה אחד נטוי בצד דרום ואחד נטוי בצד צפון ראשו של זה דבוק בזנבו של
 10 זה וראשו של זה דבוק בזנבו של זה ומתוך הלכום מתחלפים להיותם הדרומי צפוני
 והצפוני דרומי והם ברקיע הרביעי במעונה של חמה וששה מזלות אדוקין בתלי אחד
 וששה מזלות אדוקין בתלי השני. ואף על פי ששנים עשר מזלות קבועים ברקיע הזה
 שעלינו התחטוי הוא מעונה של לבנה בתליים שעליהם הם אדוקין מלמטה למעלה.
 וכמו כן אדוקין בהם גם שני המאורות וחמשה הכוכבים שהם שצ"ם חנכ"ל מלמעלה
 15 למטה וממטה למעלה וכלם ברוחו שנאמר ברוחו שמים שפרה חלה ידו נחש בריח
 [איוב כו יג]. זה התלי והוא מושל בכל הכוכבים והמזלות. הגלגל הוא המגלגל את
 המזלות והכוכבים והמאורות וזה הגלגל סדור ונתון הוא בעוביו של רקיע והמזלות
 אדוקין וקבועין בו לעולם ואינם זזים ממקום קביעתן. והגלגל הזה עגול הוא סביב
 סביב לרקיע בדרום ובצפון במזרח ובמערב והתלי נטוי בתוכו מקצה אל קצה ככריח
 20 כדברי הסופרים האומרים כי אחד תלי הוא ונטוי הוא באמצע הגלגל ממזרח התיכוני
 והאמצעי ועד מערב התיכוני והאמצעי והעגלה הנותנה מצד צפון לתלי קרובה לתלי
 וקצה העגלה הוא דבוק בטבעת התלי הוא העוקל ומתגלגלת העגלה בצד צפון של
 תלי ובצד צפון של ששה המזלות הדרומים והיא מתגלגלת התלי ומכח גלגול התלי
 המתגלגל מתנהגת קצה העגלה הדבוק בטבעת התלי מתגלגל הגלגל והמזלות הקבועים

1 N ואת הכוכבים והמזלות | F ואת הכוכבים (והמזלות... והוא המחזיר את הכוכבים) L 2 והוא
 המחזיר חמשת הכוכבים לאחור | N והוא המניג את הכוכבים לאחור | P (והוא) M (אותם) F 3 והוא
 המוליך אותם | L והוא המישר אותם להולוך הילוך | M והוא המהלך והמדריך אותם הילוך ישר M 4
 (אם) | P כי אם במסורת למוד הסופרים | N כי אם כמות ממסורת M 5 וגם ממשלת מלכותו | F וכחו
 ומשלתו ובריאתו | P (ורעתו) P 6 ממזל אל מזל | L (הוא) P 7 ששה בצד צפון וששה מצד דרום
 | L (ויש ספרים) N שאמרו M 8 (גדולים) | L (נחשים עקלתונים) F 9 ואחד (נטוי) בצד צפון | L
 (בצד דרום ואחד) | P ראשו של זה (דבוק בזנבו... בזנבו של זה) | LM (וראשו של זה דבוק בזנבו של זה)
 10 L (הלכום) | P להיות הצפוני דרומי והדרומי צפוני L 11 (ברקיע) הדרומי צפוני והצפוני להיות
 דרומי | MN (הרביעי) L 12 (וששה) מזלות בתלי השני L 13 (שעלינו) P 14 וכמו שהם אדוקין
 בהם | F גם שני המאורות ו' הכוכבים | P (שהם) שצ"ם נ"כ | L הם שצ"ם חנכ"ל | N (שצ"ם חנכ"ל)
 L 15 ומלמטה למ'עלה וכלם ברוחו שנאמר) | P וכולו ברוחו | M וכלן ברוחו שהאל ית' תלוי' כדכת'
 | F (חלה ידו) | P וכולו ברוחו | M וכלן ברוחו שהאל ית' תלוי' כדכת' L 16 (והמזלות) והוא
 המגלגל גלגל שהוא המעל הכוכבים הגלגל סדור... 17 את המזלות FLNP המגלגל בכוכבים ואת
 המזלות P 18 והמזלות קבועים בו | L (אדוקין וקבועין) | L (הזה עגול הוא סביב) L 19 (התלי
 נטוי בתוכו) | F (ככריח) F 20 (הסופרים) | F (הוא) P (התיכוני והאמצעי והעגלה הנותנה ועד מערב
 התיכוני והאמצעי והעגלה הנותנה F 21 ונגד מערב | N (ועד מערב התיכוני והאמצעי) | L היא נתונה
 והעגלה P 22 וקצות העגלה היא דבוק בטבעת (התלי) | P (התלי) | F וקצות העגלה דבוקים הם
 בטבעת התלי L 23 הוא העוקל מתגלגל מצד העגלה[?] בצד צפון של תלי | F לצד צפון של תלי | N
 והיא מגלגלת התלי LN 24 העגלה מן הדבוק בטבעת התלי

בגלגל מדרימים ממזרח למערב ומצפינים ממערב למזרח מעולם ועד עולם. וכדברי
 הספרים האומרים כי שני תליים הם אומרים כי העגלה היא נתונה בתוך באמצע הגלגל
 בתוך שני התליים וקצה האחד של עגלה דבוק בטבעת התלי הדרומי וקצה האחד של
 עגלה דבוק בטבעת התלי הצפוני ומתגלגלת העגלה עוגלת עגול סביב בצפון ומשרת
 התלי לנהגו ולגלגלו עם הגלגל ועם המזלות והכוכבים והמאורות ממזרח למערב
 5 המדרימים בצד דרום וממערב ועד מזרח המצפינים בצד צפון. וזה סימן בעיניך
 אם תחפוץ להאמין כי העגלה באמצע הרקיע בתוך מצפון לעקרב ומצפון לששה
 מזלות שבדרום שים דעתך לראות מזל מאזנים ומזל טלה שהם אמצעיים ותיכונים לכל
 המזלות וזריחתם באמצע מזרח התיכוני של רקיע ושקיעתם באמצע מערב התיכוני של
 10 רקיע ואז יראה כי לעולם דבוק הוא קצה העגלה הוא הארוך כנגד הטבעת של פלס מזל
 מאזנים. ובכל מקום שיהיה מזל מאזנים בין במזרח בין בדרום בין במערב בין בצפון
 כנגדו יהיה אף קצה העגלה הארוך וכנגד הטבעת הפלס שבאמצע הפלס של מאזנים
 וקצה האחד הם אופני העגלה יהיה לעולם כנגד מזל טלה כנגד קרניו. ולפני גלגול עוגלת
 העגלה מתגלגלים אלה שני מזלות ועוגלים והולכים סביב סביב כנגד שני קצותיה מזל
 15 זה כנגד מזל זה ומזל זה כנגד מזל זה. וגם לשני המאורות ולחמשה הכוכבים הם שצ"ם
 חנכ"ל יש לכל אחד גלגל בפני עצמו והם הגלגלים מוליכים ומנהיגים אותם ממערב
 למזרח וממזל למזל. והם הגלגלים מחזירים את חמשה הכוכבים לאחור ממזרח למערב
 כל אחד כוכב כסדר חזרתו בעתו. והם הגלגלים מעמידים בעמידתן את הכוכבים
 מלהוליך את הכוכבים אנה ואנה ומתעכב כל אחד ואחד כוכב משבעה כוכבים בעתו
 ובחקו לעמוד במקום אחד לפי מספר חשבון הימים שהוא נהוג להתעכב ולהתגלגל.
 20 והגלגל של מזלות מוליך את הגלגלים האלה של שבעה כוכבים הם שצ"ם חנכ"ל
 עם שבעה הכוכבים ועם שני עשר מזלות ממזרח למערב וממערב למזרח כל ימות
 עולם מגלגל העגלה המנהגת את התלי ומכח הנהגת התלי מתגלגל הגלגל של מזלות
 ושבעה הגלגלים של שבעה הכוכבים וכלם ברוחו של הקב"ה ובכחו שנאמר ברוחו

$F 1$ (מדרימים) ממערב למזרח $F 2$ (הספרים) N | וכדברי הסופרים F הם אומר כי העגלה L
 היא נתונה היא F (בתוך) $P 3$ (הדרומי וקצה האחד של עגלה דבוק בטבעת התלי) $P 5$ ומשנה
 התלי F | ומשרת התלי לנהגו ולגלגלו P עם הגלגל והכוכבים והמזלות והמאורות L (הכוכבים) L
 (למערב המדרימים בצד דרום) $P 6$ המדרימי מצד דרום וממערב למזרח F המדרימים בצד צפון
 F המצפינים בצד דרום L בצד צפון... אם תחפוץ להאמין P (סימן) $F 7$ אם תחפוץ לדעת P
 באמצע הרקיע בצפון בתוך מצפון לעקרב ומצפון לששה סדרים של המזלות שבדרום L (בתוך מצפון
 לעקרב מצפון) $P 8$ יש שים דעתו לשים לראות F תשים דעתך לראות L (לראות מזל מאזנים ומזל
 טלה) $L 9$ (זריחתם באמצע מזרח התיכוני של) רקיע N (ושקיעתם באמצע מערב התיכוני של רקיע)
 L (מערב) $L 10$ (ואז יראה כי לעולם דבוק הוא) P (העגלה הוא) L (של פלס מזל מאזנים. ובכל
 מקום) $F 11$ (ובכל מקום שיהיה מזל מאזנים) N בין במזרח בין במערב בדרום בין במערב בין בצפון
 L (בין במערב בין בצפון כנגדו) $F 12$ קצה העגלה הוא הארוך L (הפלס) $L 13$ (מזל טלה) $F 14$
 L (שני) L (ועוגלים) והולכים סביב (סביב) כנגד שני קצותיה $F 15$ ומזל זה כנגד זה L מזל זה כנגד קצה
 של מזל (ומזל זה כנגד מזל זה) $F 16$ ולו' הכוכבים הם שצ"ם חנכ"ל P | הם שצ"ם חנכ"ל L (יש לכל
 אחד גלגל בפני עצמו והם הגלגלים) $F 17$ ממזרח למערב וממזל למזל N ממזל למזל L (הגלגלים
 מחזירים את חמשה הכוכבים) F (חמשה) $L 18$ (כסדר חזרתו בעתו והם הגלגלים) N חזרתן $L 19$
 (ואנה ומתעכב כל אחד ואחד כוכב) N ומתעכב כל אחד ואחד כוכבו מהכוכבים P (משבעה) $L 20$
 (מספר חשבון הימים שהוא נהוג) $N 21$ מוליך שבעה הגלגלים האלה L (של שבעה כוכבים... ובכחו
 שנאמר ברוחו שמים) N (שצ"ם חנכ"ל) $N 22$ עם שאר הכוכבים $F 23$ המתנהגת את התלי P ומכח
 נהיגת התלי $F 24$ וכלו ברוחו של הקב"ה P (ברוחו שמים שפרה)

שמים שפרה חללה ידו נחש בריח. זה התלי. וכתוב בדבר ה' שמים נעשו
וברוחו פיו כל צבאם [תהלים לג]. מזה אתה למד כי ברוח פיו ובדברו מתנהגים כל
צבא השמים וגם הכוכבים ושני המאורות והמזלות נקראו צבא השמים שנאמר שאו מרום
ענייכם וראו מי ברא אלה המוציא במספר צבאם לכולם בשם יקרא [ישעיה מו]. מזה
5 הפסוק אתה למד כי האלהים קרא שמות של כוכבים ושל המאורות ושל המזלות ושל
צבא השמים. ומפסוק אחר תדע כתוב מונה מספר לכוכבים לכלם שמות יקרא [תהלים
קמז ד]. ואחר זה הפסוק אומר גדול אדונינו ורב כח לתבונתו אין מספר [שם שם ה]
ללמדך כי יותר תראה גודל האלהים מסדר מעשה מלאכת הכוכבים והמזלות והתלי
והגלגל והעגלה ממה שנראה גדלו בשאר מעשה העולם כי אין חכמה ותבונה מופלאה
10 בעולם כחכמה הזאת העמוקה והרחבה והארוכה. ועל זה כתוב שכל העולם אדוקין
בתלי וגלגל ולב כי כאשר מתנהג כל העולם וכל אשר בו בתלי וגלגל כן מתנהג מן הלב
אף בני האדם כי הלב הוא מנהיג את הגוף וכל מלאכת עבודת העולם. שלש אמות ושבע
כפולות ושתיים עשרה פשוטות. הם שלושה ספרים היוצאים מן עשרים ושתיים אותיות
15 יסוד שבהן יסד יה' צבאות אלהי ישראל אלהים חיים אל שדי רם ונשא שוכן עד וקדוש
שמו את שני עולמות ככתוב בטחו בה' עדי עד כי ביה ה' צור עולמים [ישעיה כו ד].
צור צייר. דבר אחר. עולמים שנים ולא אחד. העולם הזה והעולם הבא. זה הפסוק
מלמדך כי ביה ה' צור עולמים בשם יה צר שני עולמים כי שני שמות הם. יה הי. בשם
האחד צר עולם הזה ובשם השני העולם הבא. יה והי. יהוה. ארבעה שמות יה יה והי. מה
ירצה לומר צבאות. אות הוא בצבאות שלו. כי כל צבאותיו אינם יכולים לראותו כי אם
20 באות. אלהי ישראל. שר הוא ישראל לפני האל. אלהים חיים. כי הוא חי על כל החיים.
כי שלשה נקראו חיים. מים חיים. דרך עץ החיים שנאמר את דרך עץ החיים [בראשית

F_1 (חללה ידו נחש בריח. זה התלי) | L (חללה ידו) | L (בדבר ה' שמים נעשו וברוחו פיו כל צבאם.
מה אתה) F_2 (וברוחו...צבאם) | L (כל צבא השמים וגם הכוכבים) | P_3 (השמים וגם הכוכבים ושני
המאורות | P צבא (השמים) | L (השמים שנאמר שאו מרום ענייכם וראו מי) F_4 (המוציא במספר צבאם
לכולם בשם יקרא) | P (לכולם בשם יקרא) L_5 (כי האלהים קרא שמות של כוכבים) | P (כל השמות
6 N ושל כל צבא השמים) | L (השמים ומפסוק) אחר תדע מספר [?] לכוכבים | MNP ומפסוק אחר נדע
| FL (לכלם שמות יקרא) N_7 ואחר זה הפסוק כתו' גדול אדונינו | L (רב כח לתבונתו אין מספר
ללמדך) | N (רב כח לתבונתו אין מספר) | FN (לתבונתו אין מספר) P_8 כי יותר מראה | N כי יותר
מראה האלהים | F מסדר מעשה מלאכת הכוכבים והמזלות נקראו צבא השמים שני' ואתה והגלגל | L
(המזלות והתלי והגלגל והעגלה) L_9 (גדלו בשאר) מעשה העולם אין בעולם כחכמה | P ואין תבונה
נפלא F_{10} (הזאת) | L (כתוב שכל העולם) L_{11} (בו בתלי וגלגל כן) | PN וכל אשר בו מתלי | N כן
מנהיגים מן הלב | L כן מתנהג אף בלב בני האדם F_{12} (אף בני) | F (הוא) | L (הגוף) | L (שלש אמות)
14 P (ה') | F שבהן חקק יה' צבאות | L שבהן יסד יה' אלהים אלהי ישראל אלהים
חיים N_{15} וקדוש שמו ביה יצר את שני עולמות | F (בטחו בה' עדי עד) L_{16} דבר אחר הוא | F (ולא
אחד) | P שני עולמים שנים הם ולא אחד | N שנים הם היולם הזה | N והעולם הבא ד' א צור עולמים שנים
זה הפסוק | L (זה הפסוק מלמדך... צור עולמים בשם) F_{17} ללמדך | P (צור) עולמים | P כי שני שמות
הם. יה יהי! | F כי שני שמות הם. יה והי | L (יה הי. בשם האחד צר עולם) הזה ובשם אחר העולם הבא
(יה והי. יהוה. ארבעה) P_{19} מי ירצה | L (מה ירצה לומר) | L (בצבאות שלו) כי כל צבאות אינם כי
אם באות (אלהי ישראל... לפני האל) | N אות הוא בצבא בצבא שלו כי כל צבאיו | F לראות F_{20} (שר
הוא ישראל לפני האל) אלהים חיים הוא חי על אלהים חיים | L אלהים חיים | N אלהים חיים
21 L (כי שלשה נקראו חיים) | FN (כי שלשה נקראו... כי הוא חי על כל החיים)
| L (דרך עץ החיים שנאמר את דרך) עץ חיים (אלהים חיים. כי הוא... כי הוא חי על כל החיים)

ג כד]. אלהים חיים. כי הוא חי על כל החיים. אל שהוא חזק ואמיץ. שדי שעד כאן די. פירוש אחר. שדי. אש אוכלה אש שודדת. רם שהוא יושב ברומו של עולם והוא רם על כל הרמים. נושא נשא הוא על כל הנשאים בכבוד ובגודל תפארתו והוא נושא וסובל הכל בדברו ובכח גבורתו מעלה ומטה ודרך כל הנושאים הם למטה ונושאים עליהם את של מעלה מהם והוא למעלה ונושא את של מעלה מהם ואת של מטה וכל מה שתחתיו והוא נושא וסובל את כל העולם כולו בתליית דברו ככתוב נטה צפון על תהו תלה ארץ על בלימה [איוב כו ז]. שוכן עד. שמלכותו עדי עד ואין לה סוף וקץ. וקדוש שמו שהוא קדוש ומשרתיו קדושים ולו אומרים בכל יום תמיד קדוש קדוש קדוש ה' צבאות מלא כל הארץ כבודו [ישעיהו ג]. שנים עשר למטה שמשים ומשרתים ושבעה הם אדונים עליהם ושלושה אדונים על השבעה. ומן השלושה יסד מעונו וכולן תלויים באחד. סימן לאחד כי אין לו שני. והוא אל מלך נאמן יחיד בעולמו שהוא אחד ושמו אחדשלושה אבות ותולדותיהם. הם אדונים על השבעה ושבעה כובשים וצבאותיהם הם כובשים ומושלים על צבאותיהם של שנים עשר. ושנים עשר גבולי אלכסון וראיה נאמנת לדבר האלהות שלושה עדים נאמנים. עולם שנה ונפש. עולם ספירתו בעשרה שבעה ושלושה. שלושה מים ורוח ואש. שבעה שבעה כוכבים. ועל ספירת העשרה של עולם נספרים ונוספים 15 אף שנים עשר מזלות. הנה עשרים ושתים ספירות בעולם. שנה. ספירתה בעשר שבעה ושלושה. שלושה קור וחום ורויה מכריע בין קור לחום. שבעה ימי בראשית הם שבעה ימי השבוע ועליהם נספרים ונוספים אף שנים עשר חדשים. הנה עשרים ושתים ספירות לשנה. נפש. ספירתה בעשרה שבעה ושלושה. שלושה ראש ובטן וגוייה מכרעת בין ראש לבטן. שבעה שבעה שערים ועליהם נספרים ונוספים אף שני עשר מנהיגים. הנה עשרים 20 ושתים ספירות לנפש. אבל עיקר הספירות של עולם ושל שנה ושל נפש עשרה. עשרה הם שלושה ושבעה ושנים עשר הספירות הן תחתיהן ופקודים כלם בתלי גלגל ולב. תלי בעולם כמלך על כסאו. גלגל בשנה כמלך במדינה. לב בגוף כמלך במלחמה. פירוש. תלי כמלך על שני המאורות ועל חמשה הכוכבים ועל כל דבר הנעשה בעולם בין

P_1 (חי) L (ואמיץ... שדי. אש אוכלה) P_2 (אש) L (והוא רם על כל הרמים. נושא נשא הוא על כל הנשאים) F_3 (בכבוד) P (ובתפארה) N (תפארתו) F_4 ודרך כל הנושאים הם למטה ונושאים הם למעלה אבל הבורא ית' הוא נושא וסובל הכל והוא על כל בדבור שגא' נטה צפון על תהו | L (ודרך כל הנושאים הם למטה) N הוא למעלה ונושאים למעלה עליהם אש של מעלה מהם L_5 (את של מעלה מהם ואת של מטה וכל מה שתחתיו) N | את של מעלה (מהם) L_6 (נטה צפון על תהו תלה ארץ על בלימה. שוכן עד) F (תלה ארץ על בלימה) L_7 עדי עד שאין לה תכלית ולא סוף ולא קץ | P עד עולמי עד ואין לה סוף P (שמו) L_8 (ומשרתיו קדושים ולו) F (מלא...כבודו) L_9 (ושבעה הם אדונים) P_{10} ושלושה הם אדונים FNP_{11} (כי) FN והוא אחד ושמו אחד LN_{12} ושבעה כבשים כובשים LN_{13} על צבאותיהם הם שנים עשר גבולי אלכסון FN וראיה לדבר עדים נאמנים וראיה נאמנת לדבר האלהות L_{14} עולם ושנה ונפש N עולם ספירתו עשרה שבעה ושלושה F_{15} ג' ימים רוח אש F ו' (שבעה) הכוכבים F (נוספים) L_{16} (מזלות. הנה... ונוספים אף שנים עשר) חדשים FN ספירות יש לעולם N שנה. ספירתה בעשר ושבעה ושלושה N_{17} מכריע בין קור וחום N (הם) NP_{19} יש לשנה F (שלושה) ראש L (מכרעת) F_{20} בין ראש ובין הבטן N (שבעה) שבעה שערים FN והם נספרים ונוספים N אף שנים עשר מזלות | גם שנים עשר מנהיגים LNP_{21} ספירות יש לנפש N ושל נפש (עשרה) עשרה הם F_{22} ופקודיהן | P ושנים עשר הנוספים תחתיהם ופקודים | L עשרה עשרה עשרה כי הם אדנים על הכל כי י"ב של עולם ושל שנה ושל נפש [?] נוספות הן ותחת ממשלת העשרה הן חוק כל הספירות עשרה הן [?] שלושה ושבעה וי"ב הנוספות הן תחתיהן ופקודים L_{23} (פירוש) LN_{24} תלי על כסאו על המאורות N ועל (חמשה) הכוכבים | L ועל חמשה שבעים [?] ועל כל דבר שנעשה בעולם N ועל כל הדבר הנעשה בעולם

ברע ובין בטוב. גלגל בשנה כמלך במדינה כי מתוך גלגל הגלגל נעשה היום והלילה. וקור וחום וקיץ וחורף ומטר ושלג וברד וכפור וטל ויובש וחורב ורוטב ושנוי ארבעה העיתים והתקופות והמולד של לבנה. לב בגוף כמלך במלחמה. כי הלב עם הנפש שבתוכו מנהיג את כל הגוף ומוזיירו לטובה ולרעה ולהתייגע ולעמול ולשמח ולדאג ולהוליד ולזרוע ולנטוע ולבזר ולפזר ולעשות כל דבר בין בטוב ובין ברע. כללו של דבר מקצת אלה מצטרפין עם אלה ואלה עם אלה. אלה תמורת אלה ואלה תמורת אלה. אלה כנגד אלה ואלה כנגד אלה. אם אין אלה אין אלה ואם אין אלה אין אלה כי לא יעילו אלה מבלי אלה ואלה מבלי אלה. וכלן אדוקין בתלי גלגל ולב. גם כל חפץ ברא אלהים זה לעומת זה. טוב לעומת רע. רע לעומת טוב. הטוב מטוב הרע מרע. טוב מבחין את הרע. והרע מבחין את הטוב. טובה גנוזה לטובים. רעה גנוזה לרעים. וכשבא אברהם אבינו הביט וראה והבין וחקר וחקק וחצב וצרף ויצר וחשב ועלתה בידו ונגלה עליו אדון הכל והושיבו בחיקו ונשקו על ראשו וקראו אוהבו ושמו בנו וכתת לו ברית ולזרעו עד עולם ככתוב אשר כרת את אברהם ושבעתו ליצחק [תהלים קה ט] וכתוב והאמן בה' ויחשבה לו צדקה [בראשית טו ו] וקרא עליו כבוד ה' בטרם אצורך בבטן ידעתך [ירמיה א ה] וכתת לו ברית בין עשר אצבעות רגליו והוא ברית המילה וכתת לו ברית בין עשר אצבעות ידיו. ברית לשון הקודש וייחוד האל. קשר לו בפיו ובלשונו עשרים ושתיים אותיות. שנים עשר עומדים במלחמה. שלושה אויבים ואלה הם הלשון והכבד והמרה. הלשון מדברת דבר לרעת הגוף. הכבד טוחן המאכל בחומו והוא מגרה המאכל והמשתה. המרה מרגזת ומכעסת ומסמאה ומחרשת. ושלושה אוהבים ואלה הם העינים והאזנים והלב. העינים מאירות את הגוף להנהיגו בכל דבר הערב והטוב לנפש ולגוף. האזנים הנה שומעות ומשמיעות לגוף כל דבר בין טוב ובין רע. הלב מחשב מחשבות ועצות עם הכליות להנהיג את הגוף בין בטוב ובין ברע. ושלושה מחיים ואלה הם שני חוטמי האף והטחול. שני חוטמי האף הם הנחיריים המתנשמים ברוח נשמת החיים ומריחים ריח טוב ורע. והטחול מקרר את חום ריתוח הקרבים ומגרה את השחוק לשמח את הגוף. ושלושה ממימים ואלה הם שני נקבים התחתונים והפה. שני נקבים התחתונים הוא הטחור המוציא את צואה ופי השלפוחית המוציא את מי הרגלים. אם יסתמו לרוב

P_1 בין רע בין ר'ע טוב P וגלגל בשנה P_2 (וטל) L וטל יבש וחורב (רוטב) P (ושנוי) F (ארבעה) F_3 ומולד הלבנה F_4 (כל) L ומוזיירו לטובה N ומוזיירו לטובה L_5 ולנטוע ולשבר ולפזר ולעשות כל דבר NP_6 כל מקצת אלה F (אלה תמורת אלה) L ואלה תמורת אלה ואלה מצטרפין עם אלה ואלה עם אלה FN_7 (אם אין אלה אין אלה) N_8 וכלן אדוקין בתלי מגלגל ולב F_{10} רעה גנוזה לרעים. טובה גנוזה לצדיקים N_{11} אברהם אבינו ע'ה P (והבין) L (חקק וחצב וצרף ויצר) P (וחצב) N נגלה עליו אדון הכל L_{12} (ונשקו על ראשו וקראו) L וכתת ברית לו ולזרעו בעולם ככתוב (אשר... עליו כבוד ה') N וכתת לו ברית ולזרעו ואשריו[?] בעולם N_{13} (אשר כרת את אברהם ושבעתו ליצחק וכתוב) והאמן (בה' ויחשבה... וקרא עליו) כבוד יה' ככתוב בטרם אצורך... F (ושבעתו ליצחק) FN_{14} נאמר והאמן F (ויחשבה לו צדקה) F_{15} (ידעתך) P (וכרת לו ברית בין עשר אצבעות רגליו והוא ברית המילה) L והוא ברית בשר מילה F_{16} כברית לשון הקודש וייחוד אלהים P וייחוד האל הקדוש L קשר (לו) בפיו P_{18} הלשון מדבר דבר לגוף F הלשון מדבר דבר לרע לגוף N הלשון מדבר לרעת הגוף L_{19} והוא מגרה תאות[?] המאכל LP המרה מרגזת ומחרשת ומתכעסת ומסמאת ומגריזו אותו בכל דבר בין בטוב בין ברע. האזנים להשמיעו כל דבר חכמה ובינה P_{21} האזנים מאירות ומשמיעות לגוף הכל בין טוב בין רע P_{22} בין טוב בין רע N (בטוב) F (בין טוב ובין רע) L_{23} (והטחול. שני חוטמי האף) P_{24} ומגרה השחוק והשמחה לשמח את הגוף P_{26} הם הטחור F הטחור המוציא את הרע L (המוציא את... יפתחו לרוב)

או אם יפתחו לרוב ממימים את גוף. והפה אם יאכל בו מאכלים רעים או ידבר בו דברים רעים הוא ממימית. שלושה דברים שהם ברשותו של אדם ואלה הם הידים והרגלים והשפתים. הידים אם ירצה האדם להניעם ולעשות עמהם בין טוב ובין רע או אם ירצה להשקיטם שלא לעשות מהם מאומה ברשותו הם. וכן הרגלים בין להסיען ובין להוליכן ובין להעמידן מליילך ומליסע ברשותו הם. והשפתים אם ירצה אדם בין לדבר בין להחריש ברשותו הם. שלושה דברים שאינן ברשותו. שתי עיניו ושתי אזניו ושתי נחיריו. ראות העינים בלא חפצו דבר שאינו רוצה לראות. וכן הנחירים מריחים בלא חפצו ריח רע שאינו רוצה להריח וכן האזנים שומעות בלא חפצו שמועה או קול שלא תהיה כונתו לשמוע. שלושה שמיעות לאזן רעות. הן קללה וגדוף ושמועה רעה. שלושה שמיעות לאזן טובות ברכה ושבח ושמועה טובה. שלושה ראיות רעות לעין. עין נואף ועין גנבה ועין רעה. שלושה ראיות לעין טובות. עין בשת ועין אמנה ועין טובה. שלושה ריחות רעות ריח נבאש וריח כבד וקשה וריח סמי המות. שלושה ריחות טובות. ריח סמים טובים ריח חריף כחרדל ופלפל ושכמותו וריח מאכל ומשתה. שלושה רעות ללשון דבור רע והמלשין והמדבר אחד בפה ואחד בלב. שלושה טובות ללשון שתיקה ושמירת הלשון ודבור אמת. זה ספר אותיות של אברהם אבינו ע"ה הנקרא ספר יצירה וכל המבין בו אין שיעור לחכמתו.

L 1 (את גוף... ואלה הם הידים והרגלים) P | (את הגוף) F | ממימים את האדם FN (והפה אם יאכל... דברים רעים הוא ממימית) L | (והפה אם יאכל... ואלה הם הידים והרגלים) והשפתים F 3 ואלה הם הידים והרגלים והרגלים השפתים L | (הידיים... בין טוב ובין) P | או ירצה N 4 שלא לעשות עמהם רע הם ברשותו F | שלא לעשות בהם N 5 ומליסע ברשותו של אדם הם P | וכן השפתים N | והשפתים אם הוא רוצה לדבר או להחריש P 6 בין להחריש הרשות בידו. ושלושה דברים שאינן ברשותו של אדם ואלו הן F | (ברשותו הם) N | וג' דברים אינן ברשותו L | (שלושה דברים שאינן ברשותו) P 7 בלא חפצו רואה דבר שאינו רוצה לראות N | (דבר שאינו רוצה לראות) וכן שמיעת האזנים F | לראות וכן שמיעת האזנים N | מריחים ריח רע אע"פ שלא היה רוצה וכן הנחירים בלא רצונו L 8 חפצו דבר רע F | ריח שאינו רוצה (להריח) L | (רוצה להריח... או קול שלא תהיה) FN | (וכן האזנים שומעות... קול שלא תהיה כונתו לשמוע) N 9 (שלושה שמיעות לאזן רעות... ושמועה רעה) L | (לאזן רעות. הן קללה... ברכה ושבח ושמועה טובה) P | לאזן רעות ואלה הם P 10 (לאזן) טובות P | שלושה ראיות רעות לעינים ואלה הם N | ג' שמועות רעות לאזן ואלה הם עין נואף L | (עין נואף ועין גנבה ועין רעה) P 11 שלושה ראיות יפות ואלה הם N | ג' ראיות טובות לעין ואלה הם F 12 ריחות רעות הן ריח רעות וריח כבד N | וריח סם מות L | (ריחות טובות) F | ג' ריחות טובות הן (סמים טובים) N 13 ופלפל וכיוצא בהן וריח מאכל P | (מאכל) F | וריח מאכל ומשתה וריח בשמים טובים F | דבור כוב P 14 דבור הרבה והמלשין L | אחד בפה ואחד ולב והמדבר אחד בפה ואחד בלב P 15 (זה ספר... לחכמתו) L | (ע"ה) הנקרא (ספר יצירה... שיעור) F | ספר יצירה שפירש החכם ר' שבתי דונגלו הרופא תהיה נפשו צרורה בצרור החיים N 16 לחכמתו. והוא לחכם ר' שבתאי הרופא תנצ"ב בר"ח ל'ב'א' אמן

NOTES TO THE CRITICAL TEXT

פירוש ספר יצירה הנקרא ספר חכמוני

Line 3 p. 137. The first part of this poem, from the beginning up to רעה תחת חסדי, is based on final syllables ending in *day*. According to the standard pronunciation of Hebrew, the fourth stich (ישיעוהו אל אם יכתבהו) (בשם שבת) ends in *tay*, which breaks the rhyming scheme of the poem. This, however, may well reflect the pronunciation of Hebrew among Italian Jews, who until recent times were reading the letter *tav* in the middle and at the end of a word as dental “d” (in this case the author’s name שבת should end in *day*, which perfectly fits the rhyme). See on this Fortis, *La parlata degli ebrei*, p. 88. If this is correct, Donnolo’s poem would be among the first attestations—actually the first one, to the best of my knowledge—of this linguistic feature. M and P read here בשמי בחירי שתיתי, which is very problematic and totally incompatible with the rhyming scheme of the poem.

Line 7 p. 137. All the manuscripts read מכל מלמדי השכלתי [literally, *wiser than all my teachers I became*] (Ps. 119:99) as in the Masoretic text. However, as observed by Geiger, “Introduction,” 30 and Castelli, *Il commento*, 2 n. 4, this verse breaks the rhyming scheme, which requires that each stich should end with the syllable *ay*. Geiger suggested, therefore, that the correct reading is השכלתי מכל מלמדי, which seems plausible. The verse may have been restored to its original biblical form as a result of scribal hypercorrection.

Line 11 p. 137. This verse is attested only in F and P, none of which seem to have a correct reading. F reads ינקום, missing the *waw* of the acrostic, while P has ויקום, which is in all probability a corruption of וינקום (so as to read וינקום נקמתי, probably the correct reading). I have therefore inserted a *waw* in square brackets and indicated the textual difficulty by a *crux*.

Lines 16–17 p. 139. The entire passage of biblical quotations from ברוך רחמיך רבים ה' כמשפטיך חייני to אתה ה' למדיני is attested only in G. In all the other witnesses this passage is omitted, possibly by homeoteleuton with the end of the preceding sentences (בספר הנקרא חכמוני ...).

Line 22 p. 139. P here reads ימי החודש ["days of the month"], which seems to be spurious. In G the names of the months are written vertically in four columns, under which is written "days of the month"; see below Appendix, photo 1. The scribe of P, probably copying from a manuscript which had the same text layout of G, possibly misunderstood the passage, reading ימי החודש together with ימי השבוע. The text which precedes the calendrical and astrological chart (from מחזור של כוכבים ושל תלי to בתולה) explains how to read the table. Without the table (attested only in G) these words are meaningless and even qualified astrologers would find it very difficult to imagine what they refer to. This explains why this passage appears in so many different versions in the manuscripts. P has בתולה מאזנים אריה סרטן דגים גדי דלי, followed by a complete sequence of the twelve zodiacal constellations; as the scribe himself tells us (ובספר אשר העקתי ממנו אין בו מן המזלות כי אם שבעה והן) (בתולה מאזנים אריה סרטן דגים גדי דלי ... f. 9b, lines 11–13), he probably did not understand the meaning of the sequence of names of the seven constellations which he deemed to be incomplete, and which he emended by completing the list of twelve constellations, probably following the example of the previous passage, where the names of all the seven planets are mentioned.

Similarly in M (f. 28a lines 12–13), where a complete series of names of all the twelve constellations is attested (M, however, omits תלי). G and Par have בתולה מאזנים אריה סרטן דגים אריה דגים, which in a similar form appear also in both U (בתולה מאזנים אריה סרטן דגים אריה דלי, f. 32 lines 18–19) and N (בתולה מאזנים אריה סרטן דגים דלי, f. 1b lines 7–9). F has a much shorter version (בתולה מאזנים אריה סרטן דגים), which probably arises from omission by homeoteleuton of the last two names (אריה דגים). None of the manuscripts has what should be the correct version: the seven constellations representing the "houses" of the seven planets, that is to say, the positions that the planets were occupying when the chart was drawn. According to the principles of Ptolemaic mathematics, the correct correspondence should be: Sun = Virgo; moon = Libra; Saturn = Leo; Jupiter = Cancer; Mars = Capricorn; Venus = Leo; Mercury = Leo; Dragon/lunar node = Pisces (בתולה מאזנים אריה סרטן גדי אריה אריה דגים).

G and Par are much closer to the correct version: they have דגים after סרטן, which is probably the product of metathesis and then emendation of גדי (דגי corrected in דגים), but they omit one of the two instances of אריה (Leo), probably merged into one. The text which here follows is the version of G. In the English translation the passage has been completed with words in square brackets and emended accordingly.

הקדמה לספר יצירה

Line 2 p. 163. The manuscripts have different versions of this incipit but almost all of them have נתחיל or similar forms. N and F present two very similar versions (N reads פירוש ספר יצירה פירוש תחלת which probably is a gemination by homeoteleuton). The text follows here the version of P which reads ... נתחיל פירוש תחילת בריאת בראשית וספר יצירת העולם שמסר ... which appears in similar forms in the beginnings of the three Books of the commentary on SY. F has ונתחיל which the scribe of N, probably by homeoteleuton, has omitted.

Line 11 p. 164. M and N omit ואהיה ששועים ואהיה. Donnolo, however, in order to explain the meaning of the biblical passage, paraphrases it, writing רבות והבטות כלומר ואהיה ראיית רבות והבטות, taking the verb as an integral part of the verse on which he comments.

Line 17 p. 165. F and N read ובשעת מולדו בין בטוב ובין ברע, while M has ובשעת זרעיתו בין טוב ובין רע, which is probably a scribal mistake.

ספר ראשון

Line 18 p. 168. L, M and P read משלשת מיני הברק which does not seem to fit either of Donnolo's explanation or the *Book of Wisdom*, where there is no reference to the three different types of lighting. This variant probably derives from misreading and then hypercorrection of משל (i.e., from משל through משלשל to משלשלת).

Line 10 p. 169. M, N and P read האלהים תלה את העולם כולו בבלימה which is problematic particularly in relation to the verse of Job mentioned above, where is said that God תלה ארץ על בלימה The variant of M, N and P may well have been generated by omission of על (graphically

similar to כל and which in cursive script can easily be misunderstood as a repetition; see variants of L, N and P in line 46), which the scribes have probably tried to correct with בבלימה.

Line 7 p. 172. The text which follows the biblical quotation here is probably corrupted. N and P read בשליש כדבר לתלותם and similarly M reads בשליש בדבר. The text here follows the reading of K and F that read לתלותם בדבר השלישי which seems to fit better the meaning of the text. By the same token, on line 14 p. 173 the text follows the variant of L and N which read בשליש היד ללשון instead of של הלשון (in F) and similarly לשון של בשלישית (in P).

Line 14 p. 172. See below, English Translation, n. 55.

Lines 17–18 p. 173. F, M and P omit, probably by homeoteleuton, the entire sentence which is attested only in L.

Line 24 p. 173. F and P add דלת עם כלן וכלן עם דלת. This passage, which is not attested in any recension of SY or by other witnesses of SH, is probably a scribal addition.

Line 26 p. 173. This is probably one of the most significant passages in the work concerning Donnolo's Neoplatonic concept of *creatio ex-nihilo*. F, M and P read יצר מתהו ממש, as if the source of primordial substance were the *tohu* (the “unformed substance”), while L (as well as K and V which belong to the same branch of the stemma but which have not been included in the apparatus) reads יצר מאמש תהו, which perfectly fits SY's dictum that the three mothers—*aleph*, *mem* and *shin*—are the source of all material things. According to Hayman (*Sefer Yeşira*, 104), the same reading is attested in six witnesses (mss. L, F, P, I, Q, R) of the Short Recension of SY, three of which (L, Q and R), it is interesting to note, were produced in Italy.

Line 11 p. 176. F reads here ומהם רוח ומים ואש [“and from them (were created) air, water and fire”], which is problematic, since both SY and SH do not refer to the “fathers” as separate entities from the three elements they represent, unless one reads ומהם as the rhetorical question? ומהם? [“and what are they?”] analogous to כיצד [“how?”], which occurs in the text from time to time, as immediately below.

Lines 18–20 p. 177. All the manuscripts omit here, probably by homeoteleuton, ויש רויה בשנה המולדת ומצמחת ומפרה נקבות בין בבריות בין בפירות, which not only perfectly fits the meaning of the text but which is necessary in order to complete the explanation concerning the duality of masculine and feminine in air and moisture (רויה and אויר). This passage is attested only in K, which for this reason here has been included in the apparatus of the commentary on SY. The hypothesis that this passage was part of the original text and not an addition of the scribe of K is corroborated, moreover, by M, which omits only המולדת ומצמחת ומפרה, thus reading בין בעשבים בין בצמחי (in this closely resembling the text of K).

Line 20 p. 177. All the manuscripts omit different parts of the text (probably by homeoteleuton) and the parchment of L is severely damaged and not completely readable. The most comprehensive version of the text is in M, where only בין בבריות is omitted.

ספר שני

Lines 11–12 p. 180. The text here follows the version of L, where the examples concerning the position of a letter in a word follows the order of beginning-middle-end (בין בראש דבור בין בתוך דבור בין בסוף), which is more logical and on the whole preferable to the version attested in F, M, N and P that arbitrarily read בין בראש דבור בין בסוף דבור בין בבתוך דבור. Moreover, L, like M, reads (בין בראש דבור בין בתוך דבור בין בסוף בין בכל מקום) which perfectly fits the meaning of the passage and which is preferable to דבור on line 9, attested by the other manuscripts.

Lines 6–7 p. 182. The text here follows P which reads שלישי יד בדבור. N and L have שלישי בדבור which is somewhat misleading, meaning “a third in a word”, and which is not precisely what Donnolo meant to say, similarly appearing in F as שלישי דבור.

שלישי יד בדבור is a common expression attested in Hebrew astrological texts (see, for example ms. Vat. 214 [ms. V, above 108–110] ff. 23b–30b) as well as in some rabbinical texts (see Jastrow, *A Dictionary*, I, 563, 3) to indicate a portion, namely a third, of a specific object (in astrology, the third of a degree, or a third [i.e. 10 degrees, that is, a *decan*] of a constellation). The variants of N, L, F and P are not radically different and the meaning is in any case clear. שלישי יד בדבור, however, is *lectio*

difficilior, and probably closer to the original text (the variants of N, L and F, moreover, may well have derived from the omission of יד).

Lines 15–16 p. 182. The text here follows the version of N. F and P are defective, since some elements of the combination are missing.

Lines 17 p. 182 – 11 p. 183. This combinatory chart is attested only by P. F contains only some of the possible permutations of the word דברים as attested in P, and omits the whole section concerning שכתבנו. None of the extant manuscripts contains the entire set of possible permutations (e.g. 120 for a word of five letters; 720 for a word of six letters, etc . . .). Donnolo aims to explain the principles governing the combinatory mechanism, not to offer a comprehensive list of all the possible permutations. This explains why in all the witnesses—including L, which normally contains very detailed examples and explanations of Donnolo and SY's claims concerning the combinations of letters and numbers (see, for example, the note below), in this section consists of only some of the possible mathematical combinations.

Several items in this passage were transmitted in a corrupted form. Many words are repeated, while many others lack one or more letters. For the sake of clarity, *cruces* have been inserted to indicate only those words of the series where letters have been repeated or omitted. In some places (see p. 182, lines 22, 26), the witnesses have deteriorated and their interpretation is therefore uncertain. This was indicated in the edition by question marks in square brackets.

Lines 20 p. 183 – 9 p. 184. The text here follows L, since all the other manuscripts offer a much shorter and abridged version of the text. I have discussed all this in detail in the previous chapter; see above 110–113.

Line 14 p. 185. All the manuscripts read “the seventh” (השביעי or שביעי), with the exception of F which has שבעה (“seven”). P reads חבב אלהים את לכל הפץ יום השביעי which is probably the product of a scribal attempt to clarify the meaning of the ordinal number.

All the biblical verses that Donnolo quotes in support of SY's claim, however, refer to the cardinal number and not the ordinal seven (which, admittedly, is attested in all the versions of SY). The text therefore follows here the reading of F, which seems to fit better Donnolo's explanation.

Line 1 p. 186. The text here follows the version of L where **חן וכיעור** (“beauty and ugliness”) are said to be in relation to the letter *resh*, while **ממשלה ועבדות** (“mastery and servitude”) are associated with *tav*, just as in SY. In all the other witnesses the relation is reversed, being therefore incompatible not only with Donnolo’s words (see p. 186, lines 25–26) but also with the text of SY.

Line 7 p. 186. All the manuscripts, with the only exception of L, omit **ומלחמה** (“and war”), while N reads **ורעה**. **מלחמה** completes the series of the antithetic elements and is crucial for the comprehension of the text. This is another good example where the text of L restores a passage that in all the other manuscript is clearly corrupted.

Line 3 p. 187. After **אם הוא חכם גדול** all the witnesses add **ולא יכעיס** (P), **ואינו כועס** (F) or **ולא יכעוס** (M, N), which seems somewhat redundant, particularly in comparison to the second part of the sentence. The text follows L, where this expression is not attested.

Line 17 p. 188. L and P read **בין הקור של מעלה ובין הקור של מטה**, thus apparently making a distinction between two types of coldness, which is incompatible with what Donnolo says in the text.

Line 10 p. 189. The manuscripts present different versions of this passage, with the exception of M and P, whose texts are coincident. F and L have shorter but not identical versions, and on the whole it is difficult to ascertain which version is closer to the original.

The text here follows the version of M and P, on the assumption that most of the variations observed in the other witnesses derive from an erroneous reading of the text attested in M and P: **בשלים** after **בשלוה**, for example, but also **בעלז** before **ובעושר** may well have been confused and then omitted, as in F, L and N. **במנוחה** attested in F, moreover, probably comes from a misreading of **במלכות** attested in M, N, P but also in L. N, in addition to that, omits from **בשלים** to **ובשמחה** (probably by homeoarcton), beginning the series with **בעזים**, which is probably a misreading of **בעלז** attested in M and P.

Line 13 p. 189. The term **בעולם** is omitted by all witnesses, with the exception of L. This term perfectly fits the meaning of the sentence where Donnolo refers to the creation of the terrestrial creatures. The omission was probably due to misreading and confusion of **בעולם** with the first

word of the following expression **בעל היים**, by homeoarcton. A scribe, for example, may well have miscopied **בעל היים בעולם** writing **בעל היים בעל**, therefore causing the omission of the third word **בעל**, read by another scribe as a useless repetition.

Line 24 p. 189. M, N and P read here **והקור מקבלת מן החום הרב** which is totally contradictory and in contrast with the meaning of the text. The text here follows L, which reads **והקור מקבלת מן הרום הרב שעליה**.

Line 16 p. 191. L offers here a very interesting but also problematic variant, reading **אור** (“light”) instead of **קור** (lit. “coldness”). The moon is visible normally only at night and its light can be easily related to or thought to be the cause of the night’s coldness. What we read in L (**... ונקפא האור שלה**), however, does not fit the meaning of the text and is probably a scribal error.

Line 26 p. 191. F, M and P read here **ומתעבר** [“becomes impregnated”], which seems out of line with the growth process described by Donnolo in this passage. The text and the translation follow the variant **מתעבה** [“grows thick”] attested in L and N.

Lines 5–6 p. 192. The text follows L, the only witness where **וכל עת שהיא** **דבר** **הולך התהום מתחת לארץ טובה היא לכל דבר** is attested. All the other manuscripts omit this passage, probably by homeoteleuton with the final words in the previous sentence (**... היא לכל דבר**).

Lines 24 p. 194 – 6 p. 195. The entire section is attested only in L. As I explained in the previous chapter (see above 111 n. 14), this passage not only perfectly fits the meaning of the text and is crucial to understand the theory of the planetary hours, but it also restores the text, which in all the other manuscripts is clearly corrupted.

ספר שלישי

Lines 6–9 p. 196. F, L and M show similar versions of the text here. In F and L, however, the text concerning the four directions associated with **גבול מזרחה** is corrupted, with various omissions probably due to homeoarcton. The text follows here the reading of M.

Lines 9 p. 199 – 8 p. 200. The entire passage here, from **ולבא שלושים** to **שעות ועשר שעות** of line 8 p. 200 is attested only in L. This passage, as explained in the previous chapter (see above 139), not only perfectly fits the rest of the text but is an integral part of the long explanation concerning the relationships between the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, the constellations in the universe, and the months of the year. In all the other witnesses this section appears in an abbreviated form which is probably the product of scribal intervention.

Line 25 p. 200. L reads **ביצי** which is clearly superior to **גידי** (lit. “ducts”) attested in all the other witnesses. **גידי** does not offer any relevant new information concerning the circulation of the semen through the body, speaking twice of “ducts”, while L correctly says, according to the principles of Hippocratic-Galenic medicine, that semen, after it has circulated through the body, gathers into the testicles (**ביצי**), from which it is ejaculated. **גידי** may well have derived from a misreading of **ביצי**, which in cursive script is graphically very similar to **גידי**.

Line 16 p. 201. F, M and N omit **והפועל בידיים** which is attested in L and which parallels **והחגרות ברגלים** of the concluding part of the sentence. The hypothesis that this expression was part of the original text is further corroborated by P, where we read **המעשה והמלאכה בידיים**, which is probably a corrupted version (namely by omitting **והפועל**) of the version attested in L.

Lines 20–21 p. 201. F, M, N and P read **בדמות תנין גדול כנחש גדול עקלתון**, repeating **גדול**. The second **גדול** is somewhat redundant and different from the expression **עקלתון כנחש עקלתון** which Donnolo uses immediately below (... **אל קצה כבריה כנחש עקלתון והעוקל שלו** ... line 118). The text here follows L.

Lines 3–6 p. 205. L omits several sections of the text here, probably by homeoteleuton. F omits **בתליית**, a term that fits the general meaning of this passage, particularly in relation to the verse of Job where a similar expression (**על בלימה תלה ארץ**) is used.

Line 21 p. 205. L has a different version of this passage, which is considerably longer and more elaborate than in any other witness, but which is also problematic and not entirely clear. There is no apparent need, for example, to repeat **עשרה** three times (one of these, however, may well

belong to the preceding passage) while in **הכל כי י"ב של עולם ושל שנה** and **ושל נפש**, a word (*sefirot?*) is probably missing, just as in the following **ונוספות הן ותחת ממשלת העשרה** (and **ותחת**) seems to be missing. The same version is attested in other witnesses (namely K and J, not included here in the apparatus) attributed to the same branch of the stemma (see above *The Manuscript Tradition*, 137–141).

Lines 15–16 p. 207. The last sentence (from **זה ספר אותיות** to **אין שיעור**) is attested in N and L (which here, unfortunately, is not entirely readable due to deterioration of the parchment) and F where, however, **לחכמתו** is omitted. After **לחכמתו**, N reads **והוא לחכם**, probably a scribal addition which appears in a similar form also in F (**... הנקרא ספר יצירה שפירש החכם**). On line 231 the text reads **וכל המבין**, which translates the Aramaic **כל דצפי ביה** of SY, and which does not appear in any version of SY. As Hayman observed (*Sefer Yeşira*, 193–195), a similar translation of the Aramaic passage (**כל המעיין**) is attested in the manuscript tradition of SY only by mss. K (ms. Parma—Biblioteca Palatina 2784; dated to 1286) and R (ms. Paris—Bibliothèque Nationale—809/2; 16th cent.), two manuscripts which, as Hayman himself observed (*ibid.* 195), were produced in Italy.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF
FORMATION CALLED SEFER ḤAKHMONI

Commentary on the Book of Formation,
called Sefer Ḥakhmoni [of] Shabbatai¹

¹ Part of the following introductory section is translated into English in Sharf, *The Universe*, 7–11. The Hebrew text appears on 159–163. Sharf’s text is based on Castelli’s edition of SH which often differs from the present edition. The present translation departs from Sharf’s text accordingly. The following is the first of two rhymed poems which Donnolo composed to proclaim his authorship of the work and to protect its integrity. To this end he employed the device of the acrostic, whereby the initial letters of the stichs formed his signature: חוק בר אברהם חוק הוא דונולו הנולד מאורס חוק, [“Shabbatai, son of Abraham—(be) strong—who is Donnolo born in Oria—(be) strong”]. (*Hazaq* [“strong”], an adjective used as an exclamation, has no equivalent in English). The use of the acrostic is a common literary device which Hebrew developed from its earliest phases. It is attested in many Biblical passages, where it was employed either as a mnemonic, or in order to impose graphic coherence on otherwise disjointed literary elements. See Freedman, “Acrostic Poems,” 408–431; Marcus, “Alphabetic Acrostics,” 110–114. In post-Biblical and particularly in medieval Hebrew poetry, the acrostic was used widely as a mnemonic device, but also to protect the original composition from additions, deletions and involuntary omissions. For such a purpose the acrostic was employed by Yannai and Qilir (ca. 7th–8th centuries), as well as Pinḥas ha-Kohen (8th century) and Sa’adiah Gaon (10th century). See Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry*, 127–129. In most of the poems composed in southern Italy between the 9th and the 11th century, the acrostic was used primarily as a mnemonic, but in a limited number of cases, e.g. some poems by Zevadiah (9th century) and Amittai bar Shefatyah (second half of the 9th century), it was employed also in order to proclaim the authorship of the work. See Schirmann, *Mivḥar ha-shirah*, 9–11. Donnolo used the acrostic for the same purpose, in both his introductory poems to SH, and in one passage in the introductory section of the work (see below n. 84). The two acrostics seem to relate to the contents of the two poems themselves. The first acrostic contains the author’s name and patronymic, which is precisely what the poem warns the reader not to obliterate when copying the text. The acrostic of the second poem reads שְׁבַתִּי בֶר אַבְרָהָם קוֹנֵה חִכְמָה, [“Shabbatai, son of Abraham, acquiring wisdom”], which is in perfect consonance with the content of the poem, consisting of selected verses from the book of Proverbs, all of them dealing with the notion of “wisdom.” The second part of the acrostic (קוֹנֵה חִכְמָה), moreover, is taken from Prov. 16:16 (קִנְיַת חִכְמָה מֵה־שׁוֹב מִתְּרוּץ וְקִנְיַת) [How much better to acquire wisdom than gold; to acquire understanding is preferable to silver], which is one of the verses used in the poem itself. The third acrostic which reads חֹק בֶר אַבְרָהָם חֹק [“Shabbatai, the son of Abraham, (be) strong”], is much

By Almighty God's word, [may] this great peace² / may boundless good blessings and consolations / flow³ to those who copy out this book of my studies. / May God grant him salvation if he copies it out in the name of Shabbatai / without erasing my name from this book of my recondite deliberations [*sodai*],⁴ / but rather let him inscribe my name [to preserve my reputation] among my friends, / for then he will certainly be reckoned to have paid me my due. / For as I trained myself to record my wisdom, He should appreciate how I laboured and toiled with all my might. / I withheld none of my precious findings (lit. "precious things"). / Surely, it is appropriate that he who feeds on my delectable nourishment / should preserve what I have said and record it as I wrote it. / Let him act graciously and not hold it to be beneath his dignity to learn from me by the name my parents gave me. / Let him remember the verse: "I became wiser than all my teachers,"⁵ / let him avert jealousy from his heart and not repay evil for my kindness. / He who wishes to gain a blessing from the Lord and righteousness from the God of my salvation,⁶ as is my wish, / let him hearken [to my plea] and copy my rhymes and my instructions first, / leaving my wisdom, which is the substance of this book, to the end, as I have done. / I bear witnesses that, since I desire to have my ideas inscribed in book form, / I declare that if those [who copy it] do not comply [with my request], the Just Judge will adjudicate my case,⁷ / and the Lord, the God of vengeance⁸ will wreak my vengeance upon them. / God will not be willing to forgive them my insult.⁹ / He

shorter and unrelated to the content of the text in the middle of which it appears. In both the Hebrew edition (see above, Hebrew Text, 137) and the translation, slashes were inserted at the end of each stich as indicated by the running rhyme '(-āy), although the rhyming was not reproduced in the translation.

² Cf. Sal. 119:165.

³ Literally, "come."

⁴ "Secrets," according to Sharf, *The Universe*, 7, 12–13. However, this has an esoteric connotation which seems at odds with the character of the work. Donnolo's main aim in SH is to display and explain what he had learnt in the fields of astronomy, astrology and medicine, and there is no indication that he regarded any of these as esoteric fields of knowledge. For *sod* as counsel, deliberation, see Alcalay, *Hebrew-English Dictionary*, 1735–1736.

⁵ See Ps. 119:99.

⁶ See *ibid.* 24:5.

⁷ See *ibid.* 9:5.

⁸ See *ibid.* 94:1.

⁹ See Deut. 29:19.

will set back their wisdom,¹⁰ preventing them from understanding my deliberations. / Their glory and their splendour will be brought down by God's decree, / and what they say¹¹ will not be preserved among the people of the Lord. / May they be blotted out from the land of the living¹² if they blot out the poem that should commemorate me. / May they descend to their grave alive,¹³ like those who stand against the people of the Lord, / if they refuse to copy my words in the order in which I have set out my teachings. / May my God despise them if they do not spare me [this] disgrace. / But for all this I put my trust in the Lord, my God / who will recompense me for my many years of toil. / The beginning of wisdom¹⁴ is to explain to those who fear the Lord / better than my predecessors have managed to explain the recondite knowledge [contained in] abstruse, inaccessible and profound books. / May His mercies, in which I trust, comfort me for all my agonies and sorrows. / May He grant me a lasting memorial and a good reputation¹⁵ within His house and in the congregation of the Lord; / may He grant wisdom¹⁶ to my children and my children's children.¹⁷ Forever and ever. Amen.

¹⁰ See Is. 44:25.

¹¹ See *ibid.* 57:19.

¹² See Ps. 69:29 and Ex. 32:32.

¹³ See Deut. 29:19. Ms. Parma 2123 (P) reads ספר חיים which seems to be an emendation based on text of the Biblical verse: בַּסֵּפֶר הַזֶּה וּמָחָה יְהוָה אֶת שְׁמוֹ מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם.

¹⁴ See Ps. 111:10; Prov. 4:7; 9:10 and *Wisdom of Solomon*, 7:17: *The beginning of wisdom is the most sincere desire for instruction.* About *Wisdom of Solomon*, see below p. 287 n. 31.

¹⁵ See Is. 56:5.

¹⁶ See Prov. 8:22 which reads: ה' קִנְיֵי רֵאשִׁית דְּרָכּוֹ [*The Lord created me at the beginning of His course*], where the speaker, who is the subject of the entire chapter, is a personification of wisdom. There is no doubt that with the phrase קִנְיֵי רֵאשִׁית דְּרָכּוֹ, which is clearly derived from this verse in Proverbs, Donnolo is obliquely referring to Wisdom. This method of oblique allusion is a well known literary technique, which Donnolo shares with the Hebrew liturgical poets of Palestine in the second half of the first millennium. On this technique, see Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry*, 104–107. Sharf translates the hemistich literally as “may my children and my children's children, be granted for an inheritance to walk in the Lord's ways,” *idem*, *The Universe*, 8. It should be noted that Donnolo's main concern is to transmit to his descendants the knowledge he had acquired, rather than to ensure their moral conduct, as Sharf's interpretation suggests.

¹⁷ Cf. Deut. 4:9.

All this¹⁸ I have put to the test of wisdom; I said “I am resolute to be wise,” but wisdom eluded.¹⁹ I, Shabbatai, son of Abraham, called Donnolo the doctor, with the help of the ever-living God who grants wisdom, understanding and knowledge,²⁰ have sought to discover valuable things,²¹ taking pains to write many books.²² I undertook to seek and search out by wisdom²³ that which the seasons have brought about.²⁴ Oria, the land of my birth, was conquered by Muslim soldiers,²⁵ on Monday, at the fourth hour of the day under the planet of Mars,²⁶ on the ninth day of the month of Tammuz, in the year 4685 since the Creation of the

¹⁸ The section from here to “the lands that are under the Romans’ rule” on p. 227 below is quoted verbatim in the Wistinetzki’s edition of *Sefer Ḥassidim*; see *Sefer Chassidim*, Wistinetzki, ed., 151–152 § 545, where Donnolo’s name is misspelt as *z-w-l-g-w* (Zolgo?). The passage does not appear in the Margoliouth edition of *Sefer Ḥassidim*, Jerusalem, 1957. This is only one of many quotations from Donnolo’s SH in the works of the 12th–13th-century German Pietists. They traced the origin of their own tradition to Italy, from which, following the migration of the Qalonimous family from Lucca to Germany, it was transmitted to the Jewish communities of Northern Europe. See Grossman, “The Migration of the Kalonymus,” 154–186. About the transmission of knowledge from Italy to Germany and the origins of this in the Palestinian milieu, see Bonfil, “Between Eretz Israel and Babylonia,” 1–30, particularly 22, and idem, “Can medieval storytelling?”

¹⁹ See Eccl. 7:23.

²⁰ Cf. Ex. 31:3, 35; 31; 36:1.

²¹ Eccl. 12:10.

²² Ibid. 12:12.

²³ Ibid. 1:13.

²⁴ This is Sharf’s translation (*The Universe*, 9). However, the passage is susceptible to another interpretation, by reading עונות [“seasons”] as עוונות, that is, sins or transgressions, understood as the cause of the tragic events which, as Donnolo says immediately afterwards, befell him and his community.

²⁵ The conquest of Oria in 925—the same year as the one noted by Donnolo—is recorded in the Saracen-Sicilian Chronicle: *παρελήφθησαν αἱ ὠραι* [“Oria surrendered”]; see Cozza-Luzi, ed., *La cronaca siculo-saracena*, 42–43 [Greek and Arabic texts]; 72–73 [Italian translation]. Oria had previously been occupied by the Arabs until 867, when the city was freed by the French emperor Ludovic II. A few years later Oria returned to Byzantine rule. See von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 22. According to *Sefer Yuḥasin*, Oria had been invaded by Arab raiders in the year 856, when Shefatyah was in charge of the negotiations with them; see Salzman, ed., *The Chronicle of Ahimaaz*, 75; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, I 513–525 and Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, 91.

²⁶ Mars—in Greek *Ares*—was the God of war, and the planet named after him—in Hebrew *Ma’adim*—was conceived in the classical astrological tradition as a male and negative celestial body, the bearer of unpropitious influences. “Under the planet of Mars” is a clear reference to the principle of the so-called “planetary hours,” according to which every hour of the day is governed by a specific planet. See Sharf, *The Universe*, 27 and below 405–406 nn. 298; 423 n. 343.

world,²⁷ that is the 11th year of the 247th cycle.²⁸ Ten wise and righteous scholars—blessed be their memory—were slain there: rabbi Ḥassadyah ben rabbi Ḥanan'el²⁹ the great and the righteous—blessed be the memory of the righteous, may his soul rest in paradise—a member of my family, related to my grandfather who is known by the name of rabbi Yo'el,³⁰ and rabbi Amnon, rabbi Uri'el, my righteous teacher of blessed memory, rabbi Menaḥem, rabbi Ḥiyya, rabbi Ṣadoq, rabbi Mosheh, rabbi David,³¹

²⁷ Corresponding to Monday, 4 July 925 of the Gregorian calendar, at about 9 a.m. See Sharf, *The Universe*, 129, n. 31 and Lacerenza, ed., *Šabbetai Donnolo*, 49 n. 15.

²⁸ This chronological indication is based on the lunar cycle of nineteen years consisting of two hundred and thirty-five synodic months, which are the periods intervening between each month, when the sun and the moon have identical longitudes. The earliest references to this cycle are in *Pirḡe de-rabbi Eli'ezer* (ed. Friedlander, 57), in the 8th century *Kiddush Yeraḥim* of the astronomer rabbi Pinḥas, and in a monographical study on the Jewish calendar by the Muslim astronomer al-Kawarizmi (823–824); see Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 193, 196–200. The interpretation of the passage offered by Sylvie Anne Goldberg, “dans l'année 5685 [sic] de la creation du monde, qui est la onzième année des 277 cycle” is erroneous. See Goldberg, *La Clepsydre II*, 299. According to Sharf, *The Universe*, 129 n. 32, the cycle of nineteen years was created in the 3rd century by rabbi Adda bar Ahava, an amora from Sura. As observed by Stern, however, references to this system are totally absent from early rabbinic sources, which means that it was probably instituted after the 4th century. See Stern, *ibid.*, 196.

²⁹ Abraham I. Schechter identified this rabbi Ḥanan'el with Ḥanan'el ben Amnon, author of a *piyyut* contained in *Seder Hibbur Berakhot* (*Order of a Collection of Blessings*), the Palestinian ritual adopted by southern Italian Jews and composed by Menaḥem b. Solomon. See Schechter, *Studies in Jewish Liturgy*, 71, 73 n. 75. Schechter's hypothesis is not convincing: first, rabbi Ḥanan'el was the father of one of the martyrs, not a martyr himself; secondly, if rabbi Ḥanan'el and rabbi Amnon were related, Donnolo would almost certainly have pointed this out.

³⁰ According to Adler, “Un document,” 40–43, Yo'el was Donnolo's maternal grandfather, while his paternal grandfather was Ezra, a name he found in a document from the Cairo Genizah (ms. Adler 2156 of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York), which refers to a certain “rav Shabbatai (bar) Abraham bar Ezra.” See also Adler, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, plate 4; Posznanski, “Sur les fragments de la Guenizah,” 289 and Mann, *Texts and Studies*, I, 25. In the Genizah fragment, however, the parchment is corrupted and, as pointed out by Sharf, the name of Ezra is almost indecipherable. See Sharf, *The Universe*, 152 n. 8. The text of the Genizah fragment led some scholars to suppose a relation between Donnolo's father, Abraham, and El'azar, the grandson of Amittai I, the ancestor of the author of *Sefer Yuḥasin*. See Fiaccadori, “Donnolo,” 214. This would make Shabbatai Donnolo the same Shabbatai, father of Esther, who married Ḥanan'el II according to *Sefer Yuḥasin*. See Colafemmina, ed., *Sefer Yuḥasin*, 21, 35.

³¹ Ms. Florence 44.14 (F) reads here ור' הוד [“and rabbi Hod”].

rabbi Yirmeyah, rabbi Nuri'el,³² and the pious elders, leaders of the congregation, guides for the generation and many disciples, of blessed memory and for the life of the world to come.³³ Amen.

I, Shabbatai, was ransomed in Taranto³⁴ with my parents' money, at the age of twelve.³⁵ My parents and my relatives were deported to Palermo³⁶

³² Mss. Parma 2123 and Moscow 302 (P and M) read here אוריאל, which occurred earlier as the third name on the list. As pointed out by Lacerenza, *Šabbetai Donnolo*, 49 n. 17, if this is the correct reading, then the name of the first Uri'el is followed by the epithet of רבי הצדיק ["my righteous teacher of blessed memory"], in order to distinguish between the two persons.

³³ In an anonymous letter found in the Cairo Genizah, which relates to the same events, another rabbi is mentioned by the name of Abraham b. Jehoshphat, who served as a rabbi in Bari and lived in Otranto: "In our community there remains R. Abraham b. Jehoshaphat, formerly rabbi of the [now] scattered community of Oria . . ."; see Mann, *Texts and Studies*, I, 24 ss.; Adler, "Un document," 40–43, and Starr, *The Jews*, 152–154, §§94–95. The text of the letter was also published by Cassuto, "Una lettera ebraica," 97–112 and Schirmann, *Zur Geschichte der hebräischen Poesie*, 99. The information provided by Donnolo about the fall of Oria and the deportation of its inhabitants also occurs in *Sefer Yuhasin*: והיה בימים ההם והישמעאלים יצאו בחייליהם ואלמעו קייט עליהם ועברו איטליאה והסרו כל הארץ קלבריאא ובא עד איירי אשר בקצה פולייה ויצורו עליה והשמידו כל חייליה ותבוא העיר במצור ולא היה כח באנשי המדינה לעצור והעיר הובקעה והחרב עד הנפש נוגעה והרגו רובם. יהיה בימים ההם והישמעאלים יצאו בחייליהם ואלמעו קייט עליהם ועברו איטליאה והסרו כל הארץ קלבריאא ובא עד איירי אשר בקצה פולייה ויצורו עליה והשמידו כל חייליה ותבוא העיר במצור ולא היה כח באנשי המדינה לעצור והעיר הובקעה והחרב עד הנפש נוגעה והרגו רובם. והנשארים הוליכו בשיבייה. ["In those days the Arabians with their armies, with al-Mu'izz their commander, overran Italy; they devastated the entire province of Calabria, and reached Oria, on the border of Apulia; they besieged it, defeated all its forces; so that the city was in dire distress; its defenders had no power to resist; it was taken by storm; the sword smote it to the very soul. They killed most of its inhabitants, and led the survivors into captivity"] (Salzman, ed., *The Chronicle of Ahimaaz*, 16, [Hebrew section], 88 [English translation]). As noted by Salzman, *ibid.*, 21, al-Mu'izz was born in 929, and the reference to him as commander of the Arab army at Oria is a clear historical mistake.

³⁴ A city founded in the 8th century BCE by Greek settlers from Sparta, which became part of the Byzantine empire in 540. It suffered numerous attacks by the Saracens who conquered it on 15 August 927, enslaved and deported the population to Africa. The city remained under Saracen control until it was reconquered by the Byzantines in 967 during the reign of emperor Nicephoros II Phocas (963–969). See G. Cozza-Luzi ed., *La cronaca siculo-saracena*, 44–45 [Greek and Arabic texts]; 74–75 [Italian translation]; von Falkenhausen, "I Bizantini in Italia," 56 and *idem*, "Taranto," 133–166. About the Jewish presence in the city, see Colafemmina, "Gli ebrei a Taranto," 109–127; *idem*, *Gli Ebrei a Taranto—Fonti documentarie*, 6–10. Of note is the discovery in Taranto of the bilingual Hebrew/Latin tombstone of the fourteen-years old [דומנו]לי בן דומנו[לי] / [Dom]nolo filio D[omnoli] ["Donnolo son of Donnolo"] dated between the 7th and the 8th century. Hebrew and Latin text in *ibid.*, 37–38; *idem*, "Di alcune iscrizioni giudaiche," 233–242 and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, I, 167–168. During his journey in the second half of the 12th century, Benjamin of Tudela visited the city whose community at that time he estimated as consisting of 300 Jews, "some of them men of learning, and at their head are R. Meir, R. Nathan, and R. Israel." See Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary*, 9 [English translation], 11 [Hebrew text].

³⁵ From this we know that Donnolo was born in 912–913.

³⁶ The Aghlabites—a royal dynasty from Qairawan (Tunisia), allied to the Abbasid

and to Africa,³⁷ while I remained in the lands that are under the Romans' rule.³⁸ Then I looked to all the works my hands had wrought and to the labour that I had laboured to do,³⁹ for there was no practical occupation my eyes had seen that my hands had not turned to.

But all was futile and the pursuit of wind; there was no real value under the sun⁴⁰ and I found that wisdom is superior to folly as light is

caliphate—made Palermo the capital of Arab Sicily in 831. The island was a Byzantine *θέμα* (thema, one of the administrative and political divisions of the Byzantine domain), whose major military outpost was Syracuse, a city on the south eastern coast, which the emperor Constans II (641–668) had chosen as the capital of the Byzantine empire between 663 and 668. The Arabs began raiding the island in the second half of the seventh century, gradually intensifying their attacks, which led in 831 to the occupation of Palermo and the fall of Syracuse in 878. On Byzantine Sicily, see Correnti, *Storia della Sicilia*, 103–118; von Falkenhausen, “I Bizantini in Italia,” 47–55. On the Arab conquest and the life of the Jewish community in Sicily, see Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, I, 150–156; 237–248; Correnti, *ibid.*, 123–139; Bresc, *Arabi per lingua—Ebrei per religione*, 13–35, and Simonsohn, *The Jews in Sicily*, I, xi–xiv. For a detailed historical analysis of the creation of the other Byzantine *themes* in southern Italy, see Pertusi, “Contributi alla storia dei temi bizantini,” 495–517.

³⁷ “Ifriqiya,” referring to modern Tunisia. See Altmann and Stern, eds., *Isaac Israeli*, xix. Another victim of the Saracen raid was Palṭi’el—astrologer, physician and member of the Amittai family, who was deported to Egypt where, under the name of Musa ben El’azar, he eventually became well known for his medical and astrological knowledge. His deportation from Oria was mentioned in the mid 10th-century autobiography of Ja’far al-Ḥājib, a member of the Fatimid court, who described the expedition led by Abū Aḥmad Ja’far ibn Ubayd against the Byzantine possessions: “... and he conquered a large town called Oria, and took great booty there, and Mūsā, the physician of al-Manṣūr, al-Mu’izz, and al-‘Aziz, was among the captives taken at Oria.” See Lewis, “Palṭiel ben Shefatyah,” 177–181 and Colafemmina, ed. *Sefer Yuhasin*, 31–35.

³⁸ In the territories of the former Roman empire, which in Donnolo’s time were under Byzantine control. Regarding themselves as the legitimate heirs of the Roman Empire, the inhabitants of the political entity centred on Constantinople called themselves *Romaioi* (Romans), and *Romania* designated the whole of the territory under their rule. The term *Byzantinoi* (Byzantines) was used in reference only to the citizens of Constantinople, the old Greek *polis* of Byzantium. The subjects of the crown of Constantinople were normally known as the *Graeci* or *Greki* (Greeks), but as *Rum* (Romans) by the Turks and the Arabs. See Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique*, 9–24; Mango, *Byzantium*, 1–2; Herrin, *Women in Purple*, 9; Angold, *Byzantium*, 1–2; Sharf, *The Universe*, 129 n. 34, and Centanni, “Fantasmi dell’antico,” 816–821. *Rum* and *Rumi* were often used in the documents found in the Cairo Genizah to designate people coming from the Byzantine territories. See Mann, *Texts and Studies*, I, 241 and de Lange, “Hebraism and Hellenism,” 139–140. *Romaioi* gradually acquired a wider sense, being used until the twelfth century to refer to the whole of Christian Europe. See Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, 43 and El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed*, 21–24.

³⁹ Eccl: 2:11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 2:11.

superior to darkness,⁴¹ for while wisdom shelters just as money shelters, the advantage of acquiring wisdom is that it preserves the life of those who possess it,⁴² according to the word of the Lord who gives wisdom.⁴³

I have therefore toiled hard to acquire knowledge and comprehension of the science of medicine and the science of the planets⁴⁴ and constellations.⁴⁵ I copied out for myself the books of the early Jewish scholars—blessed be their memory—but throughout these lands I did not find [even] one Jewish scholar who understood them. Rather, some of them would say of the astronomical books written by Jews that there is no substance in them, because they did not understand them at all; and they would say that the books on the science of the constellations and planets were the preserve of the gentiles, that they do not correspond to the knowledge [contained in] the [astronomical] books of the Jews, and that the science of the constellations is quite different from the science contained in these Jewish books.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Ibid. 2:13.

⁴² Ibid. 7:12.

⁴³ Cf. Eccl. 2:26 and 1 Kings 5:26.

⁴⁴ Donnolo uses the term כוכבים (*kokhavim*) to indicate the five planets—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury—and the two luminaries, following a long established astronomical tradition. See Ptolemy, *Almagest*, Toomer, ed., 21 and also *Barayta di-Sh'e mu'el*, 544 and *Barayta de-mazzalot*, 30.

⁴⁵ The Hebrew reads מזלות (*mazzalot*) which, as the Greek ζῳδία (sing. ζῳδιον), indicates either the patterns or groups of stars better known as “constellations,” or twelve homonymous sections, better known as “signs,” into which is divided the zodiacal belt. Because of the so-called phenomenon of the “precession of the equinoxes” and the unequal segmentation of the constellational Zodiac and tropical Zodiac, the positions of the constellation do not correspond to that of the signs. See Gettins, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 117, 470–471 and Ridpath, ed. *Dictionary of Astronomy*, 503–504. For the sake of consistency in the present translation the term *mazzal* is always translated “constellation.”

⁴⁶ This denigration of the science of stars was restricted to the Jews but was commonplace among the learned classes of the Byzantine empire. After the short-term rehabilitation of pagan astronomy under Julian the Apostate in the 4th century, and following the upsurge of astronomical studies in the 5th and 6th centuries represented by the works of Hephæstion, Proclus, Julian of Laodicea and John Lydus, astrology had almost disappeared as a major scholarly discipline in Byzantium. In 529 the emperor Justinian closed the school of philosophy in Athens and officially banned the practice and study of astrology. The science flourished again between the 8th and the 9th century—at the same time as the *Barayta di-Sh'e mu'el* was composed under the influence and as a consequence of the translations of numerous astronomical Syriac and Arabic texts. See Mogenet, “L'influence de l'astronomie arabe,” 44–55 and Tihon, “L'astronomie Byzantine,” 603–624.

For this reason, I turned my attention to the science of the Greeks, the Ishmaelites, the Babylonians and the Indians,⁴⁷ to know, to search and to seek it.⁴⁸

I did not rest until I had copied out the books of the Greek and Macedonian scholars,⁴⁹ just as they were originally written and explained, as well as the books of the Babylonian and Indian scholars.⁵⁰ I investigated

⁴⁷ Donnolo does not provide any information about these sources of instruction. As pointed out by Sharf, the “Babylonians” were probably contemporary scholars originating in the ‘Abbasid province of Iraq. See Sharf, *The Universe*, 129 n. 41. The author of the *Barayta di-Sh’ mu’el*, Eisenstein, ed., 545, identifies the Babylonian sages with the Chaldean astrologers, in all likelihood referring to the Chaldean astrological tradition mentioned in Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 99–107. Since the 8th century, Sanskrit texts on astrology and calculus had been translated into Arabic and their doctrines absorbed into Muslim astrology. One of the first Sanskrit texts to be translated into Arabic in Baghdad (probably the birth place of Donnolo’s astrology mentor; see above, Biographical Details, 16 n. 56) was the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*, a treatise on the position of the stars, written in 628 by the Indian astrologer and mathematician Brahmagupta. See Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti*, 203–208. As observed by Saliba, *History of Arabic Astronomy*, 72, at the time of Donnolo, the Sanskrit tradition occupied an important position in Muslim astrology, as is attested by the work of the 10th-century Muslim astronomer al-Birūni, author of *Kitāb al-taḥqīq mā li’l-Hind*. See also Kusuba and Pingree, eds., *Arabic Astronomy in Sanskrit*, 4. By the 10th century, Indian astrological and astronomical doctrines were well known also to Byzantine astrologers, probably through Greek translations of the Arabic texts. See Jones, *An eleventh-century manual*, 12 and Pingree, “The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages” particularly pp. 147–151, 180–181. In *Sefer ha-mazzalot*, for example, Donnolo, while speaking about the Dragon, similarly says: **וְגַם חַכְמֵי הַגּוֹיִם הֵם** ... **חַכְמֵי בָבֶל וְהוֹדוּ וְהַכְּמֵי יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים אֲמַרְי [רִים]** **כִּי יֵשׁ לְתַלֵּי רֹאשׁ חוּבָה** ... and also the gentiles sages, who are the sages of Babylon, India and the Muslim sages, say that the Dragon has a head and a tail ...”. Hebrew text in Luzzatto, “Mikhtav gimel,” 62.

⁴⁸ Eccl. 7:25.

⁴⁹ That is to say, Classical or Hellenistic and Byzantine sages. See Sharf, “Shabbetai Donnolo as a Byzantine,” 168. Donnolo refers to “Macedonian” scholars elsewhere in his work. See, for example, the beginning of his *Sefer ha-mirqaḥot*, where he writes: ... לְרִקְחַת הַמְּרַקְחָת כַּחֲכַמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמִקְדוֹן [“to prepare medicines according to the science of Jewish and Macedonian physicians”]; critical Hebrew text and English translation in Ferre, “Donnolo’s *Sefer ha-yaqar*,” 12. The same use is attested in *Sefer Josippon*; see Flusser, ed., *The Josippon*, I, 6. The Macedonian dynasty ruled in Byzantium from the time of Emperor Basil I (867–886) until the reign of Michael VI (1056–1057). See Sharf, *The Universe*, 129. On the usage of “Macedonian” as synonymous with Byzantine, see Schechter, “An Unknown Khazar Document.” See also Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries*, 183–197; Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 232–314 and Angold, *Byzantium*, 135–141.

⁵⁰ As pointed out by Lacerenza, “Donnolo e la sua formazione,” 63–64, the image of the scholar by which Donnolo represented himself, and the emphasis he placed on the wide range of his knowledge, is a literary *topos* common to many autobiographical texts written in Italy in the early Middle Ages. Ieraci Bio, “Notazioni mediche,” 452, found similar

After I had tested the wisdom of this gentile on numerous occasions and found that by the calculation of the planets, the Dragon [*tli*]⁵⁵ and the constellations, he was able to speak about things that had already happened and things that would happen,⁵⁶ in return for a considerable sum of money and lavish gifts, I had him teach me the discipline of the planets⁵⁷ and the calculation of the constellations. And that gentile taught

⁵⁵ From the Assyrian *antalu* and Syraic *atalu* ["eclipse"] In ancient Syriac astrology *'athliya* was the snake that swallowed the celestial bodies, thus causing the lunar and solar eclipses. See Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, 121 and Sharf, *The Universe*, 39–40 nn. 26 and 114. About the *tli* as Dragon in Jewish Gnosticism, see Mastrocinque, *Jewish Magic*, 161.

⁵⁶ Forecasting future events was particularly important to Donnolo as a physician, since it had become an essential part of the medical profession long before his time. Hippocrates, for example, said in his *Prognosis*: Τὸν ἰητροῦν δοκεῖ μοι ἄριστον εἶναι πρόνοιαν ἐπιτηδεύειν· προγιγνώσκων γὰρ καὶ προλέγων παρὰ τοῖσι νοσέουσι τὰ τε παρῶντα καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσσεσθαι, ὁκόσα τε παραλείπουσιν οἱ ἀσθενέοντες ἐκδιηγούμενος πιστεύοιτο ἂν μᾶλλον γινώσκων τὰ τῶν νοσούντων πρήγματα, ὥστε τομῶν ἐπιτρέπει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῷ ἰητρῷ ["I hold that it is an excellent thing for a physician to practise forecasting. For if he discover and declare unaided by the side of his patients the present, the past and the future, and fill in the gaps in the account given by the sick, he will be the more believed to understand the cases, so that men will confidently entrust themselves to him for treatment"]. Greek text and English translation in Jones, ed., *Hippocrates*, II, 2. Similarly, according to the *Epidemics*, another work included in the Corpus Hippocraticus, "declare the past, diagnose the present, foretell the future; practise these acts." Translation and Greek text in Jones, ed., *ibid.*, I, 164–165.

⁵⁷ Literally, מסורת הכוכבים is "the tradition of the planets", implying the transmission of knowledge. The translation follows Lacerenza ("Donnolo e la sua formazione," 35) who translates "disciplina delle stele" ["discipline of the stars"]. Sharf (*The Universe*, 10) does not translate the term, interpreting the entire passage simply as "how to do the calculations myself." Elsewhere in the text (e.g. above Hebrew Text, 138) Donnolo uses also חכמת המזלות והמזלות הכוכבים and חכמת המזלות והכוכבים ["science of the planets and the constellations/of the constellations and the planets"], with reference to the observation and study of the planets and the evaluation of their influences (thus including astronomy, astrology and the applied mathematical calculus). This invalidates Sela's claim that חוכמת הכוכבים was an expression coined by Abraham ibn Ezra (1098–1164) in order to indicate the study of astrology, astronomy and mathematics. See Sela, "Abraham Ibn Ezra's Special Strategy," 67 and *idem*, *Abraham Ibn Ezra*, 205. This is only a detail of a much more general problem concerning Sela's study of Ibn Ezra's astrological sources. Sela attributes to Ibn Ezra the creation of an astrological vocabulary, even though some of its terms are well attested in earlier astrological works such as the *Barayta di-Sh' mu'el* and Donnolo's SH. Sela fails to note, for example, that Ibn Ezra employs the word *tli* with the meaning of *axis mundi* and lunar nodes in exactly the same way Donnolo uses it in SH and *Sefer ha-mazzalot*, as well as that Ibn Ezra quotes verbatim from Donnolo's *Sefer ha-mazzalot* in his commentary on Amos 5:8 and Job 38:31. See Luzzatto, "Mikhtav gimel," 65–67; Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra*, 263–264, 371 and Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Commentary on Amos*, 209. Sela, moreover, does not consider the possibility that Ibn Ezra may have known the works of Donnolo, even though, as Sela himself observes (*ibid.*, 10), Ibn Ezra composed

me how to recognise the twelve constellations and the five planets⁵⁸ in the firmament; he taught me about the rising constellation,⁵⁹ which comes up and rises in the east; the constellation of the deep,⁶⁰ which is fourth from the rising one, and which is covered and hidden beneath the height of the earth⁶¹ to the north; the constellation which sets⁶² in the west, and which directly faces the rising one and is the seventh from it; the constellation of the height,⁶³ which is in the middle of the vault of the firmament to the south and which is tenth from the rising [constellation].⁶⁴

some of his most important astrological works after his stay in Lucca, a small city north-west of Florence, where the Qalonimos—a prominent Apulian family, whose members were very well acquainted with Donnolo's works (see above n. 18)—moved from southern Italy in the early 9th century. See Grossman, "The Migration of the Kalonymus," 154–186.

⁵⁸ Here Donnolo excludes the sun and the moon which elsewhere in the text (e.g. pp. 327–328, 331–334) he includes among the seven planets. This is because, as observed by Castelli (*Il commento*, 180 n. 5), there was no need for specific training in order to pick out the positions of the sun and the moon, which can be distinguished very easily from all the other celestial bodies.

⁵⁹ The Hebrew has מוֹל הַצּוּמָה, literally "the growing constellation," known in the Western astrological tradition as "ortus," the point on the horizon at which a celestial body rises. See Sarfatti, *Mathematical Terminology*, 57.

⁶⁰ The Hebrew has מוֹל הַהַרְוֵם, which, according to Sarfatti (*Mathematical Terminology*, 56), indicates the *imūm caeli*, the culminating degree of the ecliptic. See also Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 254, 318.

⁶¹ The "height of the earth," wherein גּוֹבְהָהּ שֶׁל אֶרֶץ seems to indicate the celestial vault, and more specifically in the present context, the part of the sky which is not visible to the observer.

⁶² Th Hebrew reads מוֹל הַשּׁוֹקֵעַ, literally, "the constellation that sinks." The *Barayta demazzalot*, (Wertheimer, ed., 32) refer to it as the מוֹל הַטּוֹבֵל ["the dipping constellation"].

⁶³ This is the so-called *medium caeli*, the culminating degree of the ecliptic, known also as "Midheaven." See Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 310, 317–318.

⁶⁴ According to Sharf, Donnolo is referring here to the four positions which the planets maintain through their cycle, namely "their rising, their settings, their zenith and their nadir" (*The Universe*, 10). See also Lacerenza, *Sabbetay Donnolo*, 51 nn. 36–37. The contradiction between the position of the upper and lower constellations and the geographical indication ("the constellation of the deep ... to the north" and "the constellation of the height ... to the south") is only apparent. Sharf suggests that "the astrologers, in addition to the divisions of the zodiac, took account of what they called "the four centres of the ecliptic. These were the points of the rising, the setting, the upper culmination and the lower culmination of a heavenly body. These centres had terrestrial orientations. The rising point ("Horoscopus") was obviously in the east, the setting point ("Dusis") in the west. And the lower culmination ("imūm caeli") was often thought of as somehow in the north, from the idea that it was through the north that the stars returned to their rising point. A kind of north was, therefore, astrologically speaking, beneath one's feet and, thus, the upper culmination ("medium caeli") became a kind of south more or less directly overhead ..." (Sharf, *The Universe*, 63). Donnolo thus explains some of the rudiments of classical astrology, whereby the zodiacal constellations rise in the east and move clockwise to the west, where they set into the lower part of the Zodiac; every rising

He taught me the rules of the observation of planets and constellations, and how to tell which of them are beneficent and which maleficent;⁶⁵ he taught me how to measure the shadow cast by the rod, as described in the *Barayta* of Samuel,⁶⁶ in order to know and find the hour, the constellation

constellation confronts the constellation that is separated from it by 180 degrees, which is the “setting” sign (e.g. Aries and Libra, numbers 1 and 7 in the illustration below); likewise, the constellation setting “in the middle of the vault” is separated from the rising sign by 120 degrees and, following the anticlockwise enumeration of the signs in the zodiacal belt, is tenth from the rising sign (e.g. Aries and Capricorn, numbers 1 and 10 in the illustration below).



According to Ptolemaic astrology, which conforms with Donnolo’s view, the constellations of the Zodiac contract different relations with one another depending on the position they occupy in the zodiacal belt. See *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 72–73.

⁶⁵ Ptolemy devoted a section of his *Tetrabiblos* to the positive and negative qualities of the planets. Jupiter, Venus and the moon were said to be beneficent. Saturn and Mars were maleficent, while the sun and Mercury, which have neither negative nor positive qualities, were said to intensify the qualities of the planets they are associated with. See *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 38–39.

⁶⁶ See *Barayta di-Shē mu’el*, Eisenstein, ed., 543: אצבעות זוקפו במקום שהו ומודד צילו [“he who needs to know (the angular distance between the planets in relation to the fixed stars) should bring a stick cut to the measure of twelve fingers and raise it up on a plane surface and measure its shadow”]. As suggested by Sharf (*The Universe*, 12–13; 130 n. 49), the measuring instrument to which Donnolo refers must be an early version of the so-called “Jacob-staff,” a cross-staff which astronomers and navigators used for measuring the angle between the direction of two stars. The staff was apparently invented by the southern French Jewish mathematician Levi ben Gershon (also known as Ralbag or Gersonides, 1288–1344) who described it in his *Milhemot ha-Shem* (*The Wars of the Lord*) in 1328. See also Lacerenza, “Donnolo,” 52 n. 39; Goldstein, *The Astronomy of Levi ben Gerson*, 52–54 and idem, *The Astronomical Tables*, 21–22. Some, however, attribute the invention of the device to Yehudah [or Jacob] Machir (ca. 1236–1304); see idem, “Ships and Sailing”; Sarton, *Introduction*, II, ii, 623, 851 and Harper, “Prophatius Judaeus,” 61–68. It should be noted, however, that shadow is not involved in the method of measuring with the “Jacob-staff.” Donnolo probably refers to the method described by Ptolemy in *Almagest* XV,15 and developed by Muslim astronomers such as al-Birūni (973–1048) in his treatise on the celestial shadows. See Ptolemy’s *Almagest*, in G.J. Toomer, ed., 255–257 and al-Birūni, *The Exhaustive Treatise*, I, 263–270.

and the planet of any hour,⁶⁷ so as to understand everything and to ask any question.

After I had learned from this gentile and tested his wisdom, after I had understood what is noted in the scripture of truth,⁶⁸ I set my mind to explaining all the books that came into my possession. I combined all their wisdom with the wisdom and teaching of the Babylonian gentile, and I wrote down and explained them in the book called *Hakhmoni*. *Blessed are you, O Lord, train me in Your laws* [Ps. 119: 12], *I rejoice over the way of Your decrees as over all riches* [ibid. ibid. 14], *I rejoice over your promise as one who obtains great spoil* [ibid. ibid. 162], *Your mercies are great, O Lord, as is Your rule, preserve me* [ibid. ibid. 156].

[I hereby explain the current date,] the cycle of the planets, the Dragon [*tli*] and constellations for the year 4706 since the Creation of the world,⁶⁹ in order to know in which constellation and in which degree of the constellation the seven planets⁷⁰ and the Dragon are.⁷¹ You should know that the first letters⁷² are thirty degrees⁷³ in the constellation, and that the last letters are sixty degrees in a section of the constellation.⁷⁴ The days of

⁶⁷ That is, the planet which dominates that specific hour. See below, 315 n. 91, 318 n. 102.

⁶⁸ Dan. 10:21.

⁶⁹ Equivalent to the year 946 according to the Gregorian calendar.

⁷⁰ The two luminaries and the five planets.

⁷¹ The Hebrew reads יהיי which could mean either “will be” or “are” as in the present translation. The table of ephemerides, in fact, were used either to forecast future events (which involved calculating the positions of the planets and evaluating their influence) or to draw a map of the celestial bodies at a specific time (normally, an individual’s birthday) in order to draw up a horoscope. See Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 177. In this passage Donnolo refers neither to his birthday nor to any other specific event of his life. This suggests that the table below is of the second type and that the verb must be translated using the present tense.

⁷² This refers to the Hebrew letters in the table that follows immediately below. They are used to indicate the longitudes of the planets in relation to the signs of the Zodiac, each one being divided into 30 degrees, and each degree into 60 minutes. In the English version below, the letters have been translated into Arabic numerals. The table, which is attested only in ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb.e.26 (G) is wrongly aligned and not always perfectly legible. This transcription is based on the amended Hebrew version edited above, in the Hebrew Text, pp. 140–141.

⁷³ The Hebrew has חלקים [literally, “parts”] which is probably a calque of the Greek μοῖραι, used in Greek and Ptolemaic astrology to indicate the degrees of the Zodiac. See e.g. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 72; Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, II, 1141 (5); *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, V, 1133 and Sarfatti, *Mathematical Terminology*, 51, 56. The use of the Hebrew term in this sense is attested also in the *Barayta di-Sh^c mu’el*, Eisenstein, ed., 545.

⁷⁴ The following passage describes the table which appears below. The first four columns, as Donnolo says, present the days of the month of Elul according to the different

the month called in Arabic *Safar*,⁷⁵ a lunar month [corresponding to] the Hebrew month of Elul, [which corresponds to] the Persian [and to] the Egyptian month.⁷⁶ The days of the week, sun, moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, lunar node [*tli*—Dragon], Virgo, Libra, Leo, Cancer, Capricorn, [Leo, Leo], Pisces.⁷⁷ This is the *Book Hakhmoni*.^{78,79}

calendric systems he mentions. The fifth column indicates the days of the week. The remaining eight columns indicate the position of the planets in relation to the zodiacal constellations and the position of the lunar node. For further discussion of the reading and the interpretation of this table, see below Appendix.

⁷⁵ In the Hebrew text the name is spelt with *samekh*, but its correct pronunciation should be *Şafar*. See *El*, VIII, 764–765.

⁷⁶ Though the exact interpretation of this paragraph is uncertain, it is clearly aimed at providing the reader with different chronological indications in addition to those of the Hebrew calendar. In this respect, an important precedent is represented by a passage from the book of Asaf ha-rofè (6th century CE), the oldest medical text written in Hebrew. Here, having outlined the succession of the months and the seasons as in the Hebrew calendar, Asaf presents the succession of the months according to the Persian calendar: ואלה שמות החדשים בלשון פרס: ארור מ'ה[?], פרורדין מ'ה, הורודד מ'ה, בהמין מ'ה, אספנדימור מ'ה. בהמין מ'ה, שהריר מ'ה, ישת מ'ה, מורדד מ'ה, אדרכה מ'ה, אבאן מ'ה, דין מ'ה, אספנדימור מ'ה. אראה, פרארטין, הורבאדא, הארמין, מיטרו, סאטבאירו, פאטיז, טיר, אטארו, זאמיסטאן, דיין, ספערדארמאט. These are the names of the months in the Persian language. [“These are the names of the months in the Persian language. Arahar, Fravartin, Horvadat, Harmin, Mitro, Satvairo, Patiz, Tir, Ataro, Zamistan, Din, Sperdarmat. These are the names of the months in the Persian language”]. Hebrew text and English translation in Muntner, *Mavo le-sefer*, 157.

⁷⁷ On the correct reading of this passage, see above Notes to the Critical Text, 210–211.

⁷⁸ Probably in order to give a clear instruction as to the correct reading of the table, the scribe of ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb.e.26 (G) set this text in vertical tabular form alongside the beginning of the table.

⁷⁹ The top line of the table does not appear in the manuscript. It was inserted here on the basis of the description of the table (“The days of the month ... Aquarius”) on the previous page. In square brackets are the names of the zodiacal signs and the degrees of the planets which, according to the coordinates and the information provided in the table, should have appeared at the time indicated. To produce these data I used the computer programmes Zet 8 and Kairos, kindly provided by Dr. Raymond Mercier.

Safar Elul lunar month	(Aug.-Sept.)	Persian month	Egyptian month	Days of the week	sun	moon
	30		3			
1	31	5	4	2	7° 19'	30° 1'
2	1	6	5	3	8° 18'	[Libra] 12° 14'
3	2	7	6	4	9° 18'	24° 13'
4	3	8	7	5	10° 17'	Scorpio 7°
5	4	9	8	6	11° 17'	19° 4'
6	5	10	9	7	12° 16'	Sagittarius 1° 28'
7	6	11	10	1	13° 15'	13° 13'
8	7	12	11	2	14° 14'	26° 11'
9	8	13	12	3	15° 13'	Capricorn 9° 43'
10	9	14	13	4	16° 13'	21° 8'
11	10	15	14	5	17° 13'	Aquarius 4° 15'
12	11	16	15	6	18° 13'	17° 22'
13	12	17	16	7	19° 13'	30° 29'
14	13	18	17	1	20° 12'	Pisces 13° 36'
15	14	19	18	2	21° 12'	26° 43'
16	15	20	19	3	22° 12'	Aries 11° 15'
17	16	21	20	4	23° 12'	25° 13'
18	17	22	21	5	24° 12'	[Taurus] [10°] 28'
19	18	23	22	6	25° 12'	25° 3'
20	19	24	23	7	26° 12'	[Gemini] 9° 19'
21	20	25	24	1	27° 12'	23° 28'
22	21	26	25	2	28° 12'	Cancer 7° 17'
23	22	27	26	3	29° 12'	21° 7'
24	23	28	27	4	30° 12'	Leo 4° 57'
25	24	29	28	5	Libra 1° 12'	18° 46'
26	25	30	29	6	2° 12'	Virgo 1° 3'
27	26	1	30	7	3° 13'	14° 26'
28	27	2	1	1	4° 13'	26° 37'
29	28	3	2	2	5° 14'	Libra 9° 14'
		4				

Safar Elul lunar month	Saturn	Jupiter	Mars	Venus	Mercury	Lunar node (<i>liti</i>)
1	7° 59'	14° 9'	1° 13'	20° 5'	28° 36'	2° 24'
2	8° 6'	14° 19'	1°	21° 19'	30° 14'	2° 21'
3	8° 13'	14° 28'	Aquarius [30°] 47'	22° 13'	[Virgo] 1° 12'	2° 20'
4	8° 20'	14° 38'	[30°] 35'	23° 47'	3° 30'	2° 19'
5	8° 27'	14° 47'	(?)	25° 1'	5° 10'	2° 12'
6	8° 34'	14° 57'	30° 3'	26° 15'	6° 14'	2° 9'
7	8° 41'	15° 6'	29° 58'	27° 29'	8° 7'	2° 6'
8	8° 48'	15° 16'	29° 45'	28° 44'	10° 22'	2° 2'
9	8° 56'	15° 25'	29° 33'	29° 35'	12° 6'	1° 55'
10	9° 2'	15° 35'	29° 19'	Virgo 1° 3'	13° 49'	1° 52'
11	9° 8'	15° 43'	29° 15'	2° 27'	15° 23'	1° 49'
12	9° 14'	15° 52'	29° 10'	3° 41'	17° 7'	1° 46'
13	9° 20'	16° 1'	29° 5'	4° 15'	18° 22'	1° 43'
14	9° 26'	16° 10'	29°	6° 9'	20° 36'	1° 40'
15	9° 33'	16° 20'	28° 56'	7° 24'	22° 31'	1° 37'
16	9° 39'	16° 30'	28° 51'	8° 38'	24° 13'	1° 34'
17	9° 46'	16° 40'	28° 46'	9° 13'	25° 14'	1° 31'
18	9° 52'	16° 48'	28° 41'	11° 5'	27° 36'	1° 28'
19	9° 58'	16° 56'	28° 36'	12° 23'	29° 17'	1° 25'
20	10° 8'	17° 3'	28° 32'	13° 37'	30° 9'	1° 21'
21	10° (?)	17° 10'	28° 30'	14° 54'	Libra 2° 22'	1° 18'
22	10° (?)	17° 1'[7?]	28° 28'	16° 28'	4° 25'	1° 15'
23	10° 22'	17° 24'	28° 26'	17° 24'	6° 8'	1° 12'
24	10° 28'	17° 32'	28° 24'	19° 15'	7° 51'	1° 9'
25	10° 34'	17° 39'	28° 22'	20° 13'	9° 35'	1° 4'
26	10° 40'	17° 46'	28° 20'	22° 1'	11° 16'	1° 2'
27	10° 46'	17° 54'	28° 18'	23° 10'	12° 16'	[Aquarius] [30°] 59'
28	10° 52'	18° 1'	28° 16'	24° 19'	14° 18'	[30°] 56'
29	10° 58'	18° 8'	28° 14'	25° 29'	16° 39'	(?)

NOTE

This table is attested only in ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb.e.26, the oldest of the manuscript tradition of SH, probably produced between the 11th and the 12th century, and thus in chronological proximity to Donnolo's lifetime. It combines two kinds of charts, one calendric and the other astronomical. The first five columns (right to left in the Hebrew text; left to right in the English transcription) list the days of the month according to five different calendars: the Islamic and Jewish (treated together as one), the Julian, the Persian and the Egyptian. There is no explicit reference to the Julian calendar but it can be identified by the fact that none of the other four calendric systems has a month of 31 days. The year in which this table was composed was 946: the first three numbers in the second column indicate the last two days of August and the first day of September respectively. The fifth column indicates the day of the week.

The other eight columns provide detailed information on the longitudes of the seven celestial bodies (the five planets plus the two luminaries) and the lunar nodes (*tli*), that is to say, the points where the moon crosses the terrestrial ecliptic. The longitudes are indicated in relation to the signs of the Zodiac, which are divided into 30 degrees of 60 minutes each. The scribe has noted the zodiacal signs in the table, though not always consistently.

The table contains some errors, and in a few places the manuscript is corrupted so that the reading and interpretation of the text is uncertain. The reconstructed readings have been inserted in square brackets in the table below, with the incorrect original readings placed in the footnotes. The most glaring mistake, however, is not in the text but in the alignment of the rows. These have been realigned according to the astronomical and calendric data provided in the table itself. For example, since the 31 August 946 was the second day of the week (Monday), the 1st row of the 2nd column has been moved up. Similarly, the 8th and 9th rows of the 5th column, where the letters indicating the days of the week were mistakenly set beside one another, have been rearranged beneath each other as in the rest of the column.

It seems that the astronomical information provided in this section of the table follows the classical Ptolemaic scheme and is on the whole consistent. However, if we assume that, as is customary in the Ptolemaic tradition, the table relates to the meridian of Alexandria at noon, then the positions of Venus and the moon are regularly reported inaccurately and are excessive by about $2^{\circ}30' - 3^{\circ}$ (equivalent to two days) and $0^{\circ}5' - 1^{\circ}$ respectively. The same problem occurs with regard to the position of the sun and Mercury, which exceed their standard positions by 5° and $23'$.

While the unusual position ascribed to Venus cannot be fully explained, the anomalous position of the moon suggests that the table had adopted a meridian situated to the west of Alexandria, namely in southern Italy. Donnolo, as we know, spent most of his life in Apulian and Calabrian cities such as Oria, Taranto, and Rossano Calabro, whose meridians are $17^{\circ}50' E$, $17^{\circ}15' E$ and $16^{\circ}34' E$ respectively. The positions of the planets have been therefore calculated according to a meridian 13° west of Alexandria ($29^{\circ}53' E$). The values yielded by these new coordinates are much closer to those of Donnolo's table and partly explain the excessive values attributed to the positions of the sun and Mercury. In the tables below the data of Donnolo's table are compared with the positions of the planets on three days—31 August, 14 and 28 September, which are the first, the middle and the last dates on the table—calculated according to standard Almagest tables following both the Alexandrian and the southern Italian meridians. The values closest to those of Donnolo's table are highlighted in bold.

Year 946	Sun	Moon	Saturn	Jupiter	Mars	Venus	Mercury	Lunar nodes
Donnolo								
31 August	7° 19'	30° 1'	7° 59'	14° 9'	1° 13'	20° 5'	28° 36'	2° 24'
14 September	21° 12'	26° 43'	9° 33'	16° 20'	28° 56'	7° 24'	22° 31'	1° 37'
28 September	5° 14'	9° 14'	10° 58'	18° 8'	1°	28° 14'	25° 29'	(30° 53'?)
Almagest Alexandria								
31 August	7° 15'	30°	7° 59'	14° 8'	1° 30'	17° 33'	28° 30'	2° 23'
14 September	21° 7'	25° 55'	9° 33'	16° 20'	28° 31'	4° 52'	22° 22'	1° 39'
28 September	5° 9'	8° 52'	10° 56'	18° 07'	28°	22° 21'	16° 16'	30° 54'
Almagest southern Italy								
31 August	7° 16'	30° 31'	8°	14° 8'	1° 30'	17° 36'	28° 34'	2° 23'
14 September	21° 10'	26° 25'	9° 34'	16° 20'	28° 30'	4° 55'	22° 27'	1° 39'
28 September	5° 11'	9° 19'	10° 57'	18° 8'	28°	22° 24'	16° 19'	30° 54'

I am grateful to Dr. Sacha Stern for his invaluable contribution to the present analysis of this table. For more information on this table, see Stern and Mancuso, *An Astronomical Table*.

In the name of the Giver of wisdom,
 may we prosper in what we do.
 This is the *Book Ḥakhmoni*.⁸⁰

Sons, heed the discipline of a father; listen and learn discernment [Prov. 4:1]
Trust in the Lord with all your heart, and do not rely on your own understanding [ibid. 3:5]
The beginning of wisdom is fear of the Lord, and knowledge of the Holy One is understanding [ibid. 9:10]
The fear of the Lord is the discipline of wisdom; humility precedes honour [ibid. 15:33]
In all your ways acknowledge Him, and He will make your paths smooth [ibid. 3:6]
The beginning of wisdom is to acquire understanding [binah];⁸¹ with all your acquisition, acquire discernment [ibid. 4:7]
If you seek it as you do silver and search for it as for treasures [ibid. 2:4]
You will walk without breaking stride; when you run, you will not stumble [ibid. 4:12]
It will be a cure for your body, a tonic for your bones [ibid. 3:8]
Apply your mind to discipline and your ears to wise sayings [ibid. 23:12]
Foresight will protect you, and discernment will guard you [ibid. 2:11]
How much better to acquire wisdom than gold; to acquire understanding is preferable to silver [ibid. 16:16]
They will give life to your spirit and grace to your throat [ibid. 3:22]
Repute is preferable to great wealth, grace is better than silver and gold [ibid. 22:1]
Hold fast to discipline; do not let go; keep it; it is your life [ibid. 4:13].
Let fidelity and steadfastness not leave you; bind them around your throat, write them on the tablet of your mind [ibid. 3:3]
For the Lord grants wisdom: knowledge and discernment are by His decree [ibid. 2:6]
He who is adept in a matter will attain success; happy is he who trusts the Lord [ibid. 16:20]

⁸⁰ From here until the end of this section [... “Blessed are You, O Lord; train me in your laws” (p. 247)] the text is attested only in ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb.e.26 (G), ff. 3b–6b. An Italian translation of this poem and the section immediately following it appears in Lacerenza, “Donnolo,” 53–54.

⁸¹ “Wisdom” (חכמה) in the Masoretic text.

Incline your ear and listen to the words of the sages; pay attention to my wisdom [ibid. 22:17].

David said by divine inspiration: *There is none like you among the gods, O Lord, and there are no deeds like Yours [Ps. 86:8], Your throne stands firm from of old; from eternity You have existed [ibid. 93:2], for You are great and perform wonders; You alone are God [ibid. 86:10], all your works shall praise You, O Lord, and Your faithful ones shall bless You [ibid. 145:10].* [He said this] as one who knows and understands the power and the might of the Holy One—blessed be He—and in order to teach the latter generations to laud Him, to extol Him and to thank [Him],⁸² as he said in another verse: *One generation shall laud Your works to another and declare Your mighty acts [ibid. ibid. 4], they shall talk of the majesty of Your kingship, and speak of Your might [ibid. ibid. 11]. Why? To make his mighty acts known among men and the majestic glory of His kingship [ibid. ibid. 12].*

David did not pronounce these verses only in order to instruct the generations that lived after him and before us, since they were all people of good name, but also for the [benefit of the] base, contemptible, and unwise generation of our time, in the year 4742 since the Creation of the world,⁸³ which is the eleventh year of the 250th cycle.

Moreover, all the generations of Israel must always laud Him, extol Him, bless Him and thank Him, like the Ministering Angels, as it is written: *Bless the Lord, O His angels, mighty creatures who do His bidding [ibid. 103:20], and it is written: Bless the Lord, all His hosts, His servants who do His will [ibid. ibid. 21].* These are Israel, as it is written: *While you shall be called “Priests of the Lord” and termed “Servants of our God” [Is. 61:6].*

The creatures on high give laud, blessing and praise: the Valiant Ones [*er'elim*], the Lightning Bolts, the Tumultuous Uproar, the Messengers, the Glittering Ones, the Shining Sparks,⁸⁴ and the entire host on high,

⁸² The Hebrew text here reads וְלִהְדוֹת, which could also mean “and to acknowledge.”

⁸³ Between the years 981 and 982 of the Gregorian calendar.

⁸⁴ From the beginning of this paragraph [“The creatures on high ...”] up to here, the initial letters of each term listed in the Hebrew text form the acrostic שְׁבַתֵי בְרַ אֲבֵרָהֶם חֹזֵק [“Shabbatai, son of Abraham, strong”]. See above, Hebrew Text, 142, lines 5–7. All these terms, derived from Is. 33:7; Ezek. 1:14; Ps. 55:15; Ezek. 1:24; Ps. 104:4 and 148:2; Ezek. 1:4 and 27; Prov. 26:18 and Ezek. 1:7 respectively, are understood as classes of angels, especially in the *Hekhalot* literature and the *piyyut*. See Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, I, 375; III, 1326; IV, 1805–1806; Schäfer, *Konkordanz*, s.v. אֲרָאִלִּים, בּוֹקֵ, זִיק, קִלְלָה.

which is in the upper heavens, above this firmament which is above us, proclaiming the glory of the Holy One—blessed be He⁸⁵—from the beginning of time and forever after, as David said: *The heavens declare the glory of God, the sky proclaims His handiwork* [Ps. 19:2]. Do the upper heavens, which were created as the site of the high and exalted throne, declare anything? Or does this firmament which is above us and was created to separate waters from waters proclaim anything? Rather, the Ministering Angels and all the hosts that are in the upper heavens declare the glory and the praise of the Holy One—blessed be He.

Also human beings, who are below this firmament, and who lift up their eyes to look at the firmament on high with the knowledge of God, observing the Lord's actions, seeing the work of His hands and understanding the science of the planets and the constellations, declare His praise and acknowledge His divinity. And even more than all the other nations of the world, Israel—the holy people—are commanded to study the science of the planets and constellations, as explained by the Jewish sages—blessed be their memory—who interpreted the [following] verse from the Law of Moses: *Observe them faithfully, for that will be proof of your wisdom and discernment* [Deut. 4:6]⁸⁶ [to mean this], and as Isaiah, the prophet, had warned: *Lift up your eyes and see: Who created these? He who sends out their host by count, Who calls them each by name: because of His great might and vast power, not one fails to appear* [Is. 40:26].

The Holy One—blessed be He⁸⁷—did not permit any other nation but Israel to declare His praise, as Scripture says: *The people I formed for Myself that they might declare My praise* [ibid. 43:21]; and it is written: *For you are a people consecrated to the Lord your God: the Lord chose you from among all other peoples on earth to be His treasured people* [Deut. 14:2],

⁸⁵ Cf. Ps. 19:2.

⁸⁶ Donnolo's exegesis echoes a passage in the Babylonian Talmud (*bShabbat* 75a), wherein this verse is said to justify the study of the celestial bodies: אמר רבי שמואל בר נחמני אמר רבי יוחנן מנין שמצוה על האדם לחשב תקופות ומזלות שנאמר ושמרתם ועשיתם כי היא חכמתכם ובינתכם לעיני העמים איוו חכמה ובינה שהיא לעיני העמים הוי אומר זה חישוב תקופות ומזלות ["Rabbi Samuel bar Nahmani said in Rabbi Yoḥanan's name: How do we know that it is one's duty to calculate the cycles and planetary courses (literally, "constellation")? Because it is written, for this is your wisdom and understanding in the sight of the peoples (Deut. 4:6). What wisdom and understanding is in the sight of the peoples? Say, that it is the science of cycles and planets"].

⁸⁷ The following three paragraphs, from here until "and it is written: *Say to God: How awesome are Your deeds* [Ps. 66:3]," are quoted verbatim in *Sefer Orḥot Šaddiqim*, (section *sha'ar yir'at ha-shamayim*) (Prague, 1581), 107. See above, 81–82.

and the Lord has affirmed this day that you are, as He promised you, His treasured people who shall observe all His commandments [ibid. 26:18]; and it is [further] written: He will set you, in fame and renown and glory, high above all the nations that He has made; and that you shall be, as He promised, a holy people to the Lord your God [ibid. ibid. 19].

Moreover, the Holy One—blessed be He—did not grant any other nation of the world but Israel the ability to know Him, as it is written: *It has been clearly demonstrated to you that the Lord alone is God; there is none beside him [ibid. 4:35], and it is written: Or what great nation has laws and rules as perfect as all this Teaching that I set before you this day [ibid. ibid. 8]; and it is [further] written: Therefore observe faithfully all the terms of this covenant [ibid. 29: 8] etc., and it is written: You must revere the Lord your God: only Him shall you worship, to Him shall you hold fast [ibid. 10:20] etc.*

From these verses we learn that Israel must fear God, occupy their minds with His Torah, and observe His commandments, for out of fear of God they will occupy their minds with His Torah and observe His commandments. Through occupying their minds with the Torah they will come to understand its reasonings and recondite meanings; they will acquire the wisdom required to know God, His power, His might, His greatness, and His great, awesome and wondrous deeds, for there is none who does as He does, as it is written: *You whose powerful deeds no god in heaven or on earth can equal [Deut. 3:24], and it is written: Say to God: “How awesome are Your deeds [Ps. 66:3]; and it is [further] written: I praise You, for I am awesomely, wondrously made; Your work is wonderful and I know it very well [ibid. 139:14], and it is written: The works of the Lord are great, within reach of all who desire them [ibid. 111:2].*

From this you learn that the righteous men of old used to expound, investigate and know all too well the deeds of the Holy One—blessed be He, in order to appreciate His power and His might and to acknowledge Him, for He is the only God and there is none but Him, as it is written: *For thus said the Lord, the Creator of heaven who alone is God, who formed the earth and made it [Is. 45:18] etc., and it is written: I did not speak in secret, at a site in a land of darkness [ibid. ibid. 19].*

The Holy One—blessed be He—said: “When I came down to Mount Sinai to give Israel the Torah, with thunder and lightning and a loud voice,⁸⁸ I spoke to them openly, not secretly,⁸⁹ so that the whole world

⁸⁸ Cf. Ex. 19:16–18.

⁸⁹ See *Mekhilta de-rabbi Shim'on*, Epstein and Melamed, eds., 137; *Mekhilta de-rabbi*

and all that is in it quaked on the day on which the Torah was given, and all the nations of the world heard the voice and understood. And [I did not speak to them] *at a site in a land of darkness* [ibid. ibid.], where there is no human habitation, as at the time of the Creation, when the earth was an unformed void [*tohu wa-vohu*] and darkness. *I did not say to the stock of Jacob “Seek me out [in a wasteland]”* [ibid. ibid.], that is to say “do not seek me out in the unformed void,” which is an empty and dark thing, to acknowledge me simply because I am God, but rather, [come to acknowledge me] through knowledge and numerous, great and truly reliable proofs, and only then will you testify that I am God and there is none but Me, as it is written: *Thus said the Lord, the King of Israel, the Redeemer, the Lord of Hosts: I am the first and I am the last* [ibid. 44:6] etc., *and who like Me can announce, can foretell it and match Me thereby? Even as I told the future to an ancient people, so let him foretell coming events to them* [ibid. ibid. 7]. Who like Me can call for the simultaneous Creation of the heavens and the earth in one instant, by one utterance, as it is written: *My own hand founded the earth, my right hand spread out the skies. I call unto them, let them stand up together* [ibid. 48:13] [*Who like Me*] *can announce, can foretell it and match Me thereby? Even as I told the future to an ancient people* [ibid. 44:7]. *An ancient people*—this is Israel that I formed for myself to give me praise. *So let him foretell coming events to them* [ibid. ibid].

What [other] nation is permitted and able to foretell the signs of the future and coming events as Israel, My people, to whom I gave permission to investigate and search for the explanations of recondite meanings in the secrets of my Torah, and to truly understand my deeds, [such as] how the world was created and everything that is in it. For these reasons I obscured my Torah by means of profound, inaccessible and recondite meanings, so that no other nation or tongue in the world would be able to apprehend my works, [such as] the Creation of the world, how it first came into being,⁹⁰ except Israel, my people, who proclaim my uniqueness and testify that I am God.

Ishma'el, Hebrew text in *Mekhilta de-rabbi Isma'el*, Horowitz and Rabin, eds., 206 and English translation in *Mekilta*, Lauterbach, ed., 198–199. The same tradition occurs also in the late midrashim such as *Midrash Leqah Tov*, Buber, ed., (section *we-zot ha-berakhah*) 62a, and *Yalqut Shim'oni* on Exodus 19 (§ 275) and Isaiah 45 (§ 463).

⁹⁰ The Hebrew reads *גברא מראשית*, a pleonastic expression which Donnolo probably employs in order to convey the meaning of *creatio ex-nihilo*, commonly called *יש מאין* in the Hebrew philosophical tradition. On the doctrine of *creatio ex-nihilo* in Jewish philosophy, see Wolfson, “The Meaning of *Ex Nihilo*”; Altmann, “A Note” and Kiener,

For this reason, I permitted and empowered them by the word of the prophet Isaiah, saying to them: *I, [even I],⁹¹ am the Lord, and beside me there is no saviour* [ibid. 43:11], *I alone can foretell the triumph and I brought it to pass; I announced it, and no strange god was among you. So you are my witnesses, says the Lord, that I am God* [ibid. ibid. 12]. I foretold and announced the secrets of my Torah to you alone, with no stranger among you. For this reason you are my witnesses and I am God: If you ask, how can we, [mere] mortals, bear witness that God is the first and the last—since human beings who wish to bear witness [can] testify [only] about what took place in front of them, but they cannot testify about what they did not witness. For this reason I gave you my Torah, so that you will understand its recondite meanings, the beginning of my works, and you will know and believe and understand that I am the One who creates and makes everything by My power and My understanding.

I did not wish to give my Torah to the nations of the world, [since I did] not [wish them] to understand my secrets and the beginning of my works, as it is written: *All the nations assemble as one, the people gather. Who among them declared this, foretold to us the things that have happened? Let them produce their witnesses and be vindicated, that men, hearing them, may say, "It is true"* [ibid. ibid. 9]. *Who among them declared this: this is the Torah that Moses put in front of the children of Israel; foretold to us the things that have happened: these are the beginning of my works. For if they [the gentile nations] say this, namely the Torah, and if they foretell the things that have happened, then they will produce their witnesses to testify to my divinity; they will be vindicated, proclaim and say: "It is true."* But they cannot do this, since *all the nations are as naught in His sight; He accounts them as less than nothing* [ibid. 40:17], while to You, Israel, I said: *My witnesses are you, declares the Lord, My servant, whom I have chosen* [ibid. 43:10], who is a sincere proselyte;⁹² *to the end that you may*

“The Hebrew Paraphrase,” 10–11. In a passage immediately below, Donnolo similarly affirms that only Israel were permitted to know the secret of the Creation, **איך בראתים מראשית** [translated below as “how I first brought them into being,” literally meaning “how I created them from the beginning”], an expression which suggests that *reshit* does not merely convey chronological beginning but also some pre-existent entity which was there before the creative process began. This could be the *nihil*, but also, according to Donnolo’s interpretation of SY (see below, 291), the Torah, which God was gazing at two-thousand years before the Creation. On the midrashic notions of *creatio ex-nihilo* and the pre-existence of the Torah, see Urbach, *The Sages*, 184–213.

⁹¹ The repetition of **אנוכי** [“even I”] in the Masoretic text does not occur in ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb.e.26 (G).

⁹² The Hebrew text has *ger ṣedeq*, a term which in Rabbinic literature indicates the

know and believe Me and understand that I am He: before Me no god was formed, and after Me none shall exist [ibid. ibid.].

If you say, we are afraid of investigating and exploring the secrets of God and the beginning of his works, fear not, and do not be frightened, as Scripture says: *fear not, and do not be frightened! Have I not from of old predicted to you? I foretold, and you are My witness. Is there any god, then, but Me? There is no other rock; I know none!* [ibid. 44:8]. *Have I not from of old: when I gave you my Torah; predicted to you: so that you would understand my secrets and explore my works—how I first brought them into being, and you would be my witnesses that there is no God but Me who can perform such acts and mighty deeds as mine. I did not create the world and all that is within it except for Israel, as it is written: Thus said the Lord, who established the sun for light by day, the laws of moon and stars for light by night, who stirs up the calm sea into roaring waves, whose name is Lord of Hosts: if these laws should ever be annulled by Me—declares the Lord—only then would the offspring of Israel cease to be a nation before Me for all time [Jer. 31:35–36].*

In order that Israel should keep my covenant and my Torah I created my world, as it is written: *Thus said the Lord: as surely as I have established My covenant with day and night—the laws of heaven and earth—so I will never reject the offspring of Jacob and My servant David; I will never fail to take from his offspring rulers for the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Indeed, I will restore their fortunes and take them back in love [ibid. 33: 25–26].* If my people do not occupy their minds with my Torah day and night and do not keep my covenant, the world will not stand;⁹³ I will reject the offspring of Jacob and my servant David, and not take from his offspring a ruler for the descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Israel. But I know that they will always occupy their minds with my Torah and keep my covenant for all time, and I will restore their fortunes and take them back in love.

Of all these [divine] reasonings we have [but] the limited knowledge and understanding that God has graciously granted us. But with permission from our Creator, and trusting in His great compassion, [we are able,

proselyte by conviction who undertakes to observe the whole of Jewish law, as opposed to the *ger toshav*, the non-Jew who resides among Israel and observes only the Noahide commandments. See e.g. *bYevamot* 48b. Here the expression may allude to Abraham the first proselyte, who is referred to as “Abraham my servant” in Gen. 26:24 and, following this, often in the early Rabbinic sources, e. g. Gen. Rabbah 60,1, Midrash Tehillim, 18; Tanhuma, Genesis, *wayyera*, 18.

⁹³ Cf. Deut. Rabbah 8:5; Ex. Rabbah 40:1; *bSanhedrin* 99b and *bAvodah Zarah* 5a.

through] the reasonings [contained in] the books of the ancient sages of Israel—blessed be the memory of the righteous ones—to open our mouths and to explain the work of the Creation, with our fear of God. May it be Your will, Forbearing and Merciful God, that we do not stumble before you, either in this world or in the next, either in speech or in thought, but let it be as Scripture says: *May the words of my mouth and the thought in my heart be acceptable to You, O Lord, my rock and my redeemer* [Ps. 19:15]; *my rock in this world, and my redeemer in the world to come;*⁹⁴ *O Lord, open my lips, and let my mouth declare Your praise* [ibid. 51:17]; *My mouth shall utter the praise of the Lord, and all flesh shall bless His holy name forever and ever* [ibid. 145:21]; *You are good and beneficent; teach me Your laws* [ibid. 119:68]; *I have sought you with all my heart; do not let me stray from Your commandments* [ibid. ibid. 10]; *I rejoice over the way of Your decrees as over all riches* [ibid. ibid. 14]; *in my heart I treasure Your promise, so that I do not sin against You* [ibid. ibid. 11]; *Blessed are You, O Lord; train me in Your laws* [ibid. ibid. 12].

⁹⁴ Cf. Midrash Tehillim 19, 17.

COMMENTARY ON LET US MAKE MAN IN OUR
IMAGE AFTER OUR LIKENESS (GENESIS 1:26)

The counsel of the Lord is for those who fear Him and He makes known to them His covenant [Ps. 25:14]. It is written: O Lord, there is none like You! You are great and Your name is great in power [Jer. 10:6]; who can tell the mighty acts of the Lord, proclaim all His praise! [Ps. 106:2]. Who can conceive anything [of Him], or is fit to question, even for a fleeting moment, the great, the mighty, the awesome God, to grasp His image [d^e muto], an image which even the living creatures beneath the throne of Glory, the Seraphim that are above it, the Ministering Angels, the Er'elim¹ and the entire host on high cannot grasp, as it is written: He made the darkness His secret place; His pavilion round about Him [ibid. 18:12]. All are prevented from knowing, understanding and gazing at His image, and for this reason they recite the benediction: Blessed is the Presence of the Lord, in His place [Ez. 3:12].

Even the holy men who inhabited the earth, the prophets and the visionaries with whom He used to speak, did not grasp or see His image as it is. Even Moses, our Master, who was the chief of all the prophets and who used to speak to Him face to face [literally, “mouth to mouth”], appeared to ask to see His face, but He did not grant him his wish, as it is written: *Let me behold Your Presence [Ex. 33:18], and God replied to him saying: He said, “You cannot see My face,” for man may not see Me and live [ibid. ibid. 20], and He said, “See, there is a place near Me. Station yourself on the rock and, as My presence passes by, I will put you in a cleft of the rock and shield you with My hand until I have passed by. Then I will take My hand away and you will see My back; but My face must not be seen” [ibid. ibid. 21–23].*

For this reason, Moses commanded Israel: *For your own sake, therefore, be most careful—since you saw no shape when the Lord your God spoke to you at Horeb out of the fire [Deut. 4:15], for the Lord your God is a consuming fire, an impassioned God [ibid. ibid. 24].*

¹ See Is. 33:7.

From these verses we understand that Moses our Teacher—peace be upon him—did not ask the Name, Blessed be He, for anything other than to see the image of God’s face as He is, but his prayer for this was not heard and his wish was not granted. As for what Isaiah the prophet said: *In the year that King Uzziah died, I beheld my Lord seated on a high and lofty throne; and the skirts of His robe filled the Temple. Seraphs stood in attendance on Him. Each of them had six wings: with two he covered his face, with two he covered his legs, and with two he would fly. And one would call to the other, “Holy, holy, holy! The Lord of Hosts! His presence fills all the earth* [Is. 6:1–3], even though he said “*I beheld my Lord,*” he did not see the image of the Lord’s face but [only] the throne, and the glory of the Lord upon the throne, although he did see its lower skirts, like the hem of a coat.

We have now learnt that Moses, while standing [by God on Mount Sinai],² saw the glory of His back, whereas Isaiah in his vision saw His glory seated on the throne. From the vision of the throne and of the seraphs standing above it, he understood that this was the Lord, but he saw [only] the glory of His [lower] skirts, which is the glory below His feet.

When [the glory] was seen by Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and the seventy elders of Israel—even though it is written: *and they saw the God of Israel* [Ex. 24:10]—they saw only His glory by means of a sign and a symbol,³ the glory that is under His feet, as it is written: *Under His feet was like the likeness of a pavement of sapphire like the very sky of purity* [ibid. ibid.].

And Ezekiel the prophet—even though he saw in his vision the living creatures and the Ofanim⁴ that were above their heads, and the image of the throne on that firmament that is above the heads of the living creatures, as he explained it all in his book⁵—did not see the Lord in the image of God as He is, for no man shall see Him and live.⁶ He did not want to reveal Himself to him except in the likeness of man, an image

² See Ex. 33:21, 34:2.

³ Cf. Ex. Rabbah 23:15.

⁴ The term literally means “wheels,” but in the context of Ezekiel’s vision, Rabbinical literature (e.g. *bRosh ha-shanah* 24b) often understood it as a class of angels. It is not certain which of the two meanings Donnolo had in mind in this passage, since *ofanim* could also refer to the wheels of the divine chariot.

⁵ See Ezek. 1.

⁶ See Ex. 33:20.

which man is used to and accustomed to seeing, so that he would not be alarmed and frightened by the vision of His image, and suddenly die.

This is comparable, by innumerable thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads of distinctions between the holy and the profane, the pure and the impure,⁷ to a man who sees a creature—beast, fowl, or sea-monster [*tannin*], or any other image that he is not used to and accustomed to seeing. When he encounters it suddenly, he immediately becomes so alarmed and frightened that he longs to die. How much more so, by distinction, if he sees the light that has neither measure nor size, the glory that cannot be fathomed, as it is written: *Great is the Lord and much acclaimed. His greatness cannot be fathomed* [Ps. 145:3].

Therefore, He appeared to Adam and to Cain, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and to all the prophets and seers in the likeness of man. Furthermore, even when He spoke to them He spoke modestly, in human fashion, so that they would not be alarmed and frightened in His presence. When Adam and Eve heard *the sound of the Lord moving about in the garden in the breezy time of day* [Gen. 3:8], they were alarmed and very frightened, and they hid themselves from Him. When God, forbearing and full of compassion, saw this, He addressed Adam in human fashion and said to him: *Where are you?* [ibid. ibid. 9]—not because He did not know where he was, but rather so that he would not be alarmed and suddenly die of fright. For this reason, Adam took courage and answered Him, as it is written: *He replied, "I heard the sound of You in the garden, and I was afraid because I was naked, so I hid"* [ibid. ibid. 10]. And the Forebearing One further said to him modestly: *Who told you that you were naked?* [ibid. ibid. 11], even though He knew and understood everything in advance, but [He said this] in order not to alarm him. And to Cain He said: *Where is your brother Abel?* [ibid. 4:9], and to Noah He spoke as a lover and a friend who gives advice to his beloved, saying to him: *Make yourself an ark of gopher* [ibid. 6:14], and likewise to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and to our ancestors on Mount Sinai. But He did not appear to them in any [one] likeness, so that Israel should not err and say "this is His likeness," and would then make for themselves a god in that likeness and bow before it. For this reason He appeared to them, once in a fire and once in a cloud, as it is written: *On the seventh day, He called to Moses from the midst of the cloud. Now the Presence of the Lord appeared in the sight of the Israelites as a consuming*

⁷ Namely, between God and man.

fire on the top of the mountain [Ex. 24:16–17], and it is written: *Moses went inside the cloud* [ibid. 24:18]; and it is [further] written: *The Lord came down into a cloud* [ibid. 34:5]; and it is [also] written: *The Lord spoke to you out of the fire* [Deut. 4:12]; and it is [further] written: *From the heavens He let you hear His voice to discipline you and on earth he let you see his great fire, and you heard his words out of the midst of the fire* [ibid. ibid. 36]; and it is written: *The Lord spoke those words ... to your whole congregation at the mountain ... out of the fire and the dense clouds* [ibid. 5:19]; and it is [also] written: *And [you] said: "The Lord, our God has just shown us His Presence and His greatness, and we have heard His voice out of the fire* [ibid. ibid. 21]; and it is [further] written: *Let us not die, then, for this fearsome fire will consume us* [ibid. ibid. 22]; and it is written: *For what mortal ever heard the voice of the living God speak out of the fire, and lived?* [ibid. ibid. 23].

To Daniel [God] further appeared in a vision of the night [and] in the image of man, as it is written: *As I looked on, thrones were set in place, and the Ancient of the Days took His seat. His garment was like white snow, and the hair of His head was like lamb's wool. His throne was tongues of flame; its wheels were blazing fire. A river of fire streamed forth before Him; Thousands upon thousands served Him; Myriads upon myriads attended Him; the court sat and the books were opened* [Dan. 7:10–11].

From all these proofs we know for certain that there is no creature in the world, either in heaven or on earth, that can even contemplate God's image, as it is written: *To whom, then, can you liken God, what form compare to Him* [Is. 40:18]; and it is written: *To whom, then, can you liken Me, to whom can I be compared?—says the Holy One* [ibid. ibid. 25]; and it is [further] written: *To whom can you compare Me or declare Me similar? To whom can you liken Me, so that we seem comparable?* [ibid. 46:5]. But surely, is it not written in the Torah: *Let us make man in our image, after our likeness* [Gen. 1:26], and it is [also] written: *And God created man in His image, in the image of God He created him; male and female He created them* [ibid. ibid. 27], *this is the record of Adam's line. When God created man, He made him in the likeness of God; male and female He created them. And when they were created, He blessed them and called them Man* [ibid. 5:1–2]; and it is [further] written: *The Lord formed man from the dust of the earth. He blew into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living being* [ibid. 2:7]. One should not understand [all] this to mean that man is in the image of God's appearance, for man was created, as the verse says, [from the] *dust of the earth*. Man was created male and female in order to give birth to children. Who can say that this

image and likeness are in God's likeness? Rather, this verse should be interpreted as follows: man is [but] a lifeless corpse [*golem*]⁸ whose body is like a perforated vessel in which the Creator has made both internal and external orifices in order to animate it.⁹

⁸ The Hebrew term *golem* has a range of related meanings, including that which is not fully formed [e.g. an embryo or an incompletely manufactured object], shapeless mass, the human body, and an uneducated person (see Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, II, 785). One other meaning, which seems particularly pertinent here and which is attested in the book *Josippon*, whose date and provenance are very close to SH's, is that of a statue in the shape of the human figure, synonymous with צלם (see *ibid.*, *ibid.* [4]). According to the *Josippon*, Alexander the Great wished to erect a gold statue of himself in the Jerusalem Temple: ועתה אעשה לי זכר הנה ואתן זהב לרוב לאומנים ויבנו צלמי ... ויהי גולמי לזכרון בבית אלהים: הגדול הזה [“Now, I shall make a memorial of myself here. I shall give the craftsmen a great deal of gold and have them sculpt my figure [*šalmi*] ... and let my statue [*golmi*] be my memorial in this great House of God”] (see Flusser, ed., *The Josippon*, I, 56. The English translation is my own, P.M.). In this sense—the lifeless shape of the human body, which is clearly what Donnolo has in mind—*golem* comes close to the later medieval Ashkenazi use of the term to denote the magically created anthropoid, whose lifeless, man-made body is animated by the magical practitioner. It has even been suggested that this sense of *golem* may reflect the influence of the Greek ἄγαλμα [*agalma*] meaning statue, and that the magical use of statues by the Greeks may have given rise to the medieval Jewish understanding of *golem* in the sense of magically animated body. This would place the earliest association of *golem* with magic in the southern Italian Byzantine milieu. See on all this Idel, *Golem*, 296–305. On the development of the idea of *golem* in the Medieval Jewish tradition, see also Schäfer, “The Magic of the Golem.” With the same meaning the term *golem* is mentioned also in an episode reported in the 11th-century *Sefer Yuḥasin* in which Aḥima'āš tells of a dead man—a *golem*—who was kept alive by means of a small strip of parchment inserted into his body, on which was written the divine name: וביום השבת עמד בחור אחד נחמד לעשות תפילה לפני שוכן מעלה ... ובהגיע בברכו יי המבורך קולו בנועם ארך והשם לא הזכיר והרב הבין והכיר שהמתפלל מת היה ... והראה מקום הקרע והרב שם קרע [“On the Shabbath, an esteemed young man arose to read the prayers before Him that dwelleth on high ... When he reached the words “Barechu et adonai hammevoroch,” his voice lingered on the sound but he did not pronounce Gods’ name. The master at once realized that the reader was actually a dead man ... he then showed where the master had made the incision, and took the Name out of it. His body became lifeless; the corpse crumbled in decay as from dissolution of many years”]. Hebrew text and English translation in Salzman, ed., *The Chronicle*, 5–6 [Hebrew section] and 64–66. See also *ibid.*, 11 [Hebrew section] and 78 [English translation]: ואז הלך ר' הגנאל ברכיה ובמרירות ובוועקה ונאנק ואמר: אל אחיו תן לי פיך ואנשקה והמת פתח פיו ונשקהו בנשיקה והוא ידו תחת לשונו שם והשם הכתוב בקלף הוציא משם מיד שהשם נלקח מעמו אל המטה נפל גלמו והגולם שב לעפרה ולרקבונה והנפש הלכה אל אלוהים אשר נתנה [“In sadness and anguish R. Hananeel then approached his cousin and said, ‘Raise thy mouth, that I may kiss thee.’ The body opened his mouth. R. Hananeel, kissing him, put his hand under his tongue, and took therefrom the Name written on the parchment. As soon as the Name was taken from him, his body fell back upon the bed. So the body returned to dust and decay, and the soul returned to God who gave it”].

⁹ The idea of the human body as a pierced structure was common to many ancient medical traditions. See Cosmacini, *Medicina e mondo ebraico*, 37. Only in Jewish medi-

He made for him the orifices¹⁰ of the eyes and their eyelids, so that he may look through them and see when they are open, and see nothing when they are shut. Moreover, when he wants to fall asleep and slumber, he shuts his eyelids, for he is unable to fall asleep and slumber so long as he is looking and seeing with his eyes. The creator [also] made for him the orifices of the ears with which to hear, and when they are blocked he does not hear.

He made for him the two nostrils of the nose with which to smell and breathe, and when they are blocked he cannot smell or breathe with them. He made for him the mouth into which to put his food and drink. He made for him teeth and jaws with which to grind his food. He made for him the pharynx, the throat and the oesophagus with which to digest his food and drink.

He made for him the trachea with which to bring the spirit of the breath of life [*ruah nishmat hayyim*]¹¹ up and down from the heart

cine, however, were the five orifices (the mouth, the two nostrils, the anus and the urethral orifice) given an essential role in the functioning of the living body, as evidenced by the Rabbinic tradition, which included the *asher yašar* blessing in the daily prayer: בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר יָצַר אֶת הָאָדָם בְּחִכְמָה וּבְרָא בּוֹ נִקְבִּים וְנִקְבִּים חֲלוּלִים חֲלוּלִים גְּלוּי וְיָדוּעַ לִפְנֵי כֹסֵא כְבוֹדֶךָ שָׂאֵם יִפְתַּח אֶחָד מֵהֶם אוֹ יִסְתֵּם אֶחָד מֵהֶם אִי אֶפְשֶׁר לְהִתְקַיֵּם וּלְעֲמוּד לִפְנֵיךָ אֶפִּילוּ לִפְנֵי שְׂעָה אֶחָת. [“Blessed are You, Lord our God, King of the universe, who has formed man in wisdom, and created within him numerous orifices and cavities. It is revealed and known before the Throne of Your Glory that if but one of them were to be blocked, or none of them were to be opened, it would be impossible to exist even for a short while ...”].

¹⁰ The whole of the section from here up to “it emerges into the air of the world by order of the Creator” (see below p. 257) is quoted verbatim in *Sheveṭ musar*, one of the most popular ethical homiletical works, written by the 18th-century preacher Eliyahu ben Solomon Abraham ha-Kohen of Smyrna (ca. 1650–1729). The text was published for the first time in Constantinople in 1712. See Eliyahu ben Solomon Abraham ha-Kohen, *Sheveṭ musar*, Valdman, ed., I, i, 35–37.

¹¹ Throughout the commentary it is difficult to determine in what sense Donnolo uses the ambiguous term *ruah*. In a number of passages it clearly signifies “air” or “wind” and is used as a synonym of *awir* (particularly in the commentary on SY, where it features as one of the primary elements together with fire and water) but elsewhere it seems to denote also the human intellect, the soul and man’s spirit, as well as the divine spirit, from which God extracted all material substances: “With *aleph* was formed the air out of the spirit [*ruah me-ruah*] of the Holy One, blessed be He” (see below 300). For the sake of clarity, in the present translation, whenever the meaning of *ruah* is uncertain or the term lends itself to more than one interpretation, it is accompanied by the transliterated Hebrew word. As for *neshamah*, Donnolo often combines it with *ruah* to create, as here, such expressions as *ruah nishmat hayyim*, seemingly denoting the rational faculty which resides either in the brain or in the heart. On this role of the heart and the brain in Donnolo’s human physiology, see Lacerenza, “Il sangue fra microcosmo,” 389–417. A much clearer distinction between *nefesh*, *ruah* and *neshamah* was drawn by Sa’adiah who, following a well-known Platonic tripartition of the soul, distinguished between the

through the lungs, the nostrils, and the mouth. He made for him the tongue with which to knead the food in the mouth, to mix and guide it from side to side within the mouth and to conduct the food and drink down the throat, the pharynx and the oesophagus so that it may be swallowed. Another reason why He made for him the tongue is to articulate his thoughts as words [and to convey them] to the lips, with which the tongue collaborates as if they were two partners and friends [sharing the task of] expressing speech and sounding it by the voice that comes out of the bronchial tubes with the air of the breath of life. But whoever has his tongue or his lips cut off, is unable to speak, eat and swallow like everyone else.

He made for him the heart to be the site at which the breath of life [*ruah hayyim*] is established. If the heart is injured, man dies. He made for him the upper bowel, which is the stomach, to receive and process food and drink, by virtue of which to nourish the whole body and keep it alive.

He made for him the liver on the right-hand side [of the body], with the red bile and the blood at its root,¹² to warm the upper bowel and by the warmth of the liver, the red bile and the blood to process the food and drink within the upper bowel.

He made for him the intestines to receive the sediments of food and drink and to pass them down to the lower belly through the colon and the bladder, which is the sack in which the urine gathers, so as to expel it in the normal fashion.

He made for him the two kidneys, right and left, to warm up the lower belly with their heat, stimulating and strengthening it so as to expel excrement and urine from the body.

He made for him the spleen on the left-hand side [of the body], together with the black bile, so that they would chill with their coolness the bowels, the intestines and the belly, to prevent them from dehydrating and drying up¹³ the food and drink on account of the boiling heat of the bowels, which they derive from the heat of the blood, the liver and the red bile.

faculty of appetite (*nefesh*), the faculty of passion and courage (*ruah*) and the faculty of knowledge (*neshamah*). See Altmann, ed., *Saadya Gaon*, 147.

¹² On the role of blood in Donnolo's physiology and pathology, see Lacerenza, "Il sangue fra microcosmo," 406–410 and Arieti, "La cultura medica," 178.

¹³ The Hebrew verb *חרב* is used here, which means either "dry up" or "destroy," "spoil," which might also fit the present context.

He made for him the colon, the “tapeworm” intestine, which is joined to the lower orifice, in order to expel the faeces, dung, excrement and wind¹⁴ produced by his bowels and his intestines. He made for him the sexual organ, male and female, in order to have sexual intercourse, to inseminate and to beget. He made for him bones to keep the body strong, and He put flesh on the bones to warm up the coolness of the bones. He made for him blood vessels, which are the veins by which the whole body is irrigated. He made for him sinews to establish a strong bond between the bones and the limbs.

He made for him the limbs, the joints and their points of articulation, the vertebrae of the spine, the articulated bone joints of the hands, feet, fingers, arms, thighs, knees, legs, ankles, the soles of the feet, the palms of the hands, the neck and the shoulders, so that man would be able to stretch out, bend himself double, crouch, rise, stand up and sit down, kneel, bow down, and turn his head this way and that.

He¹⁵ stretched for him skin over his flesh, bones, sinews and blood vessels, so as to cover the whole body, to keep it warm and prevent it from growing cold.

He made for him the skull to keep alive with its dry heat the head and the eyes, and He created a mucous membrane around the brain in the head, so that the brain and the eyes should not dry up from the heat of the brain and the heat of the bowels which rises from below upwards to the head. He made for him hands with which to touch, seize, grasp, grip, and carry out work, so as to sustain him. He made for him legs on which to stand the body and to move it back and forth wherever it wishes to go.

He made for him the hair of the head to keep his head warm so that it would not grow cold through the lack of flesh between the skin and the

¹⁴ Literally, “the wind of his sneeze.”

¹⁵ The following passage, up to “all come from the breath of life that the Maker and Creator blew into it” on p. 257 below may well have been the source of the anatomical description of the creation of man by God in the book *Josippon*: אתכם ... אני לא הוצאתי אתכם מבטני וגם לא גידלתי ולא רוממתי אתכם ובשרכם אשר נובחה, אלהים נתנה לכם וכל עצמותיכם הוא בנה ווארג את הידים וכיסה עור מלמעלה והצמיח שערות ויפח באפיכם נשמת רוח חיים you out of my womb, nor did I rear and raise you. Your flesh which has been offered as a sacrifice, God gave it to you. He constructed your bones; He wove in the sinews, covered them with skin above, sprouted hair, and blew the breath of life into your nostrils” (my translation. P.M.); see Flusser, ed., *The Josippon*, I, 73; II, 81–82 Cf. also Ezek. 37:6–8. According to Bonfil (“Tra due mondi”, 158) the source for the book *Josippon* was not Donnolo but two poems of Amittai and Yannai. See Klar, ed., *Megillat Ahimaaz*, 90 and Zulai, ed., *Piyyute Yannai*, 132.

bone of the skull. He made for him the hair of the beard as an ornament for his face and in order distinguish his appearance from that of women.

He made for him nails for the beauty of his appearance, so as to distinguish him from other creatures and to scratch himself with them. He made for the male testicles to warm up the semen within them, to secrete it through the penis and to ejaculate it. He made for him teats, which in the female are her breasts, from which the milk is secreted to suckle children.

He made for the female a womb to hatch an egg into which the semen is cast, [a womb] in which the child is created. He made for both the male and the female a navel, so that from it the foetus would draw sustenance by way of his brain and his blood while he is still inside the womb, until he comes out into the air of the world, for the foetus cannot draw life-sustaining food by its mouth, which remains blocked until it emerges into the air of the world by order of the Creator.

This entire edifice is necessary for the body of man and beast [alike], for all living creatures—[even] fowls, reptiles and insects—for *man has no pre-eminence above beast* [Eccl. 3:19], with the following exceptions: knowledge, understanding and speech.

If the body lacks a single item out of this complex of limbs, bowels, intestines, brains and orifices mentioned above, it cannot live, for it cannot contain within it the breath of life [*nishmat ruah hayyim*] that the Creator has blown into it. So long as the constitution of the body is wholesome and healthy, the breath of life resides within it by the Creator's decree. But if the body's constitution is not wholesome and healthy, if it lacks one of the parts in which the breath of life resides, or if one of its parts is afflicted by a serious and painful illness which alters its original condition, then the breath of life becomes greatly distressed, for it cannot maintain its residence in the body as before, when the body was first created. Then, out of distress, the breath [*ruah*] exits the body—now a lifeless corpse [*golem*]—and returns to God who had given it, while the lifeless corpse remains cold and dead, dry and shrivelled, like an idol made of mire and mud; it putrefies and decomposes, turning into worms, maggots and earth, as it is written: *The dust returns to the earth* [Eccl. 12:7].

From this we know that the power of the body [*golem*]—its shape, its ability to hear, to see, to smell, to swallow, to speak, to make a sound, to touch, to act, to walk, to move its limbs, to desire anything, to think, to know and to understand—all come from the breath of life [*nishmat ruah ha-hayyim*] that the Maker and Creator blew into it. For when He blew it in, the Maker of all commanded the breath [*ruah ha-neshamah*] that so

long as it remained established within the body, until its appointed end, it should enliven the body, to warm it up, and to cool it down, to dry and moisten it, to make it capable of understanding, to instruct and inform it of good and evil, to deal with all its needs by means of the vessels, the limbs and the lungs of the body that the Creator had formed to be the residence of the spirit [*ruah*], to sustain the body—the flesh, the bones, the brains, the bowels, the intestines, the limbs and the four fundamental elements, which are blood, phlegm, red and black bile.

He also commanded the spirit of life [*ruah ha-neshamah*] and the body not to dwell one without the other, so that man would not resemble God, as it is written: *You have made him little less than divine, and adorned him with glory and majesty* [Ps. 8:6], for God is a living God for ever and ever, His years have no end, and He requires none of what we wrote of above concerning the human body: He does not eat or drink, sleep or slumber, and He does not grow tired or weary, as it is written: *Do I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of he-goats?* [Ps. 50:13]; and it is written: *See, the guardian of Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps* [ibid. 121:4], and it is [further] written: *Do you know? Have you not heard? The Lord is God from of old, [Creator of the earth from end to end]* [Is. 40:28], and it is written: *He never grows faint or weary, His wisdom cannot be fathomed* [ibid. ibid]; and this is what the written: *He gives strength to the weary* [ibid. ibid. 29]; and this is what is meant by the verse: *For the Lord your God is a consuming fire* [Deut. 4:24], which does not refer to eating and swallowing but rather to a fire that burns, as it is written: *The fire consumed the two hundred and fifty men* [Num. 26:10].

The Lord God is truth, a living God and King of the world [Jer. 10:10], *the Lord is gracious and full of compassion* [Ps. 145:8], of great strength, whose power, might and greatness cannot be fathomed; He is all life, mercy, beauty, graciousness, wisdom, understanding, counsel and great exploits, voice and speech, sight and hearing. His glory is everywhere, His greatness is everywhere, His praise and laud are everywhere, His sight and hearing are everywhere, His power and His might are everywhere, in heaven, on earth, in the seas and in all the abysses. He is all and all is from Him; everything is in His hand and within His power, as it is written: *Yours, Lord, are greatness, might, splendor* [1 Ch. 29:11], [and so on], up to: *We praise You and extol your glorious name* [ibid. ibid. 13]. In reference to this it is written in the Torah:¹⁶ *The eyes of the Lord are*

¹⁶ In this passage Donnolo introduces quotations from the Writings (namely, the

set upon the righteous, His ears attentive to their cry [Ps. 34:16]. [Biblical expressions such as] “the face of the Lord,”¹⁷ “His footstool,”¹⁸ “the hand of the Lord,”¹⁹ “the right hand of the Lord,”²⁰ “the mouth of the Lord,”²¹ “and His heart was saddened”²² are all modelled on customary human speech.

[This is the] explanation of: *Let us make man in our image, after our likeness* [Gen. 1:26]. After the Holy One—blessed be He—had created the whole world—the upper heavens, the angels and all the servants of His glory, the earth, the firmament and the waters, the trees, the plants, the luminaries, the planets, the fishes, the sea-monsters, the birds, all the different species of small creatures that swarm the sea, the beasts, the insects and every kind of living creature on earth—He consulted His holy spirit [and decided] to create man, who would be appointed guardian and master of all creatures—as his servants and slaves—to rule the world, to reign over and to subdue every creature of the earth and of the waters, and to acknowledge Him.²³ [Thus] He said to His world:²⁴ *Let us make man in our image, after our likeness*: in my image and in your image, after my likeness and after your likeness. He did not say “after our physical shape and our facial appearance,” but *in our image, after our likeness*, for whenever one thing resembles another, whether in its shape or its facial appearance, [its] power or bodily form, by its actions or its works, its authority or its speech, its wisdom or its voice, or in every other respect in which they resemble each other, this resemblance is referred to as image and likeness, and this is the image and likeness of which God spoke to His world, not the likeness of physical appearance but rather “in the likeness” of God’s work and the working of the world.

Psalms) with the term Torah, commonly reserved for the Pentateuch. He clearly understands this to mean Torah in the comprehensive sense of the term, as referring to the entire biblical corpus. For this practice, which is attested in the classical rabbinic sources, see e.g. *bBerakhot* 5a; *Tanhuma*, Deuteronomy, *re’eh*, 1 and see Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, XXVI, 7704 and Jastrow, *A Dictionary*, II, 1657, VII, 3289 [2].

¹⁷ See e.g. Gen. 19:13, 27; Ex. 32:11.

¹⁸ Ps. 99:6, 132:7; Lam. 2:1.

¹⁹ See e.g. Ex. 9:3; Deut. 2:15.

²⁰ Hab. 2:16; Ps. 118:15,16.

²¹ See e.g. Ex. 17:1, Lev. 24:12.

²² Gen 6:6.

²³ See above p. 241 n. 82.

²⁴ Cf. Gen. Rabbah 8, 3.

Just as God is supreme,²⁵ ruling over man and over the entire world, both above and below, so is man, whenever he satisfies the will of His creator, as the Lord said to Moses our Master—peace be upon him—in connection with the affair of the [golden] calf: *Let Me alone and I will destroy them* [Deut. 9:14], and in the episode of Korah: *The ground opens its mouth and swallows them up with all that belongs to them* [Num. 16:30], while Elijah the Tishbite, swore that there would be neither dew nor rain during those years except at his bidding,²⁶ and he brought down fire from heaven and slew the prophets of Baal [who were] in the land;²⁷ he revived the dead²⁸ and decreed that a double portion of his own spirit should rest upon Elisha.²⁹ [Similarly], all the holy men who inhabited the earth ruled both above and below at the Creator's will, and their own will was fulfilled.

Just as God knows and understands the past and the future, so also man, whom God has granted [the] wisdom [required] to know [this]. Just as God supplies sufficient nourishment to all flesh, so man sustains his household, his servants and his animals. Just as God recompenses both good and evil, so does man. Just as God distinguishes between good and evil, so does man. Just as God has constructed the world—the foundations of the earth, the expanse of the firmament and the basin of the waters—so also man can construct, lay foundations, put up ceilings, gather waters, sow, grow herbs, plant and act, but [he does all this] with toil, weariness, and only by the Creator's will. Just as no creature can see God, so man's breath of life cannot be seen, either in life or in death, not even when it exits his body.

Just as God knows the things to come, so too does man. When his spirit [*ruḥo*] and his body cease from toiling for his needs, when he sleeps and slumbers, while his breath of life stops occupying itself with the body's needs, then in his dreams he sees the things to come, the spirits [*ruḥot*] of the dead, places he has not visited, people he has not encountered and [other] exceedingly surprising things that he cannot see when he is awake.³⁰

²⁵ The section starting here and concluding with “But the Holy One—blessed be He—created the world from the outset for no other purpose but that it should be built and, by His great mercy, run by human beings” (see below p. 262) is quoted verbatim in *Sefer Orḥot Šaddiqim*, (section *sha'ar yir'at ha-shamayim*), 110–113.

²⁶ See 1 Kings 17:1.

²⁷ Ibid. 18:38–40.

²⁸ Ibid. 17:17. See also *bSanhedrin* 47a.

²⁹ 2 Kings 2:2–9.

³⁰ The source of this passage may well have been the *De Opificio Hominis*, Migne, ed.,

Just as there is no creature in the world that knows God's secrets, so there is no human being who knows the secrets of man's inner thoughts, except God alone, as it is written: *The Lord knows the designs of men* [Ps. 94:11].

In most things man resembles God a little, in proportion to the limited strength and brevity of life that God gave him. And even though man resembles God a little, he does not resemble Him in his body, his physical appearance, his splendour, his power, his magnitude, authority, deeds, anger, mercy, patience, sanctity, wisdom, understanding or longevity, for God set an end and a limit to man's life, and a fixed term to all his deeds, while God and His deeds are unfathomable, innumerable, endless, limitless and termless.

Whatever God did or does, he does it by His utterance and His word, by His great power and in an instant, neither tiring nor exerting Himself. He has added the evil impulse to man's good impulse, for both his benefit and his detriment, so as to try and test him, [as to] whether [he will choose] good or evil, and in order that he should desire to be fruitful and multiply, to build, plant, destroy and uproot what was planted, to kill, to afflict pain and to smite, to devise plans, to hoard silver and gold, to wage war and to fight, to rule, reign, subdue, despoil, plunder and rage exceedingly.

If He had not added the evil impulse to the good, then, out of his fear of death, man would not have engaged in procreation, would not have

185 in which Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 335/340—after 394) states that just as God knows everything, so man *per somnia* can gain knowledge of past and future things. See above, p. 61 n. 15. Rabbinical tradition was ambivalent about dreams and dream augury, either condemning (see e.g. *bBerakhot* 10b; *bGitṭin* 52a) or sanctioning it (see e.g. *bBerakhot* 55a–57b; *Gen. Rabbah* 17:5; *bNedarim* 8a). For a detailed analysis of the Talmudic theory of dreams, see Alexander, “Bavli Berakhot 55a–57b.” Donnolo was certainly aware of the Hippocratic-Galenic medical tradition, which regarded the interpretation of dreams as an integral part of medical diagnosis. See Oberhelman, “The Diagnostic Dream,” 48; Guidorizzi, “Sogno, diagnosi,” 97 and *Hippocratic Writings*, Lloyd, ed., 252–259. A similar view is attested in *On Philosophy*, one of Aristotle's early works, in which the Stagirite affirms that “while sleeping the soul collects itself so that, once back to its true nature, it becomes prophetic and forecasts the future” (see Rose, ed., *Aristotelis*, fragment 10; my translation. P.M.), and in Philo's *De Somnis*, where the dream is said to be one of the ways of forecasting future events. See Wolfson, *Philo*, II, 55–59, 81–82. In 9th–10th-century Byzantium, oneiromancy attracted widespread interest, as evidenced by the many texts devoted to the analysis and interpretation of dreams. One of the most important was the *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, a treatise by an anonymous Eastern Christian author. See Guidorizzi, “I prontuarii oniromantici” and Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation*.

built a house or desired to acquire livestock and property, would not have planted or sowed, and would not have desired to work, for he would say to himself: “Since death has been decreed upon me, why should I toil for someone else? I desire nothing.” The entire world would then have been destroyed and perished.³¹ But the Holy One—blessed be He—created the world from the outset for no other purpose but that it should be built and, by His great mercy, run by human beings.

For if God had wished to create in every generation a new world and a new man, as in the beginning, He certainly could, but He does not wish to do so, to prevent the creatures from saying: “There are multiple powers, and the creation of one is better than the creation of the other.”³² Rather, all the inhabitants of the world should understand and know that just as He lives and exists forever, so the works of His hands will not fail to exist forever, with the exception of flesh and blood creatures, on whom death was decreed; one generation begets another, the former begetting and recounting God’s might to the latter.

If man strengthens himself with the good impulse to subdue his evil impulse,³³ so that he does not sin against his Creator but rather employs his evil impulse [to engage] in those things that derive from the power of the evil impulse and carries them out with fear of God and without any sin or transgression, then this would be [for] his good; happy is he and she that bore him. But if [he employs his evil impulse for] sin and transgression, this would be [to] his detriment; woe betide him if he does not return with repentance to his Creator. In almost all these respects God likened man to His own image, except for the evil impulse and death, as it is written: *You have made him little less than divine* [Ps. 8:6].

Just as He likened him to Him, He likened him to the world. How?³⁴ He made for him the skull of the head, which is like the firmament of the sky that is above this firmament. He made for him the upper vault of the mouth, in which the teeth and jaws are planted, in the likeness of this firmament which is above us: just as it separates waters from waters,

³¹ Cf. Gen. Rabbah 9, 7; Eccl. Rabbah 3, 16.

³² For the idea that multiple creations are liable to lead to the heretical notion that there are multiple creative gods, see *mSanhedrin* 4:5; *bSanhedrin* 37a, 38a.

³³ The section, from this point to the end of the long series of comparisons between the micro and the macrocosm [“...the twelve parts of the body, the ribs and all the limbs attached to it on either side”] (see below 270) is quoted in *Sefer Orhot Šaddiqim*, (section *šā’ar yirat ha-shamayim*), 113.

³⁴ The section, from here to “the twelve parts of the body, the ribs and all the limbs attached to it on either side” on p. 320 below, is quoted verbatim in Elijah ben Solomon Abraham ha-Kohen’s *Sheveṭ Musar*, Valdman, ed., II, ilvi, 634–638.

upper waters from lower waters, so does the upper vault of the mouth separate the fluid of the head from the fluid of the upper bowel, that is the stomach.³⁵

Just as God placed His holy Shekhinah³⁶ in the upper heavens, which He stretched as a ceiling over the waters, as it is written: *He sets the rafters of His lofts in the waters* [Ps. 104:3], so He placed the breath of the spirit of life [*ruah nishmat hayyim*], knowledge and understanding in the membrane which is crusted over the brain and its fluid within the head. From this we understand the fact that if the brain is ruptured, man immediately dies, since the breath of life is set within the brain.³⁷

Just as God placed His holy Shekhinah in the West,³⁸ so He placed the brain at the back of the head, over the ears, and He placed the breath of life [*ruah hayyim*] over the brain.

Just as the world exists and is guided by the power of One God, so the whole of man's body exists by the power of the one breath of life that God gave it, which guides it in rectitude, health and strength, enabling it to

³⁵ From the Greek *στόμαχος* [*stomachos*] and Latin *stomachus*. The spelling of this term in the manuscripts of SH is unstable. It is likely that Donnolo used the Greek or Latin form, even though this term is attested, in a variety of spellings, in the classical rabbinic sources. See Jastrow, *A Dictionary*, I, 90 and Sokoloff, *A Dictionary*, 51.

³⁶ The divine Presence in Rabbinic Hebrew. On the concept of Shekhinah in Rabbinical literature, see Urbach, *The Sages*, 37–65, particularly 62.

³⁷ Galen of Pergamum (ca. 129–199) asserted, in opposition to Aristotle's cardiocentric theory, that the centre and most important life organ of the body was the brain. He conducted a series of experiments on animals by which he showed that the body dies if the brain is removed from it. See Clarke and O'Malley, *The Human Brain*, 7–10, 14–20.

³⁸ See Num. Rabbah 2:9, 11:2; Lam. Rabbah 1:31; *Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer*, VI, Friedlander, ed., 39; *bSanhedrin* 91b and *bBaba Batra* 25a–b where the sages debate the location of the *Shekhinah* in the world. In his system of correspondences between micro and macrocosm, Donnolo follows the Biblical assumption that the north is the source of evil (see e.g. Jer. 1:4, 4:6, 6:1)—which in the macrocosm appears in the form of dangerous natural phenomena, in opposition to the south, from which good originates. Donnolo links the opposition between north and south to that between the right-hand side, traditionally conceived as positive and good, and the left-hand side, which is associated with evil. On the opposition between left and right in Western culture, see Hertz, “The pre-eminence of the Right Hand”. The macrocosmic West corresponds in the microcosm to the uppermost point of man's body, the head, in which Donnolo locates the breath of life. See Sharf, *The Universe*, 62. In *Sefer ha-mazzalot* Donnolo similarly affirms that *ושכינה במערב לעולם שנאמר סילו לרוכב בערבות* [“The Skekhinah is always in the West, as it is said: *Extol him who rides on the clouds*” (Ps. 68:5, with *ערבות*—“clouds”—understood as deriving from the same stem and thus meaning the same as *מערב*—“west”)] (my translation. P.M.). Hebrew text in Luzzatto, “Mikhtav gimel,” 63.

exist until its [appointed] end. But if some other, evil breath,³⁹ interferes with his body, the body will not survive in its original state.

Just as He placed in the firmament of the heavens two luminaries and five planets, so He placed two eyes in man's head, the right eye corresponding to the sun, and the left eye corresponding to the moon;⁴⁰ the left nostril corresponds to Mars, and the right nostril corresponds to Mercury; the tongue, mouth and lips correspond to Jupiter; the right ear corresponds to Venus, and the left ear corresponds to Saturn.

Just as He made the atmosphere [*awir*] between the firmament and the earth, so He made in man's body the chest and the torso.⁴¹

Just as He made air in the atmosphere [*ha-ruah ba-awir*] of the hollow of the world, so the spirit of the breath of life [*ruah nishmat ha-ḥayyim*] comes out of the lungs, which are in the chest and the torso, namely in the hollow of the body.

Just as He spread the earth over the waters, so He covered and stretched the membrane of flesh which is upon the liver and the belly, the intestines and the spleen, which is the flesh between the lungs and the liver, the spleen, the intestines and the belly.

Just as God made birds, fish, animals and cruel beasts which prey on each other, eating and swallowing each other, as well as others which are compassionate and innocent, never harming each other, so He made

³⁹ The Hebrew *רוח רעה מאומה אחרת* is somewhat ambiguous. *מְאוּמָה* normally means “anything” and is indicated in the present translation by “some,” but it could just conceivably be read as a feminine adjective coined by Donnolo from *מְאוּמָה*, which is a variant of *מְאוּמָה*-“blemish”—and can be understood as “defective,” “blemished” (see Brown, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 548 s.v. *מְאוּמָה* and Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, VI, 2756 s. v. *מְאוּמָה*). There is yet another possibility of reading *מְאוּמָה אחרת* as “from another nation” with the *מ* of *מְאוּמָה* being prepositional, but this seems most unlikely, given that the passage clearly concerns the “breath of life” of universal man rather than specifically that of the Jew's.

⁴⁰ The correspondence between the luminaries and the eyes also appears in the commentary on SY (see below, p. 317), where Donnolo reformulates, according to the principles of Ptolemaic astrology, the set of correspondences between the planets and the human body as listed in SY. In the following section, however, these correspondences differ not only from SY's but also from Donnolo's own as he reformulated them in his commentary. As observed by Sharf (*The Universe*, 55–59), Donnolo distinguishes between different types of correspondence. The first type is represented by SY, which in Donnolo's view simply describes the mechanics of creation. The second type, described in the present passage, explains the correspondence in terms of analogy between certain parts of the body and certain planets. The third type defines the melothesia (planetary influence on the human body) by identifying the correct relationships between each planet and the organ which is said to be under its influence.

⁴¹ This sentence is missing from Castelli's edition; see Castelli, *Il commento*, 20.

human beings. But to human beings He gave knowledge and authority to prevent themselves from doing harm, for which they are liable to punishment.

The good [humans] are comparable to the good birds and beasts, as it is written: *My darling, my faultless dove* [Song 5:2], and it is written: *For you, My flock, flock that I tend* [Ez. 34:31], while the bad [humans] are comparable to the bad ones, as it is said: *He is like a lion eager for prey* [Ps. 17:12].

Just as there are in the world good and bad trees and plants—like those leaves that emit a good scent, and the fruits that are nutritious and therapeutic, and others that are lethal and malignant, like poisonous herbs, thorns and thistles—so there are good and bad human beings. The good ones are comparable to good trees and plants, as Scripture says: *Like an apple tree among the trees of the forest, so is my beloved among the sons* [Song 2:3], and it is written: *Like the lily among the thorns, so is my darling among the daughters* [ibid. ibid. 2], while the bad ones are comparable to thorns and thistles, as it is said: *But the wicked shall all be raked aside like thorns* [2 Sam. 23:6].

Just as God created man, beast and all living beings to dwell on earth, so God created the heart on that membrane of flesh which is over the liver,⁴² and within the heart He placed the breath of life.

Just as beneath the earth He made abysses, mire and mud, so He made in man the upper bowel, and the intestines which receive food and drink.

Just as the waters of the mire and mud swarm with insects and creeping things of every kind, so the intestines of man swarm with the mire of food and drink sediments: insects, creeping things, and worms—long, short, wide, round, big, small, thick and thin, as thread-like as white hairs.⁴³

Just as He made the sea basins in the world, so He made in man a place for the urine to gather, which is a sack called bladder.

⁴² This is probably the muscle which separates the thorax from the abdomen. See Muntner, *Rabbi Shabtai Donnolo*, I, 31 and Sharf, “Shabbatai Donnolo’s idea,” 209 n. 23.

⁴³ In this description of the intestinal worm, also known by the name of *taenia*, Donnolo follows the text of Asaf, who said: *וללמדך תולדות השרץ שיהיה במעי האדם לכל*, ויש מהם ארכים כמו זרת, מתגלגל, והם מיני השרץ הנשרץ במעים. ויש מהם רחבים לבנים וקטנים, ויש מהם רגלים בלא רגלים ומהם דקים כשער [“This is in order to teach you the generation of the creeping creature living in the intestines of man, and of any other creeping creatures swarming in the intestines. They may be large, white and small; some of them are a span long, coiling [round] themselves, shaped like worms that crawl without feet, while some are as thin as hair”] (my translation P.M.). See Muntner, *Mavo le-sefer*, 162.

.דקלים פ'י' היה בקי לראות בתנועת הדקלים וזוה היה יודע עתידות. [“Just as there are clear, turbid, sweet, salted and bitter waters in the world, so there are in man: out of his eyes come salty waters, out of his nostrils cold waters, out of his throat warm waters, out of his mouth sweet waters, out of his ears bitter waters, while the waters of the urine are bitter and malodorous. There are cold and warm winds in the world, and so it is with man: when he opens his mouth and blows, his breath is warm, while when he purses his lips and blows, his breath is cold. There are thunders in the world and a voice in man; lightning in the world and a lighthing-like, shining countenance in man. There are constellations in the world, and those who observe the stars can foretell by them future events. Likewise, there are [prognostic] signs in man: if he has an itch without a sore, a louse, or a flea, those who are experts in this science can foretell future events by it, as well as by the contours of man's hand and by the countenance of his face. This science was in possession of the wise men of old but later generations forgot it. Wise men can also predict future events by the trees and the grasses, and this is referred to in what was said of rabbi Yoḥanan ben Zakkai, who knew the language of palm-trees, namely, he was an expert observer of the movement of palm-trees by which he could foretell future events” (cf. *bSukkah* 28a and *bBaba Batra* 134a)]. The same passage is attested in ms. Oxford—Bodleian Library—Mich. 558 (Ox) on f. 42b. A similar passage concerning the salinity of waters is attested in ms. Vatican—Biblioteca Apostolica—ebr. 214 (V) f. 23b; see above 88–89. Castelli (*Il commento*, 22 n. 2) published it as a footnote to his edition of SH without comment, as did Muntner in *Rabbi Shabtai*, I, 32. In his *The Universe*, 156, however, Sharf argued that: “the consonance of the examples in this passage with the other examples in the analogy, and particularly their explicit medical interest, reasonably support its inclusion as a genuine part of Donnolo's argument, an inclusion not specifically rejected by any of its editors, even if its ms. source is to remain unknown. And even were it held to be only the interpolation of a copyist, it would still have some value as a vivid additional illustration of Donnolo's argument from someone by whom that argument had been correctly understood.” The passage is not attested by any witness of the tradition and there is therefore no cogent reason to include it in the text. In addition to Sharf's observation, however, other important details should be considered: first, the passage is entirely compatible with Donnolo's argumentation, offering details of the relation between the micro and macrocosm which are not mentioned by Donnolo; secondly, the passage concerning the different types of waters is very similar to a passage of Asaf ha-rofe's text (to which Donnolo refers time and again in his work) who has a virtually identical list: **... אז נהפכו המים לששה מיני טעם. והם בגוף האדם: מים מלוחים מעיניו, מים קרים מאפיו, מים מרים מאוזניו, מים מתוקים מפיו, מים חמים מגידיו** [“... then the waters were differentiated into six types of taste, which are, in the human body: salty waters from his eyes, cold waters from his nostrils, bitter waters from his ears, sweet waters from his mouth, warm waters from his (urethral) ducts ...”] (my translation. P.M.); thirdly, *Sefer Orḥot Šaddiqim* quotes passage attested only in G (ms. Oxford—Bodleian Library—Heb.e.26) the oldest witness of the tradition, which contains long and extended parts of the text not attested by other manuscripts of SH. On all this see above, 98. Noteworthy is the reference in this passage to chiromancy and metoposcopy, the arts of determining human character and fate by interpreting the contours of the palm and the forehead. These disciplines were known to the mystics of the Merkavah. See Scholem, “Physiognomy and Chiromancy”; idem, “Chiromancy (Palmistry)”; idem, “Ein Fragment zur Physiognomik und Chiromantik”; Gruenwald, “New Passages,” 354–372 and idem, *Apocalyptic*, 218–224. Donnolo's references to these two disciplines are in perfect consonance with a well attested Galenic medical tradition elaborating on Aristotle and Hippocrates. See Barton, *Power and Knowledge*, 95–131, particularly 97–100; Evans,

Just as from the southernmost end of the world—which is Teman and the right-hand side of the world⁴⁸—issue heat and an abundance of dew and rain and good winds, so, at God's command, from the right-hand side of man issue the heat that is produced by the red bile, which is suspended from liver, and the sap of the blood that comes out of the liver on the right-hand side of man.

Just as snow, the cold, hail and frost issue from the northern end, so the cold issues from the left-hand side of man, from the spleen and the black bile which is situated within the spleen.

Just as evil comes out of the world from the north—as the Scripture says: *From the north shall disaster break loose* (Jer. 1:14)—so every serious and dangerous illness issues from the black bile which lies within the spleen, on the left-hand side. Just as the northern end of the world is the abode of all harmful demons, comets, earthquakes, winds, lightnings and thunders,⁴⁹ so is the abode of black bile, which lies in the spleen, on the left-hand side, and from which emanate all serious and dangerous illnesses, such as the quartan fever⁵⁰ and every kind of madness, fear, trembling of the limbs and the *poleg*,⁵¹ which is paralysis, as well as mouth spasms, blurred vision and sudden blindness.

“The Study of Physiognomy,” and idem, *Physiognomics*. On this passage see also Muntner, *Mavo le-sefer*, 160–161. A similar passage occurs in *Aggadat ‘olam qatan*, Jellinek, ed., 58. According to Samuel Kottke, (“Šabbetai Donnolo,” 21–43, particularly 33 n. 40), who rejects the Donnolian authorship, this passage was “apparemment inséré par quelque copiste, il s’agit d’une paraphrase de *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*.” See Goldin, ed., *The Fathers*, 126–128; Castelli, *Il commento*, 28 n. 2, 42 n. 1, 44 n. 1, 50 n. 1, 64 n. 2, 49 n. 1 [Italian section]; Sharf, *The Universe*, 171 [Hebrew text] and Sermoneta, “Il neoplatonismo,” 915 n. 78.

⁴⁸ The south is on the right-hand side in relation to those who observe the rising sun and the planets in the east. Cf. *bBaba Batra* 25b. See Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, XVI, 7735 [4]. By the same token Donnolo says in *Sefer ha-mazzalot* that *וּלְעוֹלָם שֶׁבַע עֲתָרֹת לְיָמִין הוּא צֶדֶד דְּרוֹם* [...] “the seven constellations always rise from the north to the right-hand side, which is the south”. Text in Luzzatto, “Mikhtav gimel,” 66.

⁴⁹ See *mBerakhot* 9:1; *bBerakhot* 54a, 58b–59a; *bHulin* 86a.

⁵⁰ This is the “quartana consumption,” known by the scientific name of *plasmodium malariae*. The *plasmodium* is one of the three malarial viruses (*plasmodium vivax*; *plasmodium malariae* and *plasmodium falciparum*). It causes fever alternating every seventy-two hours with apyrexia. Donnolo was obviously not aware of the viral causes of the disease and attributed it to black bile, as did both Hippocrates and Galen. See Siegel, *Galen’s System*, 273–279 and Wittern, “Galen’s intermittent fever.”

⁵¹ Castelli, who follows the spelling פִּלְאָג of ms. Florence 44.14, suggests (*Il commento*, 22 n. 8) a derivation from the Arabic *falig* meaning paralysis of half the body, while

Just as rain clouds rise up as steam from the earth, raising the waters of the abysses up to the firmament to rain down upon the earth,⁵² so steam rises up from the upper bowel and raises fluid up to the mouth and the head. And from that fluid, which rises from the bowel, tears are secreted, as well as the mucosa of the nostrils and the saliva of the mouth.

Just as God created mountains and heights in the world, so He created in the human body the shoulders, the joints of the arms, the junctions of the knees, the joints of the ankles and the joints of all the other limbs. Just as He created solid, hard stones and rocks in the world, so He created in man his teeth and jaws, which are harder than any bone or iron. Just as He created in the world both sturdy and soft trees, so He created in man both strong and soft bones.

Just as He created in the world both a dense, hard soil and a moist, soft soil, so He created in man both flesh and skin, the flesh being comparable to the soft soil, and the skin to the hard, dense soil.

Just as He created in the world trees and plants that produce fruit and seed as well as trees and plants that produce neither, so He made human beings who produce offspring and those who do not produce offspring. And just as the trees and plants do not produce fruit at the wrong time, so human beings do not produce offspring at the wrong time. Just as the trees grow old, so human beings grow old.

Just as God causes plants and forest trees to grow from the earth, so He makes man's hair grow from his head, his beard and his body.

Sharf (*The Universe*, 173) raises the additional possibility of a Latin and Greek etymology (*plaga* and *πλαγά* [*plagà*] or *πληγή* [*pleghè*] meaning in both Latin and Greek “blow” or “stroke”). See also Durling, *A Dictionary*, 270. For the medieval Hebrew פלג in the sense of paralysis, see Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, X, 4936. The term occurs in the writings Asaf ha-rofè (ca. 6th century), which Donnolo seems to quote verbatim here: ואלה ננעי המררה השחורה ... והנפלג בנגע פרליסיהה ... ולא חלו בנגע פראליסיהה הוא הפלג [“These are the diseases (provoked) by the black bile ... and he who is struck by the disease of paralysis ... and those who are not struck by the disease of paralysis, which is the *poleg*”] (my translation P.M.). The origin of פרליסיהה [“paralysis”] is not entirely clear. Sharf (*The Universe*, 173 n. 16) derives it from the archaic Italian *paralisia*, which is first attested in documents dating back to mid 10th century. See Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario*, XII, 620–621. The use of this term by Asaf ha-rofè (who lived around the 6th century, somewhere between Babylonia and Upper Galilee) demonstrates the groundlessness of this hypothesis. A Latin (*paralysis*) or Greek (*παράλυσις*) origin for the פראליסיהה/פרליסיהה used in Asaf's work, which is certainly Donnolo's source, is much more likely. See Durling, *ibid.*, 259.

⁵² Cf. Aristotle, *Meteorologica*. Lee, ed., 346b, 359b–360a and, on the nature of clouds in the Bible and in rabbinic literature, Sutcliffe, “The Clouds.”

Just as the forest of the earth teems with beasts and creeping creatures, so the hair of the head, the beard and the body teem with lice, both big and small, and with nits.

Just as God created the Dragon in the world and stretched it out in the firmament from east to west, from end to end, with the planets, the constellations and everything else in the world attached to it, so He created in man's body the white cord of the brain inside the vertebrae of the spinal column, which stretches from the top of the brain in the head down to the sacrum, with the twelve parts of the body,⁵³ the ribs and all the limbs attached to it on either side.

The head of spinal column is the brain in the head, while the tail of the spinal column is the sacrum and the genital organ.

Just as the head of the Dragon is beneficent and the tail is maleficent, so the head of the spinal cord is beneficent and the tail of the spinal cord is maleficent.

Just as God created twelve constellations by which He directs the universe, so He created in man the twelve parts of the body: two hands, two forearms, two arms, two feet, two legs and two thighs.⁵⁴

Just as God established six constellations of the Zodiac in the south and six in the north, so He established six parts of the body on the right and six on the left-hand side of the [human] body.

Just as the world and everything within it, both below and above, are driven by the power of the spirit of the Holy One—blessed be He—so the entire human body, both its lower and upper, its internal and external parts, is driven by the power of the spirit of the breath of life that God blew into it.

Just as God sustains the world⁵⁵ with everything in it, both below and above,—even though fools and ignoramuses imagine that He is sustained [by it]—so the breath of life sustains the whole human body, both its lower and upper, its internal and external parts, from end to end, even though the ignoramuses imagine that the body sustains the breath [of life], which is not the case, for when man's life span is exhausted and

⁵³ See directly below: "Just as God established six constellations ... six parts of the body on the right ..."

⁵⁴ As for the case of planetary melothesia above (see p. 264 n. 40), the series of melothesiac correspondences here does not follow any previous astrological tradition and does not abide by the zodiacal melothesia of SY. See below pp. 317–318. Donnolo limits the comparison here to the zodiacal constellations and the twelve parts of the body which have motorial properties.

⁵⁵ See Isaiah 46:4 and Lev. Rabbah 4:8; *bBerakhot* 10a.

comes to its end, the breath of life departs from the body and returns to God who had given it, while the body, namely the corpse [*golem*], remains as lifeless as a stone and of no use at all.

Just as God lives forever, so man's soul [*ruḥo*]⁵⁶ lives forever, for better or for worse. If he was good and upright in life, his soul will live forever⁵⁷ and in peace, while if he was wicked and sinful in life, and did not repent, his soul will be doomed to eternal woe, great trouble and anguish, as it is written: *The life of my lord will be bound up in the bundle of life in the care of the Lord; but He will fling away the lives of your enemies as from the hollow of a sling* [1 Sam. 25:29],⁵⁸ and it is written: *The righteous man perishes, and no man lays it to heart* [Is. 57:1], but this is immediately followed by: *Yet he shall come to peace, he shall have rest on his couch who walked straightforward* [ibid. ibid. 2].

David, too, begged Him for this and said: *Do not sweep me away with sinners, nor my life with bloody men.* [Ps. 26:9]. From this we understand that the condition of the soul [*ruaḥ*] after death depends on man's deeds in life, for better or for worse. As for the sinners and transgressors who did not repent of their evil deeds, [about them] it is written: *And they shall go out and gaze on the corpses of the men who have rebelled against Me. Their worms shall not die, nor their fire be quenched; they shall be a horror to all flesh* [Is. 66:24]; and as to the corpses of the righteous and those who repented, [about them] is written: *Oh, let Your dead revive! Let corpses arise! Awake and sing, you who dwell in dust!* [ibid. 26:19], and it is written: *The confident mind You guard in safety, in safety because it trusts in You* [ibid. ibid. 3].

Just as God fills the entire earth and the whole of this macrocosm, both below and above—as it is written: *Holy, holy, holy! The Lord of Hosts! His presence fills all the earth!* [ibid. 6:3], and it is written: *If a man enters a hiding place, Do I not see him? says the Lord. Do I not fill heaven and earth? says the Lord* [Jer. 23:24]—so man's breath of life [*nishmat ruāḥ ha-ḥayyim*] [namely, his soul] fills the whole of his body, which is like a

⁵⁶ On the meaning of נַפְשׁ as soul, see below n. 158. In this passage it seems fairly certain that Donnolo is taking *ruaḥ* to mean soul, particularly since in the Leviticus Rabbah (4:8) (see previous note), which clearly underlies Donnolo's discussion, the analogy is between God and the soul (*ha-nefesh*). On the relationship between body and soul in rabbinic literature, see Urbach, *The Sages*, 220–224.

⁵⁷ Literally, "his soul will be bound in the bundle of [eternal] life." See 1 Sam. 25:29.

⁵⁸ Cf. *bShabbat* 152b; *Eccl. Rabbah* 3,25; *Pirqe de-rabbi Eli'ezer*, XXXIV; *Midrash Tehillim* 30:3; *Aggadat Bereshit*, 35; Sifre on Numbers, *parashat Naso* 40, *parashat Pinḥas* 8; *Qohelet Zuṭa*, 3.

microcosm, from the soles of his feet to the top of his head, from end to end, right down to his finger and toe nails.⁵⁹

From this we understand the fact that if something touches a person's body without him seeing [what it was]—such as an animal, a creeping creature, an insect, a bird, a man, a beast, an iron [instrument], a thorn, wood, fire, cold or hot water, whether his body [was being touched] or his head, whether internally or externally, whether on the skin of his flesh or at the extremities of his hands or feet—his body instantly senses where it was touched. The person is able to sense this for as long as he is alive, since his body is full of the breath of life [*ruah ha-ḥayyim*], while after death he senses nothing of what happens to his body, whether good or bad, and it is in respect of this that it is written: *Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed* [Gen. 9:6]. This teaches us that whoever murders a [single] person it is as if he has destroyed the entire world,⁶⁰ for man is comparable to the whole of Creation and to God's likeness.

Another reason and another explanation is that *for in His image did God make man* [ibid. ibid. 6] [means that] God made him resemble His own image to a minute degree. How? At the beginning of the Creation He extracted air from His spirit [*ruah me-ruḥo*] by His great power, and with that air He produced water by His great power, and out of this water He produced fire by His exceeding power, and He congealed some of the water by the power of fire and turned it into earth, and out of these four elements, He established and created the entire world. The four elements are as follows: air, water, fire and earth, and thus He created man, too, out of these four elements, out of air, water, fire and earth, which [in man] are blood, phlegm, red bile and black bile.

Blood is comparable to air, *for the blood is the life* [*nefesh*] [Deut. 12:23] and life is the breath of life [*ruah*]; the quality [*koah*]⁶¹ of breath is hot

⁵⁹ See Lev. Rabbah 4:8; *bBerakhot* 10a.

⁶⁰ Cf. *mSanhedrin*, 4:5; *bSanhedrin* 37a. According to *Avot de-rabbi Natan* (chapter XXXI of version A): "He who destroys one soul is accounted by Scripture as though he had destroyed a whole world which was created by ten words . . . Thus thou dost learn that one man's life is equal to all the work of Creation." English translation in Goldin, ed., *The Fathers*, 125–126.

⁶¹ The Hebrew reads כוח, normally rendered "power," "strength," "force." For the medieval sense of quality, property, faculty or attribute, see Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, V, 2316 [10]; Klatzkin, *Thesaurus Philosophicus*, II, 74–83. Donnolo uses the same term in reference to the physical characteristics of the celestial bodies and the influences that they exert on living beings. In this sense כוח seems to be a calque from the Greek δύναμις which Ptolemy employs in his writings. See e.g. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Feraboli, ed., 361.

and moist, and the quality of blood is [also] hot and moist. Pleghm is comparable to water, for the quality of water is cold and moist, and the quality of pleghm is [also] cold and moist.

Red bile is comparable to fire, for the quality of fire is hot and dry, and the quality of red bile is [also] hot and dry.

Black bile is comparable to earth, for the quality of earth is cold and dry and the quality of black bile is [also] cold and dry. All this God made with His great power and His exceedingly strong might.

The air [*ruah*] that God blew and produced out of His spirit [*ruah*] at the beginning of the work of the Creation could not be fathomed and had no measure. He produced water out of His moisture, together with that air that could not be fathomed and had no measure, and out of His moisture—the water that could not be fathomed and had no measure, He produced fire. He congealed some of the water and made earth, which could not be fathomed and had no measure or size. Now, when God created this macrocosm [*ha-‘olam ha-zeh ha-gadol*] at the beginning of the Creation, out of it He also created and formed man, who is the microcosm [*‘olam kaṭan*].

God made him resemble something of His own image and the image of the world. He first created the first man in the image of God, but diminished from it a little, as it is written: *That you made him little less than divine* [Ps. 8:6]. He gave man permission that he, too, should make man out of his own body and at his own instigation,⁶² to the extent of his ability as determined by the will of the Creator, may He be exalted. How? He produces the spirit [*ruah*]⁶³ of sexual desire out of his spirit of life [*ruah ha-ḥayyim*]⁶⁴ by way of producing spirit from spirit,⁶⁵ and the spirit of desire stimulates the [production of] semen, which is like water, by way of [producing] water out of spirit [namely, air]. Both the spirit of desire and the semen enter the womb together with the spirit of life, and owing to the quality of the spirit of life, which is produced together with the semen, and by virtue of the spirit of desire, the semen is heated by the heat [that prevails within] the womb, as if by light fire.⁶⁶

⁶² Namely, reproduce himself, procreate.

⁶³ Donnolo is exploiting the ambiguities of the Hebrew *ruah* in a way which is impossible to convey in English. I have therefore translated *ruah* as “spirit” throughout the passage.

⁶⁴ The passage lends itself to a different interpretation if “his” is read as “His,” changing the meaning to God’s spirit of life.

⁶⁵ See below p. 290 (on SY § 12).

⁶⁶ Donnolo seems to follow here the Hippocratic-Galenic theory according to which the spirit (πνεῦμα) is contained in the sperm. See Galen, *On Semen*, 83, 91.

This, then, is comparable to [producing] fire out of water. The heat congeals the semen, out of which are created the flesh, the sinews, the bones and the skin, which are comparable to earth. This is like creating earth from water.

Here you have the microcosm, which man makes out of his body to his limited capacity, at the will of his Creator, by means of his [sexual] impulse and the breath of the spirit of life that God blew into the nostrils of the first man.

Just as the spirit of the living God does not diminish in the least by dint of His having produced breath out of His spirit, and just as He is not in the least diminished by producing water out of His moisture together with that breath that He produced out of the Holy Spirit that lives for ever and ever—so, man's breath of life is not in the least diminished by expending his breath of life together with his semen, and similarly he is not in the least diminished by producing the semen out of his body's moisture.

In order to let man know that what we wrote above as regards the creation of human beings—who are [all] products of the first man, right down to the point when the world comes to its end, one [made] from the body of another, one from the body of another—cannot be known except by means of the intellect, insight, profound wisdom, knowledge, and the desire to inform people of the power of His mighty deeds, He granted man permission, by means of his sight and the work of his hands, to understand and to know the actions that God performed at the very beginning, to believe and to thank God, to testify that He is a great and awesome God, great in His power and awesome in His deeds.

He permitted man to know how to blow air through his throat from his pharynx with open lips,⁶⁷ so as to exhale the air of his breath of life from his body, and how, with the same air, to excrete moisture from his body.

Whoever does not believe this should take a stone, or an [object made of] iron, or anything else that is hard and dry—hard inasmuch as it does not absorb moisture quickly, and dry inasmuch as it does not excrete moisture—so that no one would claim that the moisture [he produces] comes out of the object and not out of him. He will then see and believe that a little moisture comes out of his body and onto that object on which he has blown air. Man can do all this only in very small measure, to the extent of his limited power, the shortness of his breath⁶⁸ and the brevity of

⁶⁷ Donnolo is probably referring to belching.

⁶⁸ The Hebrew text has here רוחו וקוצר which in Biblical and rabbinical Hebrew is

his mortal life, so that he will appreciate [by contrast] what God can do. Because man's breath of life is extremely limited, he is able to exhale by blowing out of his throat and pharynx only a very small amount of air out of his breath. And since the moisture of man's body is extremely limited, he is able to excrete only a very small amount of moisture by blowing out air, and he is not able to produce fire from this moisture that comes out of his body, because the quantity of moisture that he produces is too small. For this reason God gave him the knowledge, understanding and ingenuity to make [for himself] a substitute [source of fire].

Since man is not able to suspend water in the air without a vessel, as God, by His great power, did at the very beginning, God gave him the knowledge, understanding and ingenuity to put water in a vessel made of clear, translucent glass, so that he can grasp the vessel containing the water with his hand and lift it up in the air of the world.

Since man does not have any light, brightness or radiance that are comparable to God's brightness and radiance, he lifts up that glass vessel containing pure water and sets it up facing the sun's radiance in the heat of summer, holding in his other hand some strands of pure flax, or cotton wool, or the putrescence of forest trees whose name in Greek and Latin is *isqah*.⁶⁹ He then places the strands of flax or the wool or the putrescence called *isqah* directly opposite albeit at some distance from

commonly understood idiomatically as "impatience" (e.g. Ex. 6:9; Micah 2:7; Job 21:4 and Prov. 14:29 where it is contrasted with אֵרֶךְ אִפְיִם, "patience"). In the present context, however, it appears that Donnolo employs the term literally as "shortness of breath." Asaf ha-rofē uses קוֹצֵר הַנְּפֶשׁ in the sense of stenocardia (asthma). See Muntner, *Mavo le-sefer*, 141.

⁶⁹ Muntner (*Rabbi Shabtai*, II, 37 n. 1) and Sharf (*The Universe*, 175 n. 4) suggest that *isqah* is a corruption of the Latin *muscus* and propose מוֹסְכוֹס [tree-moss]. Neither of them attempts to account for the Greek derivation hinted at by Donnolo. It should be noted that Donnolo is speaking of a particularly inflammable substance, which would seem to preclude tree moss. In late Latin and Italian vulgate *esca* was the name of a dry fungus which it was customary to saturate with potassium nitrate in order to light a fire. It was subsequently also used in place of gunpowder in firearms. Isidore of Seville (ca. 540–636) describes this fungus in terms closely resembling Donnolo's text: *fungi, quod aridi ignem acceptum concipiant; φῶς enim ignis est; unde et esca vulgo dicitur, quod sit fomes ignis et nutrimentum* ["dried up mushrooms catch fire easily; *phos* is the name for fire; it is also commonly called *esca*, as it is tinder and nourishment for the fire"] (my translation P.M.). Latin text in Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis*, Lindsay, ed., II, XVII, 10, 18. See Battaglia, *Grande dizionario*, V, 302–303; *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, V, col. 855 and Du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium*, III, 293). The Greek ἰσκα/ἰσκαί [iska/iskai] was a fungus used in medical practice to cover wounds and to cauterise; see *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, VIII, col. 506; *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität*, I, 72, *Vocabolario degli accademici*, V, 256, and Durling, *A Dictionary*, 186.

boiling water, and if the coppersmiths decide to break up either this or some other worn and old kettle in which water had been boiled for many years, then a substance as hard and as solid as a stone, or as dense and as hard as soil will be found in it.

The [sceptical] person will then see and believe that water is congealed as it is being boiled by fire and it becomes earth, soil and stone. Similarly, in the body of man, beast and all living creatures are produced and formed soft, hard and solid stones within the bladder, the kidneys, the liver, the lungs and in other sites within the body, out of the moisture of the body and by the boiling [heat] of each site. By the same token, if one scrapes with an iron tool old wine barrels in which wine has been stored every year, something resembling a stone will come off, which in Greek and Latin is called *ἄρταρον*.⁷² This is produced by the heat of the fermentation [literally, “boiling”] of the new wine and the [inherent] quality of wine.

By all these proofs God has taught man how to do the little of which he is capable in order to appreciate the great and awesome power of God's works. He taught Israel, his [chosen] people, more than all the nations of the world, how to recognise the power of His works and the beginning of their creation, as is written: *He revealed to His people His powerful works* [Ps. 111:6], and it is written: *That men may see and know, consider and comprehend that the Lord's hand has done this, that the Holy One of Israel has wrought it* [Is. 41:20] so that they would know, understand and learn His great and awesome deeds, and would know that there is none like Him and none but Him, that He is great and His works are great, as it is written: *The works of the Lord are great* [Ps. 111:2]. He is awesome and His deeds are awesome, as it is written: *Say to God, “How awesome are Your deeds”* [ibid. 66:3]; He is wondrous and His deeds are wondrous, as it is written: *I praise You, for I am awesomely, wondrously made; Your work is wonderful* [ibid. 139:14]. He is Truth and His deeds are truth, as it is written: *His handiwork is truth and justice* [ibid. 111:7]. He is faithful, and His deeds and His precepts are faithful, as it is written: *All His precepts are trustworthy* [ibid. ibid.]. Blessed be the Unique Name forever and ever, for

⁷² From late Greek *ἄρταρον* [*tartaron*] and Medieval Latin *tartarum*, a bitartrate of potash accumulating on the sides of wine casks and barrels. See Sharf, *The Universe*, 175 n. 9. The word probably derives from the archaic Latin *dordi*, the “scum of the wine,” which is first attested in a Latin manuscript of the ninth century. See Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario*, XX, 748. It is notable that Donnolo's reference to this term is coeval with the first Latin attestation. See also *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, VII, col. 1856; Forcellini, *Lexicon totius latinitatis*, IV, 669.

He alone does great and wonderful works.⁷³ Blessed be the name of His glorious Kingdom for ever and ever.⁷⁴ *Blessed is His glorious name forever; His glory fills the whole world. Amen and amen* [ibid. 72:19].

⁷³ See Ps. 136:4.

⁷⁴ This is one of the most recurrent and oldest response formulas of Jewish prayer, probably derived from Ps. 72:19. See Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, 21 and Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer*, 83. It is well attested in the classical rabbinic sources (e.g. *bPesahim* 56a; *bYoma* 35b, 39a; *bTa'anit* 16b; *yPesahim*; *yYoma* 18a, etc.).

INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMENTARY
ON THE BOOK OF FORMATION

Let us begin the commentary on the beginning of the work of the Creation and on the Book of the Formation of the world that the Holy One—blessed be He—transmitted to our father Abraham—peace be upon him, as it is written: *The Lord created me at the beginning of His course as the first of His works of old. In the distant past I was fashioned, at the beginning, at the origin of the earth. There was still no deep when I was brought forth, no springs rich in water. Before [the foundation] of the mountains were sunk, before the hills I was born. He had not yet made earth and fields, or the world's first clumps of clay. I was there when He set the heavens into place; when He fixed the horizon upon the deep* [Prov. 8:22–27]. *When He assigned the sea its limits, so that its waters never transgress His command, when He fixed the foundation of the earth, I was with Him as a confidant, a source of delight [sha'ashu'im] every day [yom yom]* [ibid. ibid. 29–30].

There are some sages who explain the word *sha'ashu'im* claiming that it means pampering [*pinnuq*],¹ as in the verse: *He that pampers [mefanneq] his slave* [ibid. 29:21]. This is not the right explanation but rather [the word has] the sense of those words that resemble it, as in: *the Lord paid heed [wa-yisha'] to Abel and his offering* [Gen. 4:4], and as in: *At that day, man shall turn [yish'eh] to his Maker* [Is. 17:7]; it is also written: *He shall not turn [yishe'h] to the altars* [ibid. ibid. 8].

Every person of understanding will realise that according to this principle,² *sha'ashu'im* means looking and observing. But while looking and

¹ I have not been able to find such an interpretation in any Hebrew or Aramaic source which might have been available to Donnolo.

² Donnolo uses here the term שרש (*shoresh*), which in both Biblical and rabbinical Hebrew denotes root (of plants, teeth, etc.; see e.g. 2 Kings 19:30; Is. 11:1). In this passage, however, *shoresh* clearly departs from its primary meaning, but it is not clear whether Donnolo is referring by it to the stem of the word—a meaning first attested in the commentary on SY by the 10th-century North African scholar Dunash ibn Tamim, or to the meaning of “principle,” “reasoning” which the same term acquired in philosophical Jewish milieux during the same period. For the different meanings of *shoresh*, see Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, XV, 7477. It is important to note, however, that just

observing is said of a person who looks and observes momentarily, here and there, *sha'ashu'im* means looking intensely, with fully focused attention,³ as if one was fond of something and gazed at it, looking and observing it intensely and with fully focused attention for a very long time, not taking his eyes off it even for a moment.

Because he holds his gaze in a fixed position, to observe and look intensely at the object of his love, his eyes fail on account of this prolonged observation, and the proof of this is, as Scripture says: *Dull that people's mind, stop their ears, and seal their eyes [hasha']* [Is. 6:10]; and is written: *Look away [she'u] from me, I will weep* [ibid. 22:4], and yet is written: *Look away [hasha'] from me, that I may recover* [Ps. 39:14].

These verses do not refer to blindness and cecity but to temporary dimness of sight caused by prolonged observation, for the verse says, *stop their ears* [Is. 6:10], not deafen *their ears*, that is to say: "Let them be deaf for a moment". From this we learn that *hasha'* refers to loss of sight caused by prolonged observation which immobilises the eyes.⁴ This means that *seal their eyes* refers to fixing, setting and immobilising the eyes in order to observe and to look, and [the phrase] is used to explain that out of this prolonged observation one is not able to see.⁵ For the word *sha'ashu'im* [delight] does not resemble the word *wa-yisha'* [paid heed] because it contains some additional letters. Moreover, it is usual for the Holy tongue to double a word, as in *ta'tu'im*,⁶ or *qa'qa'*,⁷ *meqarqar qir*,⁸

a few lines later, Donnolo explicitly refers to what he takes to be the (biliteral) stem of the word by the term יסוד [*yesod*], normally meaning foundation: "The stem [*yesod*] of these words and others like them consists of two letters"; see below 281. This supports the translation of *shoresh* adopted here. About the biliteral notion of the stem in SY and in Donnolo, see below n. 195. For יסוד in the sense of grammatical "root" or "stem", see Ben Yehudah, *ibid.*, IV, 2070–2071.

³ Literally, "with the whole of one's heart and soul"—*contemplazione* ["contemplation"] according to Sermoneta, "Il neoplatonismo," 893.

⁴ Donnolo is not referring to any specific pathology of the eye but to the commonly experienced phenomenon of remaining spellbound when gazing at something for a long time. This phenomenon is purely psychological and it cannot cause either permanent or temporary damage to the eyes. I am grateful to Dr. Piero De Giorgio for this observation.

⁵ The syntax of להבין הוא נאמר ["and it (the phrase) is said to explain"] is somewhat awkward, but the phrase occurs in all the manuscripts of SH and its meaning is perfectly clear. In what was probably an attempt to clarify the passage, the scribe of ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mich. Add. 9 (f. 61b line 22) has added after נאמר the expression וכי תימא ["and if you should say"] which comes from the language of Talmudic argumentation, but which seems out of place here and only makes matters worse.

⁶ Jer. 10:15; 51:18.

⁷ Lev. 19:28.

⁸ Is. 22:5.

and many others.⁹ The stem [*yesod*] of these words and others like them consists of two letters, which are *sh-ʿ*, *t-ʿ*, *q-ʿ*, *q-r*, [the latter] as in: *That everyone's right eye be gouged out* [*bi-nē qor*] [1 Sam. 11:2], where the letter *nun* is not part of the stem of the word, like the *nun* and the *waw* in *l-n-g-w-ʿ*,¹⁰ whose root is *g-ʿ*. Similarly, [this occurs in the verse] *when deep sleep falls* [*bi-nē fol*] [Job 4:13], where the stem is *p-l*, and likewise in many other words.

We have now explained the meaning of *I was a source of delight* [*sha'ashu'im*], namely, I was as the [numerous] sights and observations that the Holy One—blessed be He—made with great love and much focused attention. *Every day* [*yom yom*]. What does *every day* mean? It means two thousand years, as it is written: *For in Your sight a thousand years are like yesterday* [*ke-yom etmol*] [Ps. 90:4].¹¹ What does *yesterday* mean? It means before, that is to say, the day [*yom*] that preceded the creation of the world, since we find it written that the Holy One—blessed be He—said to the first man: *For in the day* [*ba-yom*] *that you eat of it, you shall die* [Gen. 2:17]. In fact, he lived a thousand years minus seventy, to fulfil the verse *as soon as you eat of it, during the day and not at the end of the day*.¹²

⁹ From the examples given, it seems that like SY, Donnolo entertained a biliteral notion of the grammatical stem. See Mordell, “The Origin of Letters,” 561–563; Allony, “The anagramic orientation,” 63–99 and Séd, “Le Sefer Yeširā,” 513–528, particularly 526. See also Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 38 and idem, *Kabbalah*, 33; Liebes, “The Seven Double Letters,” 237–248. The idea of the trilateralism of the Hebrew stem was formulated for the first time by the 10th-century grammarian Yehudah Ḥayyuj, also known as Abu Zakariah Yahiah ben Daud (940–1010), following the studies made before him by Dunash ben Labrat ha-Levi and Menahem ben Saruk. See Munk, “Notice sur Abdul Walid Merwan ibn Djanah,” 28 and Zwiep, *Mother of Reason*, 14. Before the work of the Spanish grammarians who established the trilateral nature of the Hebrew verb, it is clear, as is implicit in the poetry of the time, that the Hebrew verb was viewed as being biliteral. See Mirsky, *Beginning of Poetry*, 96–97; Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry*, 270 and Baron, *A Social and Religious History*, VII, 32–61, particularly 40–42. See also Cowley, ed. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, 99–103.

¹⁰ Job 6:7.

¹¹ Donnolo here follows the midrashic interpretation (see Gen. Rabbah 8:2; Lev. Rabbah 19:1; Song Rabbah 5:10; Midrash Tehillim, 90:17–18) whereby the word *yom* [“day”] means a thousand years. The verse in Prov. 8:30, where the word *yom* is doubled idiomatically (*yom yom*) to indicate “every day,” is taken to mean literally “two days” from which two-thousand years are inferred. Hence Donnolo’s statement to the effect that God was gazing at the letters two-thousand years before the Creation.

¹² See Gen. Rabbah 19:8 and Midrash Tehillim 90:17–18. This is the earliest extant quotation of the midrash on the Psalms. See “Donnolo,” *JE*, IV, 640. According to Zunz, *Ha-derashot*, 131, 176, this midrash was composed around the 9th century in southern

I was by Him a source of delight [Prov. 8:30]. In my opinion this is to be explained as in the verse: *As a nurse [ha-omen] carries an infant* [Num. 11:12].¹³ And it is [also] to be explained as “faithful” [*ne’eman*], since the *nun* is not part of the stem. From this we learn that two thousand years before the Creation of the world the Holy One—blessed be He—was gazing at [*mesha’shea*’] the twenty-two letters of the Torah,¹⁴ combining, turning and making out of them a single word, then turning it forwards and backwards, with all the twenty-two letters, and further making out of them [both] integrated and distinct words.¹⁵

A full word, half a word, a third of a word, a double word, one connected to the other, one integrated in the other, one distinct from the other. He turned them forward and backward, consonants and vowels, and calculated their total number.¹⁶

The Holy One—blessed be He—was doing all this since He wanted to create the world by His utterance and by the articulation of [His] great Name. For this reason He turned the letters to bring out His great, awesome and wondrous Name, strong and vigorous by [virtue of its] power and might, since through the very articulation of that holy and venerable Name, all the work of the Creation was accomplished swiftly [*be-rega’ qaṭan*], in a fleeting moment,¹⁷ with no weariness and toil but rather by His word, His utterance and His command, as it is written: *By the word of the Lord the heavens were made, by the breath of His mouth, all their hosts* [Ps. 33:6].¹⁸

Italy. His hypothesis was dismissed by Buber and more recently by Braude, according to whom the midrash was composed in Palestine during a period ranging from the 3rd to the 13th century. See Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms*, xxv–xxx and Rabinowitz, “Midrash Tehillim.”

¹³ Cf. e.g. Gen. Rabbah 1:1; Ex. Rabbah 30:9.

¹⁴ See Gen. Rabbah 1:1 as in the interpretation of Prov. 8:30.

¹⁵ As observed by Wolfson, *Language, Eros and Being*, 217–287, Donnolo combines in this passage the midrashic motif of the Godhead rotating and combining the letters of the alphabet with the alphabetical praxis of the SY.

¹⁶ This is apparently the first time in the exegesis of SY that the vowels are introduced into the process of combining the letters. The tradition found further development in the commentary of El’azar of Worms on SY, particularly in connection with the creation of the *golem*. See Idel, *Golem*, 60, 75 n. 35; see also Wolfson, *Through a Speculum*, 137 and idem, *Language, Eros, Being*, 276.

¹⁷ Literally, “in a wink of an eye,” an expression which in rabbinic literature (e.g. *bShabbat* 34b; *yBerakhot* 2b–c, etc.) indicates the shortest period of time, an instant, equivalent to *rega’*. See Stern, *Time and Process*, 55.

¹⁸ See Gen. Rabbah 3:2.

It is written in the Book of Genesis which the Holy One—blessed be He—transmitted to our father Abraham¹⁹ and to Moses our Master on Mount Sinai: *God said: "Let there be the light"* [Gen. 1:3]. God said: "Let it be so," and at that moment it was so. It is written: *For he spoke, and it was; He commanded, and it endured* [Ps. 33:9]. The Holy One—blessed be He—further turned the letters in order to bring out of them the words of all the languages in the world. After He completed the combination of the letters and the turning of the words, their computation, their count and enumeration, He began to calculate the computation of the planets and constellations, the computation of the equinoxes²⁰ and cycles of the planets, the Dragon and the constellations that He was to arrange and create. He then laid out the entire computation in front of Him, in order to see and know all the generations that were to be created, from beginning to end, as it is written: *Who has wrought and achieved this? He who announced the generations from the start* [Is. 41:4], before the creation of the world and in order to know every man's deeds—his righteousness and his wickedness—and to decree on everyone according to his future deeds, for better or for worse.

Thus He set out and assigned [to everyone] his constellation and his planet, that would rise at the time of his own rising and birth,²¹ for better or for worse. All this God did with His wisdom and His intelligence before He created the world, as it is written: *The Lord founded the earth by wisdom; He established the heavens by understanding* [Prov. 3:19].

Although He had set out and assigned every individual's planet and constellation before the creation of the world and according to his future

¹⁹ Cf. *mQiddushin* 4:14; *bYoma* 28b.

²⁰ The Hebrew has *tequfot*, a term commonly used in Jewish astrological texts to indicate either the vernal and autumnal equinoxes (in Hebrew *tequfat Nisan* and *tequfat Tishre*), corresponding to the time when the day and night are of equal length and the sun enters the constellations of Aries and Libra, or the summer and winter solstices (in Hebrew *tequfat Tammuz* and *tequfat Tevet*), which are the points in the ecliptic when the sun, at its greatest distance from the north or south of the equator, enters the constellation of Cancer and Capricorn. See *EJ*, V, 46–47 and Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 179, 478. See also *Barayta di-Sh'e mu'el*, Eisenstein, ed., 543 and *Sefer ha-mazzalot* (Luzzatto, "Mikhtav gimel," 63–64).

²¹ The degree of the rising zodiacal sign (i.e. the ascendant or *horoscopus*) and position of the rising planet over the horizon at the time and in the place of one's birth provide the essential information on the birth chart. See Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 42, 239.

deeds, the Holy One—blessed be He—did not permit the planets and the constellations to act either malignly or benignly, for He saw that man, who was about to be created, would not be able to exist without the [evil] impulse, as it is written: *Since the impulse of man is evil from his youth* [Gen. 8:21].

For this reason, God, who is gracious and merciful, patient, abundant in kindness and compassionate,²² set out and established repentance [*teshuvah*] since before the Creation of the world, as it is written: *Before the mountains came into being, before You brought forth the earth and the world, from eternity to eternity You are God. You return man to dust; You decreed, "Return [shuvu] you mortals"* [Ps. 90:2–3].²³

If the evil impulse leads man to sin, so long as he repents before his Creator and forsakes his evil deeds, asking for forgiveness and pardon from his Creator, and following the upright path, to do what is good and right in the eyes of the Lord, then the Holy One—blessed be He—will have compassion over him,²⁴ and his evil constellation will turn good.

After God saw to the proper order²⁵ of the world and all its creatures two thousand years before the creation of the world, He immediately embarked on the creation of the world with His great might, as is written in the Book of Formation, which the Holy One—blessed be He—transmitted to our father Abraham on the day on which He made the covenant with him. As Scripture says: *On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, "To your offspring I assign this land* [Gen. 15:18]. Thus it is written in the Book of Formation.

²² Cf. Jer. 8:6, 42:10.

²³ Cf. Gen. Rabbah 1:4, *Pirqe de-rabbi Eli'ezer*, III and also Urbach, "Seride Tanhuma," 1–54, particularly p. 9. About the role of repentance in Donnolo's commentary, see above, Donnolo's *Sefer Hakhmoni*, 77–79.

²⁴ Cf. Ex. Rabbah 45:1.

²⁵ The Hebrew text reads תְּקִינָה which is somewhat ambiguous. Since it occurs here immediately after a reference to the establishment of repentance, it may mean the capacity for restoring the world and its creatures to their proper, wholesome state, in anticipation of their built-in capacity for corruption and sin.

*Book One*²⁶

[SY § 1, pp. 59–64] By means of thirty-two wondrous paths of wisdom, Y-h—Lord of Hosts, God of Israel, Almighty God, High and Exalted, Dwelling for ever, Holy is His name—carved out His universe [*‘olamo*]. He created His universe with three groups of letters [*sefarim*],²⁷ with *s-p-r*, *s-p-r* and *s-p-w-r*.²⁸

These are the thirty-two wondrous paths of wisdom [by which] Y-h—God of Hosts—carved out His world:²⁹ [SY § 2, pp. 64–66] *ten sefirot of b^e limah*, and twenty-two letters of the Torah, which are the foundation of the world.

[SY § 3, pp. 67–69] *The ten sefirot of b^e limah* and the covenant is in the middle corresponding [literally, “resemble”] to the number of the ten fingers of the hands and the ten toes of the feet, and the One God is exactly in the middle of the ten *sefirot of b^e limah*. Likewise, the covenant of the Unique One is exactly in the middle of the ten fingers of the hand, which are five against five and in the tongue and the mouth, so as to declare the unity of God. Similarly, the covenant of the Unique One is exactly in the middle of the ten toes of the feet, which are five against five, in the circumcision of the foreskin, which is the sexual organ [literally: “nakedness”], as it is written: *In order to gaze upon their nakedness* [Hab. 2:15].

[SY § 7, pp. 76–77] *Ten sefirot of b^e limah*. Their measure is ten but they have no end. Depth of beginning—that is before the Creation of the

²⁶ The division of the commentary on SY into three “books” as such is not attested in the manuscripts of SH. Donnolo divided the commentary on SY into three sections, each corresponding to one of the three “*sefarim*” into which SY divided the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Although Donnolo clearly uses *sefer* in the sense of letters, (see note 196 directly below), the heading adopted here for each section of his commentary follows the more conventional meaning of the term—“book”.

²⁷ The usual meaning of *sefarim* is “books,” but this is clearly inadequate here. According to Donnolo, these are the three groups into which SY divides the letters of the Hebrew alphabet (“Then the Holy One ... made of it the twenty-two letters of foundation, which God divided into three groups of letters [*sefarim*]: the three letters called “mothers” are the first group [*sefer*]; the seven double letters are the second group; and the twelve simple letters are the third group.” See below pp. 362–363) and Sharf, *The Universe*, 67–68. The translation follows Hayman, *Sefer Yešira*, 59.

²⁸ I do not vocalise these three words, whose meaning is uncertain. They are traditionally read as *sefer*, *s^e far* and *sippur* and accordingly translated as “writing, number and speech.” See Gruenwald, “A Preliminary Critical Edition,” 140 n. 4. None of the manuscripts of SH offer a vocalised version of the three terms which appear with no variations in all the extant sources, with the exception of ms. 44.14 of the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana in Florence (F) which has **בספר וספור וספור**.

²⁹ Hayman, *Sefer Yešira*, 65, describes this passage as a gloss by Donnolo who

world, and depth of end, after the final end of the world; depth of good and depth of evil; depth of above and depth of below; depth of east and depth of west; depth of north and depth of south. A sole Master, God, Faithful King, governing them all from His Holy abode, forever and ever. The fact that it is written that they have no end teaches you that there is no sage in the world who can know, understand and delve into the mind of God, to reach the end and know these ten profound *sefirot*. If a sage pursues them and seeks to understand them with his mind [even] for the entire duration of the world's existence, it will come to nothing, as Solomon wisely observed: *I realised too, that whatever God has brought to pass will recur evermore. Nothing can be added to it and nothing taken from it—and God has brought to pass that men revere Him* [Eccl. 3:14]. For man should not delve into these ten things to pursue them with his mind, [since] they are deep beyond any investigation or measure, and he cannot understand the depth of the beginning which preceded the Creation of the world, or the depth of the end which will follow the final end of the world.

Depth of good and depth of evil; depth of above and depth of below; depth of east and depth of west; depth of north and depth of south. Rather, man should say to himself, why should I pursue with my mind an understanding and knowledge of something that is very deep, while no sage in the world can fathom the things that I pursue and seek to know? As Solomon said: *What is occurring occurred long since and what is to occur occurred long since: and God seeks the pursued* [ibid. ibid. 15], that is to say, only He can seek this thing that is pursued by the minds of men seeking to know.

As regards this, Solomon—peace be upon him—said: *All this I tested with wisdom. I thought I could fathom it, but it eludes me. The secret of what happens is elusive and deep, deep down; who can discover it?* [ibid. 7:23–24], that is to say, this thing is far too deep to be fathomed. And Solomon further said: *All such things are wearisome: no man can ever state them; the eye never has enough of seeing, nor the ear enough of hearing* [ibid. 1:8], that is to say, all such things are difficult to fathom and no man can speak [about them], or satiate his eyes with seeing and fill his ears with hearing them.

And he further said: *I have observed all that God brings to pass. Indeed, man cannot guess the events that occur under the sun. For man tries*

paraphrases rather than quotes the text of SY. This, according to Hayman, shows how § 2 of SY may have arisen as a gloss on § 1.

strenuously, but fails to guess them; and even if a sage should think to discover them he would not be able to guess them [ibid. 8:17].

This is the infinitesimally small degree to which we are allowed to expose and explain, by means of the knowledge and understanding we have been granted, something of the meaning of the riddles of the Torah, and something of the recondite meanings of the Book of Formation that the Holy One—blessed be He—had transmitted to our father Abraham out of His love for him, to let him and his sons after him know His divinity, His unity, His greatness, His might and the power of His works, as it is written: *He revealed to His people His powerful works* [Ps. 111:6]. For otherwise, who would have been allowed to ponder, to think to himself or to grasp even the slightest of all these things?

[SY § 8, pp. 77–78] *Ten sefirot of b' limah. Observing them is like seeing a flash of lightning, their end is without limit. His word is in them running and returning.*³⁰ *To His order they hasten like a whirlwind, and before His throne they bow down.*

Since it is written that **observing them is like seeing a flash of lightning**, man is not allowed to think about them, not even for a fleeting moment, because there is nothing in all the Host of heaven that runs and returns as swiftly as a flash of lightning. This flash of lightning is of a type comparable to the types of lightning referred to in the Book of Wisdom.³¹

³⁰ See Ezek. 1:14.

³¹ This is a reference to the apocryphal book of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, written in Greek by a Hellenised Jew, probably between the 2nd and the 1st century BCE. The passage referred to here is 5:21 in the Septuagint: πορεύσονται εὔστοχοι βολίδες ἀστραπῶν καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ εὐκύκλου τόξου τῶν νεφῶν ἐπὶ σκοπὸν ἀλοῦνται, or 5:22 of the Vetus Latina and Vulgata: *Ibunt directae emissions fulgorum et tamquam a bene curvato arcu nubium exterminabuntur et ad certum locum insilient* [*Shaft of lightning will fly with true aim, and will leap from the clouds to the target, as from a well-drawn bow*]. The interest of Donnolo in this apocryphal text might have arisen from a verse wherein the knowledge and understanding of natural processes are said to be part of the divine wisdom that man was given by God: *For it is he who gave me unerring knowledge of what exists, to know the structure of the world and the activity of the elements; the beginning and end and middle of time; the alternations of the solstices and the changes of the seasons, the cycles of the year and the constellations of the stars, the natures of animals and the tempers of wild animals, the power of spirits and the thoughts of human beings, the varieties of plants and the virtues of roots, Wisdom of Solomon, 7, 17–21. About the composition and redaction of Wisdom of Solomon, see Soggin, *Introduzione*, 599–605; Scarpat, ed., *Libro della Sapienza*, I, 316–317, 410; III, 310–311; 344, Kahana, *Apocryphal Books*, I, ii, 464, 468–470 and Zeitlin, “Jewish Apocryphal,” 222–223. The book was known also to the author of *Sefer Josippon*. See Flusser, ed., *The Josippon*, I, 144; II, 13, idem, “Der latinische Josephus,” 122–132 and Neuman, “Josippon and the Apocrypha.” About the role of this text in the Jewish context, see Gilbert, “The Book of Ben Sira,” 81–91 and Wright, “B Sanhedrin 100b,” 41–50.*

It descends from the sky on a rainy day, seeming like a cord spun out of fiery metal or a metallic cord smelted by fire, cast and descending to the earth as a cord which twists in all directions like a live flame that the eye can catch sight of only for a fleeting moment. It is in reference to this that they [the *sefirot of b^e limah*] were said to be “running and returning,” rushing to His order like a whirlwind.

By His word He commanded that man should be forbidden to speculate and to ponder them even for a fleeting moment, and if his spirit entices him to speculate, he should have it “running and returning,” so as to desist from speculating, for by His order they hasten like a whirlwind, like a whirlwind that suddenly blows for a fleeting moment, and before His throne they bow down. For this reason, man should make his spirit behave like a whirlwind at the time when he speculates, so as to quickly “return” from speculation and refocus his mind on the fear of God, to acknowledge His unity and bow down before Him, with wholehearted fear and trembling.³²

Ten *sefirot of b^e limah*. What is the explanation of *b^e limah*? [It means] without [*b^e li*] anything [*mah*], to teach you that any craftsman who wishes to put up a building, if he has no stones, no sand, no wood, no water and no tools, he cannot put up a building. And if he wants to make an object out of wood, glass, iron, brass, silver, gold or any other material, he will not be able to make it without wood, glass, iron, brass, silver, gold, or any other material from which he wants to make that object. Yet the Great, the Mighty and Awesome God created the world without anything by means of His great power.

Proof of this is in the following verse: *He it is who stretched out Zaphon over chaos, who suspended earth over emptiness [b^e limah] [Job 26:7]. Chaos: this is nothing but darkness that has no substance, as it is written: He shall measure it with a line of chaos and with weights of emptiness [Is. 34:11], to teach you that God does not act like man, [for] he who wishes to put up a building with a ceiling will be able to construct neither building nor ceiling without any material substance.³³ Yet God suspended all the world over emptiness [*be-b^e limah*] with His great might.*

³² See Ps. 55:6.

³³ The Hebrew text here reads יסוד (*yesod*), which usually means “foundation” or “basis,” and which would seem to fit well in the context of the “building” and “ceiling” referred to here. However, Donnolo seems concerned to underline the difference between the human capacity for creation, which depends on the availability of raw materials,

[SY § 5, pp. 72–74] *Ten sefirot of b^e limah*. Another explanation: *Whose mouth must be held in [livlom] [Ps. 32:9]. Hold [b^e lom] in your heart [to keep it] from pondering, and hold your mouth from speaking, and if your heart races ahead, return to God,³⁴ since it is written “running and returning.”* Concerning this matter, a covenant was made with the tongue and the mouth, the Holy tongue, the declaration of God’s oneness, and the circumcision of the foreskin, in order to remember the God who set the covenant in man, and to strengthen man’s heart, to restore his mind so that he would refrain altogether from speculating about His divinity.

[SY § 4, pp. 69–71] *Ten sefirot of b^e limah*. **Ten and not nine. Ten and not eleven. Understand with wisdom and be wise with understanding,** in order not to delve into the *sefirot* [and endeavour] to understand the very beginning of their beginning and the very end of their end, but rather, to **investigate and enquire about them, consider them** from beginning to end, and remember [literally, “keep it within your heart”]³⁵ not to speculate; **work out the matter clearly, and restore the Creator to His place,** to acknowledge Him, for He alone is the sole Maker and Creator, and there is none but Him.

[SY § 6, pp. 74–76] **Their measure is ten and they have no limit** [by which] to know them. **Their end is fixed in their beginning and their beginning in their end, as the flame is bound to the burning coal.** Their beginning is God and their end is God, for He is First and Last, and these *sefirot*—which are ten—*of b^e limah* are fixed in His great might like the flame that is bound to the burning coal, for everyone knows that it is from the burning coal that the flame issues, and it is bound to the burning coal.

and the creative act of the Godhead, which requires no material substance. Donnolo is probably exploiting the ambivalence of the term יסוד. For יסוד in the sense of “matter” or “raw material,” see Klatzkin, *Thesaurus Philosophicus*, II, 4 and Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, IV, 2071–2072 [4].

³⁴ All versions of SY have למקום [“to the Place”] which is the common rabbinic designation of God. Donnolo’s לאלהים may be his explanation.

³⁵ The Hebrew text reads here וצור בלבך. Donnolo, and presumably also the author of SY, which has וצור, seem to take צור for the imperative of the verb נצר [“guard,” “keep”], since they are not aware of the trilateral root system and exclude the initial *nun* from the stem. That Donnolo did not consider the *nun* to be part of the stem is clear from the introductory section to the commentary on SY (see above p. 281) where he states this explicitly in connection with several *pe-nun* verbs (e.g. נפל, נקר, נגע). Hayman (*Sefer Yešira*, 74) translates צור with “form (a mental image),” seemingly deriving this imperative from the verb צור meaning “shape,” “form,” but this is awkward in the present context, and much less plausible than “keep” or “guard in your heart” in the sense of “remember.”

Know this, think and keep it³⁶ in mind that the Maker is one, that He alone is Lord, and that there is no second. And before The One what will you count?

These are the [SY § 10, pp. 80–82] ten *sefirot of b^e limah*. One, spirit [*ruah*] of the everlasting God, whose throne is established from of old,³⁷ blessed is He and blessed is His Name forever and ever. Voice, breath [*ruah*] and speech, this is the holy spirit [*ruah*]; it is first and last; its beginning has no measure and its end is without limit.

[SY § 12, pp. 83–85] Two, breath [*ruah*] from spirit [*ruah*]. How? God issued one breath out of His holy spirit. With this breath that He blew and issued out of His spirit He engraved and carved out the space of the world and the four corners of the world—east and west, north and south³⁸—each infused with the breath [*ruah*] [that comes] from the domain [*rashut*]³⁹ of God, may He be exalted.

We may draw an analogy, albeit with innumerable distinctions, between the Holy and the profane, the clean and the unclean, the Strong and Vigorous by His power and might and the human being who is weak and frail, between the Everlasting and Eternal One and the human being whose days are as grass⁴⁰ and who is [but] a maggot and a worm.⁴¹

When the glass-maker wishes to make a glass vessel, he takes an iron tool, hollow from end to end, with which he extracts a certain quantity of glass which had been melted in the oven's furnace. He then puts one end of that hollow tool in his mouth and blows air [*ruah*] into it. The air passes through the tool into the liquefied glass, which clings to its [other] end, and the force of the air blown into it stretches the glass so

³⁶ The Hebrew text reads here צור בלבך. See above, n. 35.

³⁷ Ps. 93:2.

³⁸ According to Ptolemy and Ptolemaic astrological tradition (see for example Ptolemy, *Almagest*, Toomer, ed., 315, 315 n. 79) the earth, all the other celestial bodies and the firmament had a spherical form. See Ptolemy, *Almagest*, Toomer, ed., 39–41. The idea of “four corners”—namely four angular spaces—seems to be at odd with this common assumption. In this passage Donnolo employs the term *pinnot* which, as observed below at n. 331, he probably used in order to indicate the four cardinal points of the Zodiac called in Greek γωνία, literally, “angles.” Ptolemy himself affirmed that from the four angles of the horizon originated the four most important winds. See Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 61.

³⁹ Throughout the commentary, the term רשות (*reshut*) indicates the permission or power that human beings were granted by God to perform specific tasks. In this passage, however, the term seems to refer to the realm of the metaphysical in which creation takes place. The word should then be read as *rashut*.

⁴⁰ See Ps. 103:5.

⁴¹ See Job 25:6.

that it becomes a vessel—large or small, round or square [literally, four-cornered], long, wide or short, as the human craftsman wishes to make it, within the limits of his inconsiderable strength.⁴² [Similarly], the Lord, who is great, mighty and awesome, issued a breath of air from his spirit, and by His great strength, the space of the world stretched out as far as He told it: “Enough!”

Then the Holy One—blessed be He—made of it [SY § 9, pp. 79–80] **the twenty-two letters of foundation**, which God divided into three groups of letters [*sefarim*]: the three letters called “**mothers**” are the first group [*sefer*]; the **seven double** letters are the second group; and the **twelve simple** letters are the third group.⁴³

[SY § 12, pp. 83–85] **They share the same air** [*ruah*], the air that God blew and issued from His holy spirit. It is the same for the letters as for the ten *sefirot*, as we wrote above.⁴⁴

[SY § 16, pp. 91–92] **These are the ten sefirot of b^e limah. One, the spirit** [*ruah*] **of the living God; two—air** [*ruah*] **out of spirit; three—water out of air.** How? Out of the same air that God blew and issued from His holy spirit with His great power He issued water from His immeasurably vast moisture; [SY § 13, pp. 85–87] **He then engraved and carved out** in that water **the unformed** [*tohu*] **and the void** [*bohu*], **the mire and the mud.** How? The mire and the mud that issued from the formlessness became a **green line encompassing the whole world.** It is like a dark, empty⁴⁵ and uninhabited void, as it is written: *He did not create it a waste* [*tohu*], *but formed it for habitation* [Is. 45:18], and it is written: *He shall measure it with a line of chaos* [*tohu*] *and stones of emptiness* [*bohu*] [ibid. 34:11]. And *bohu*: **these are the slimy stones sunk in the abyss, from amongst which the great waters come out,** as it is written: *a line of chaos and stones of emptiness.*⁴⁶

⁴² On glass making in the early Medieval Jewish world, see Goitein, “The Medieval Glass Industry,” 18–29.

⁴³ See above n. 28.

⁴⁴ See above p. 290.

⁴⁵ The Hebrew text has here רַק rather than רֵיק—the usual spelling of the Hebrew word for “empty.” There seems to be little doubt that רַק—empty—was intended.

⁴⁶ Cf. *bHagigah* 12a and *yHagigah* 77c. The Biblical quotation is attested only in manuscripts of the Sa’adiah Recension of SY. See Hayman, *Sefer Yešira*, 86. Donnolo, probably in an attempt to give coherent form to § 13 omitted its central section which says רֵיצַק שֶׁלֹג עֲלֵיהֶן וְנִעְשָׂה עֲפָר שֶׁנֶאֱמַר כִּי לִשְׁלֹג יֹאמֵר הוּא אֶרֶץ [“And he poured out snow over them and it became dust, for it is said: *For to the snow he says, ‘Become earth’* (Job. 37:6); see Hayman, *ibid.*, 85], which does not match his interpretation of the next paragraph in which he affirms that God carved out and erected the waters.

He made those waters, engraved them like a sort of garden-bed, erected them like a sort of wall, thatched them like a sort of roof, suspended them in the air, in the space of the world, by the power of His holy utterance.

[SY § 14, pp. 87–89] **Four, fire from water.** How? After God, with His wondrous power, had suspended those waters in the air of the space of the world, from the radiant brightness of His immeasurably great and awesome light, His brightness radiated and shone from within the waters. By the force of that brightness that radiated out of the waters, fire issued, and with that fire He engraved and carved out the throne of glory, the Ophanim and the Seraphim, the holy living creatures, the ministering angels and the entire host on high. From the [following] three He established his abode: from air [*ruah*], water and fire, as it is written: *He makes the winds [ruhot] His messengers, fiery flames His servants* [Ps. 104:4].

The Holy One, blessed be He, did not wish to make them out of His great fire, so that they would not equal Him, for He is a devouring fire.⁴⁷ With the same fire, the Holy One—blessed be He—boiled the waters and coagulated a third of them, so that they became mire, mud and dust, as it is written: *Who measured the waters with the hollow of His hand, and gauged the skies with a span, and meted earth's dust with a measure [bshalish]?⁴⁸* [Is. 40:12].

Behold, from this verse we learn that God divided the waters into three parts. He froze the first part and made the earth; out of the second part He made the entire host on high and the upper sky; the third part

⁴⁷ Cf. Deut. 4:24. This sentence is quoted verbatim by the mid 13th century kabbalist Asher ben David, in his *Book of Unity*. See Abrams, ed., *R. Asher ben David*, 135.

⁴⁸ Donnolo seems to read the obscure בשלש of the Isaiah verse literally “as a third” or “with a third.” This exegesis is not attested in any rabbinical source that could have been available to Donnolo and should be regarded as his own. At the basis of this passage’s reasoning is the process of ebullition, by which water can be converted into its gaseous state and, if the process is carried out for a long time, evaporated completely leaving only its calcareous residue. This is the same principle by which Donnolo had previously demonstrated how out of water comes earth (see above 330–331). What underlies this passage is probably Aristotle’s distinction between ἐψησις [“boiling”] μόλυσσις [“scalding”] and ὄπτησις [“roasting”] which in *Meteorologica* the Stagirite defines as the forms by which heat gives form and modifies the composition of humid elements. See Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, Lee, ed. 380a11–381b23; 382a22–382b27. In *Sefer ha-mazzalot* (see Luzzatto, “Mikhtav gimel,” 62) Donnolo similarly affirms, always in reference to בשלש of the biblical verse, that the world was divided into three parts, namely the desert, the habitable earth and the sea. This interpretation is attested also in the Tosafot to *bPesahim* 94a and in Rashi’s commentary on Isaiah.

remained over the earth, and the earth was beneath it [the water] until the third day, when the waters were gathered together and the earth appeared. On the second day He coagulated and froze like ice more of that third part of the waters that was left over from the first day, out of which the earth had been made, and He made this firmament that is above us, in order to separate waters from waters. God raised this firmament half-way up the waters left over from that third part, [namely, half-way] up to the upper sky, as it is written: *God called the firmament sky [shamayim]*⁴⁹ [Gen. 1:8]. He called on the firmament to rise half-way up the waters, up to the upper sky. And from the prophecy of Isaiah we learn that God had boiled the waters with fire and [out of this] were made stones, earth and the like, as well as salt rocks, as it is written: *Who measured the waters with the hollow of His hand, and gauged the skies with a span [and meted earth's dust with a measure]* [Is. 40:12].

[The verse] comes to teach you, albeit by innumerable distinctions between the Holy and the profane, [that] this is comparable to a man who extends his span to make loaves of bread with [the palms of his] hands spread out.

... *And meted earth's dust with a measure* [ibid. ibid.]—this means, the part of the waters that I created and the dust of the earth that I separated [out of it] in the measure of the hollow of my hand.

He weighed the mountains with a scale and the hills with a balance [ibid. ibid.], in order to suspend them in the third part, and this is not just any third part that is suspended to be weighed in the balance or in the scales,⁵⁰ as I have done, of which it is written: *Thus said the Lord, your Redeemer, who formed you in the womb: It is I, the Lord, who made everything, who alone stretched out the heavens and unaided [me-itty, literally “from me,” “by myself”], spread out the earth* [ibid. 44:24]. [Rather], do not read *me-itty* but *me-ishy* [“from my fire”], because in the language of the *targum*⁵¹ the letter *taw* is used instead of *shin*.⁵² *Me-ishy*: from the fire [*esh*] that I brought out and inflamed out of the water, by the power of the radiant

⁴⁹ Donnolo reads this word as a compound of *sham* [“there there is”] and *mayim* [“water”]. See *bHagigah*, 12a and Gen. Rabbah 4:7.

⁵⁰ Cf. Num. Rabbah 2: 17.

⁵¹ The Aramaic translation of the Hebrew Bible.

⁵² This, indeed, is a common feature of Semitic languages between which *ת* and *ש* often interchange, as, e.g., in the Hebrew *שׁוּ* [“there is”] = Aramaic *אִית*; Hebrew *אִשָּׁה* [“woman”] = Aramaic *אִיתתא*, etc.

brightness of my great fire [*ishy*].⁵³ For they [the earth, the mountains, the stones, rocks etc ...] would not have been able to withstand the force of His great and powerful fire, since they would have been licked up by the great fire, as in the case of Elijah, about which is written: *Then fire from the Lord descended and consumed the burnt offering, the wood, the stones, and the earth; and it licked up the water that was in the trench* [1 Kings 18:38].

Now let us resume the computation of the ten *sefirot*.⁵⁴

[SY § 15, pp. 89–91] **Five. He sealed the height, selected⁵⁵ three out of the simple letters and fixed them in His great Name, and they are *yod, he, waw* [namely] *y-h-w*. He sealed with them the six edges of the world. He sealed the height, turned upwards, and sealed it with *yod, he, waw*. The Holy One—blessed be He—[then] turned these three letters round and made them His great and awesome Name of *yod, waw, he*.**

Six. He sealed the depth, turned downwards and sealed it with *yod, waw, he*. He again turned these three letters round and made them His great and awesome Name of *he, yod, waw*.

Seven. He sealed the east, turned forward, in front of God, and sealed it with *he, yod, waw*. He again turned these three letters round and made them His great and awesome Name of *he, yod, waw*.

The eighth. He sealed the west, turned backwards, behind God, and sealed it with *he, yod, waw*. He again turned these three letters round and made them His great and awesome Name of *waw, yod, he*.

The ninth. He sealed the south, turned to His right, to the right of God, and sealed it with *waw, yod, he*. He again rotated these three letters and made them His great and awesome Name of *waw, he, yod*.

The tenth, the *sefirah* of *b^e limah*.⁵⁶ He sealed the north, turned to His left, to the left of God, and sealed it with *waw, he, yod*.

⁵³ This sentence is quoted verbatim by the 13th-century Elhanan ben Yaqar of London in his commentary on the SY. See Elhana ben Yaqar, *Perush Sefer Yesirah*, 32.

⁵⁴ Here Donnolo continues with his exposition of the *sefirot* which he had interrupted above on p. 292.

⁵⁵ All the manuscripts of SH read here בִּיּוֹד [“with *yod*”], which is also attested in the commentary of Dunash (see Vajda, *Le Commentaire*, 80) and in some manuscripts of the Long Recension of SY (see Hayman, *Sefer Yesira*, 90–91). This is problematic, since SY does not single out the letter *yod* in this passage but rather lists it as part of the group of three letters, *yod, he, waw*. Notably, בִּיּוֹד and בִּירֵר can easily have been confused with one another in the scribal transmission. The majority of the sources for SY read here בָּרַר or בִּירֵר [“chose,” “selected”]. The translation, therefore, follows SY’s reading of בִּירֵר.

⁵⁶ The expression *sefirah* of *b^e limah* here is not attested in any manuscript of SY and

[SY § 16, pp. 91–92] These are the ten *sefirot* of *b^e limah*. One, spirit of the living God. Two, air from spirit. Three, water from air. Four, fire from water. Five, above. Six, below. Seven, east. Eight, west. Nine, north. Ten, south.

Let us [now] begin the thorough explanation of the rotation of the twenty-two letters. [SY § 17, pp. 92–98] Twenty-two letters of foundation. Three of them are mothers, seven are double, twelve are simple. All of them are engraved in the voice, carved out in the breath, fixed at five points within the mouth, namely: *aleph-ḥet-he-‘ayin*, *bet-waw-mem-pe*, *gimel-yod-kaph-qof*, *dalet-ṭet-lamed-nun-taw*, *zayin-samekh-shin-resh-ṣade*, bound to the tip of the tongue, like the flame to the burning coal.

These are the five points of the mouth at which are fixed the twenty-two letters.

Aleph-ḥet-he-‘ayin are produced at the back of the tongue and in the pharynx. How? If one wants to say *aleph-ḥet-he-‘ayin*, one cannot pronounce them anywhere in the mouth except at the back of the tongue and in the pharynx. *Bet-waw-mem-pe* are produced between the [closed] lips. How? If one wants to say *bet-waw-mem-pe*, one cannot pronounce them anywhere else in the mouth except between the [closed] lips.

Gimel-yod-kaph-qof are articulated a third of the way up the tongue. How? If one wants to say *gimel-yod-kaph-qof*, one cannot pronounce them anywhere else in the mouth except a third of the way up the tongue.

Dalet-ṭet-lamed-nun-taw are produced by the tip of the tongue. How? If one wants to pronounce *dalet-ṭet-lamed-nun-taw*, one cannot pronounce them anywhere else in the mouth except at the tip of the tongue.

Zayin-samekh-shin-resh-ṣade [are pronounced] between the teeth, by the lowered and flattened tongue.⁵⁷

[SY § 18, pp. 98–100] Twenty-two letters of foundation, fixed on a wheel, with two hundred and thirty-one gates.⁵⁸ The wheel rotates

hardly fits the general discussion. All the *sefirot* are considered *b^e limah*, and there seems to be no cogent reason, either in SY or in SH, to label the last of them in a different way.

⁵⁷ Most versions of SY read here *ישן שוכבה ושטוחה* [“by a sleeping tongue”]. *ישן שוכבה ושטוחה* is a variant attested only in the manuscripts of the Short Recension of SY and reflects, as suggested by Hayman (*Sefer Yešira*, 97) the explanation offered by Sa’adiah in his commentary. If we are right to assume that Donnolo did not know Sa’adiah’s commentary, then the appearance of *ישן שוכבה ושטוחה* [“by the lowered and flattened tongue”] in the earliest of Donnolo’s manuscripts weakens Hayman’s suggestion.

⁵⁸ That is to say, two hundred and thirty-one combinations. Donnolo explains this directly below at pp. 296–299.

forward and backward. And this is the sign of the matter: if for good, [then] there is nothing higher than pleasure [‘oneg], and if for evil, [then] there is nothing lower than pain [nega’].⁵⁹

How? If you set your mind, by means of this group of letters [sefer], [to act] for good, to elevate God greatly, [then] there is nothing higher than pleasure [‘oneg], but if for evil, [then] there is nothing lower than pain [nega’].

[SY § 19, pp. 100–104] Twenty-two letters of foundation. He engraved, carved out, weighed, exchanged and combined them, and with them He formed the life of all existing creation and of all future creation. How did He weigh, exchange and combine them? *Aleph* with all the other letters and all the other letters with *aleph*; *bet* with all the others and all the others with *bet*; *gimel* with all the others and all the others with *gimel*; and so on again and again for all the rest of the letters. The result amounts to two hundred and thirty-one gates, and the gates are units of twenty-two letters, so that all that is created and all speech are generated by one name.

[SY § 20, pp. 104–106] He created from *‘aleph mem* and *shin* the unformed [*tohu*], which is the space of the world. He made it with fire,

⁵⁹ The Hebrew words for pleasure [ענג] and pain [נגע] are made up of the same three letters in reverse order. SY shows how, by the permutation of letters, which it regards as the origin of all things, everything, including every opposition, is created. As observed by Hayman (*Sefer Yesira*, 100), the manuscripts of SY present here a number of variant readings and probable errors resulting from the attempts by the scribes to clarify the rather obscure meaning of the sentence. In all but two manuscripts, the text of SY used by Donnolo includes אֵין before “above” and “below,” which is understood here as the Hebrew “there is not.” However, two manuscript versions of SH (א and ק) and several versions of SY omit the word אֵין altogether, reading instead: אֵם לטובה למעלה מענג ואֵם לרעה למטה מנגע, which Hayman (*ibid.*, p. 98) translates: “If for good, above pleasure, and if for evil, below pain.” This translation does not fully account for the awkward preposition -מ [“from” or “of”] prefixed to both ענג and נגע, and the reading does not match Donnolo’s own explanation of the sentence, which follows immediately and reproduces both אֵם and אֵין. As regards the alternative readings of this sentence in the text of SY itself, it should be noted that אֵין may be understood not as the Hebrew אֵין but rather as the Aramic אֵין—the counterpart of the Hebrew אֵם meaning “if.” The original text of SY may have read אֵין instead of אֵם (but not both!)—a reading attested in at least three versions presented by Hayman (mss. F, Z, and E on pp. 98–99), which would yield the meaning “if for good, [there is] pleasure” etc., identical to the meaning suggested by those versions that read אֵם instead of אֵין. If, however, both אֵם and אֵין are to be retained in this sentence, as in most manuscript versions of SH and some of SY’s, then an altogether different translation seems appropriate: “If for good, [then] there is nothing higher than pleasure, and if for evil, [then] there is nothing lower than pain”—the translation adopted above, which does account for the prefixed preposition -מ, albeit without necessarily clarifying the meaning fully.

established and said to it: “Enough!” He further carved out great pillars from the intangible air, from *b^e limah* [which means] “without anything” [*mib^e li-me’umah*], [without] anything other than His own, and by His great power He made everything, without anything that the hands can seize.

This [below] is the [graphic] representation⁶⁰ and calculation of the sequence of two-hundred and thirty one gates transmitted by me, Shab-batai, the young physician of modest understanding, according to [the principle of] [SY § 19, pp. 100–104] *aleph* with all the other [letters] and all the other [letters] with *aleph*; *bet* with all the others and all the others with *bet*. This is the graphic representation of the calculation of gates, written down in sequence, and amounting to the two hundred and thirty one [permutations] of the twenty-two letters.⁶¹

² -b	b-g	g-d	d-h	h-w	w-z	z-ḥ	ḥ-ṭ	ṭ-y	y-k	k-l
l-m	m-n	n-s	s- ^ˆ	^ˆ -p	p-ṣ	ṣ-q	q-r	r-sh	sh-t	t- ^ˆ
² -g	b-d	g-h	d-w	h-z	w-ḥ	z-ṭ	ḥ-y	ṭ-k	y-l	k-m
l-n	m-s	n- ^ˆ	s-p	^ˆ -ṣ	p-q	ṣ-r	q-sh	r-t	sh- ^ˆ	t-b
² -d	b-h	g-w	d-z	h-ḥ	w-ṭ	z-y	ḥ-k	ṭ-l	y-m	k-n
l-s	m- ^ˆ	n-p	s-ṣ	^ˆ -q	p-r	ṣ-sh	q-t	r- ^ˆ	sh-b	t-g
² -h	b-w	g-z	d-ḥ	h-ṭ	w-y	z-k	ḥ-l	ṭ-m	y-n	k-s
l- ^ˆ	m-p	n-ṣ	s-q	^ˆ -r	p-sh	ṣ-t	q- ^ˆ	r-b	sh-g	t-d
² -w	b-z	g-ḥ	d-ṭ	h-y	w-k	z-l	ḥ-m	ṭ-n	y-s	k- ^ˆ
l-p	m-ṣ	n-q	s-r	^ˆ -sh	p-t	ṣ- ^ˆ	q-b	r-g	sh-d	t-h
² -z	b-ḥ	g-ṭ	d-y	h-k	w-l	z-m	ḥ-n	ṭ-s	y- ^ˆ	k-p
l-ṣ	m-q	n-r	s-sh	^ˆ -t	p- ^ˆ	ṣ-b	q-g	r-d	sh-h	t-w

⁶⁰ Literally, “the sign” [תּוֹט]. The sign to which Donnolo (and some versions of SY) refers, which appears directly below, is the chart setting out the combination of letters.

⁶¹ As observed by Hayman (*Sefer Yešira*, 108–109), the permutation chart is a section of SY which underwent a series of radical modifications and therefore appears in a number of different versions. The tendency detected by Hayman, in both “the commentators and the manuscripts to transmit less carefully those parts of the SY tradition that could be characterised as commentary on or expansions of an early core text,” can be very clearly observed in the following two tables, in which Donnolo offers a completely rearranged version of the permutations, explicitly presenting them as his own explanation (“... the [graphic] representation and calculation of the sequence ... transmitted by me”). In the manuscript tradition of SH two tables are attested: the first consisting of 462 combinations, which is probably the table Donnolo had in his version of SY, and the second made up of 231 combinations, which seems to be his own explanation mentioned above. Two tables appear also in the commentary on SY by Dunash ibn Tamim, who lamented the numerous discrepancies and mistakes in the table he had in his version of SY, and to which he therefore added, as Donnolo did, a second, explanatory chart; see Vajda, *Le Commentaire*, 231–232.

² -h	b-t	g-y	d-k	h-l	w-m	z-n	h-s	t- ^c	y-p	k-š
l-q	m-r	n-sh	s-t	^c - ²	p-b	š-g	q-d	r-h	sh-w	t-z
² -t	b-y	g-k	d-l	h-m	w-n	z-s	h- ^c	t-p	y-š	k-q
l-r	m-sh	n-t	s- ²	^c -b	p-g	š-d	q-h	r-w	sh-z	t-h
² -y	b-k	g-l	d-m	h-n	w-s	z- ^c	h-p	t-š	y-q	k-r
l-sh	m-t	n- ²	s-b	^c -g	p-d	š-h	q-w	r-z	sh-h	t-t
² -k	b-l	g-m	d-n	h-s	w- ^c	z-p	h-š	t-q	y-r	k-sh
l-t	m- ²	n-b	s-g	^c -d	p-h	š-w	q-z	r-h	sh-t	t-y
² -l	b-m	g-n	d-s	h- ^c	w-p	z-š	h-q	t-r	y-sh	k-t
l- ²	m-b	n-g	s-d	^c -h	p-w	š-z	q-h	r-t	sh-y	t-k
² -m	b-n	g-s	d- ^c	h-p	w-š	z-q	h-r	t-sh	y-t	k- ²
l-b	m-g	n-d	s-h	^c -w	p-z	š-h	q-t	r-y	sh-k	t-l
² -n	b-s	g- ^c	d-p	h-š	w-q	z-r	h-sh	t-t	y- ²	k-b
l-g	m-d	n-h	s-w	^c -z	p-h	š-t	q-y	r-k	sh-l	t-m
² -s	b- ^c	g-p	d-š	h-q	w-r	z-sh	h-t	t- ²	y-b	k-g
l-d	m-h	nw	s-z	^c -h	p-t	š-y	q-k	r-l	sh-m	t-n
² - ^c	b-p	g-š	d-q	h-r	w-sh	z-t	h- ²	t-b	y-g	k-d
l-h	m-w	n-z	s-h	^c -t	p-y	š-k	q-l	r-m	sh-n	t-s
² -p	b-š	g-q	d-r	h-sh	w-t	z- ²	h-b	t-g	y-d	k-h
l-w	m-z	n-h	s-t	^c -y	p-k	š-l	q-m	r-n	sh-s	t- ^c
² -š	b-q	g-r	d-sh	h-t	w- ²	z-b	h-g	t-d	y-h	k-w
l-z	m-h	n-t	s-y	^c -k	p-l	š-m	q-n	r-s	sh- ^c	t-p
² -q	b-r	g-sh	d-t	h- ²	w-b	z-g	h-d	t-h	y-w	k-z
l-h	m-t	n-y	^c -l	p-m	š-n	q-s	r- ^c	sh-p	t-š	
² -r	b-sh	g-t	d- ²	h-b	w-g	z-d	h-h	t-w	y-z	k-h
l-t	m-y	n-k	s-l	^c -m	p-n	š-s	q- ^c	r-p	sh-š	t-q
² -sh	b-t	g- ²	d-b	h-g	w-d	z-h	h-w	t-z	y-h	k-t
l-y	m-k	n-l	s-m	^c -n	p-s	š- ^c	q-p	r-š	sh-q	t-r
² -t	b- ²	g-b	d-g	h-d	w-h	z-w	h-z	t-h	y-t	k-y
l-k	m-l	n-m	s-n	^c -s	p- ^c	š-p	q-š	r-q	sh-r	t-sh

[SY § 21, pp. 106–109]

² -t	b-sh	g-r	d-q	h-š	w-p	z- ^c	h-s	t-n	y-m	k-l
² -sh	b-r	g-q	d-š	h-p	w- ^c	z-s	h-n	t-m	y-l	k-t
² -r	b-q	g-š	d-p	h- ^c	w-s	z-n	h-m	t-l	y-k	sh-t
² -q	b-š	g-p	d- ^c	h-s	w-n	z-m	h-l	t-k	r-t	y-sh
² -š	b-p	g- ^c	d-s	h-n	w-m	z-l	h-k	t-y	k-t	r-sh
² -p	b- ^c	g-s	d-n	h-m	w-l	z-k	h-y	š-r	q-sh	š-r
² - ^c	b-s	g-n	d-m	h-l	w-k	z-y	h-t	p-t	š-sh	q-r
² -s	b-n	g-m	d-l	h-k	w-y	z-t	^c -t	p-sh	š-r	q-t
² -n	b-m	g-l	d-k	h-y	w-t	z-h	s-t	^c -sh	p-r	š-q
² -m	b-l	g-k	d-y	h-t	w-h	z-t	s-sh	^c -r	p-q	r-š
² -l	b-k	g-y	d-t	h-h	w-z	m-t	n-sh	s-r	^c -q	p-š

and in the oceans—is [divided into] male and female, including plants and fruits.

Know, think and keep in mind⁶⁴ that fire evaporates⁶⁵ water. God, who is a consuming fire, causes the water to evaporate.

[SY § 26, pp. 114–116] **The three “mothers” [are] *aleph*, *mem*, *shin*: *mem* is silent when pronounced; *shin* is sibilant; *aleph* as a rule determines the middle ground between them.⁶⁶** How? The letter *mem* is pronounced silently, and the letter *shin* is pronounced with sibilation, while the letter *aleph* is in between, [pronounced] with [the exhalation of] breath [*ruah*], neither silently nor with sibilation; rather, it mediates between the two of them, determining the middle like the air [*ruah*] that mediates between heaven and earth in the atmosphere [*awir*].

[SY § 27, pp. 116–117] **Three mothers,⁶⁷ *aleph*, *mem*, *shin*, and from them were born the three fathers, from whom everything was created.** These are the three fathers: air [*ruah*], water and fire. [SY § 36, pp. 125–127] **With *aleph* was formed the air out of the spirit [*ruah me-ruah*] of the Holy One, blessed be He. With *mem* was formed water out of that air that issued from the spirit of the Holy One, blessed be He. With *shin* was formed fire out of water.** For this reason, [the three letters] are called mothers, since out of them these three fathers were born.

Batei Midrashot, II, 22–23. Similarly, the 1st-century Manilius in his *Astronomica* (*The poem of the stars*, II, 150–154) wrote: *Ac primum astrorum uaria est natura notanda/ carminibus per utrumque genus. Nam mascula sex sunt,/ diuersi totidem generis sub principe Tauro: cernis ut auersus redeundo surgat in arcum/ Alternant genus et uicibus uariantur in orbem* [“My song must first mark the differing nature of the signs according to sex. For six are masculine, whilst as many, led by the Bull, are of the opposite sex: you see how he rises by his hind limbs when he reappears. They alternate their sex, changing one after another round the circle”]. English translation in Manilius, *Astronomica*, Goold, ed., 95; Latin text with Italian translation in *Il poema degli astri*, Feraboli *et al.*, eds., I, 110.

⁶⁴ See above n. 35.

⁶⁵ The Hebrew text reads נושא [*nose*] (literally, “carries”, “lifts”), which elsewhere in SY is used in reference to God sustaining, supporting and lifting up the universe (see, e.g. below, 308, 353; SY §§ 38, 56). However, the natural consequence of the interaction between fire and water is the evaporation of the latter, which rises as a result. The translation here follows Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira*, 111.

⁶⁶ Hayman (*Sefer Yeşira*, 114) translates חוק מכריע בנתיבם אלף as “*aleph* is the balancing item,” taking חוק to mean “item,” which is not attested in the lexicographical literature. The rendering of חוק as “as a rule” above reflects the biblical sense of חוק as a fixed, regular, appointed or prescribed thing. See Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, III, 1715 [1]; Brown, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 349 [1].

⁶⁷ Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira*, 116, translates אמות [“mothers”] as “primary letters” which is clearly what SY means. In the translation, however, I have chosen to convey the literal sense.

[The] three mothers [are] *aleph, mem, shin*, and from them [the] three fathers were born, and they are air [*ruah*], water and fire. And from these fathers everything else was created and born. How? Fire produced the sky, and the sky produced fire. How? Out of the fire that issued from the water was brought into existence the heaven and all its host, and out of the heaven came forth fire.

Water produced the earth and the earth produced water.⁶⁸ How? From the water that came out of the air, the earth and everything in it came into being, and out of the earth flows water.⁶⁹

The spirit [*ruah*] produced the atmosphere [*awir*] and the atmosphere produced the air. How? From the breath [*ruah*] that came out of the spirit of the living God came into existence the atmosphere of the world which mediates and determines the middle between heaven and earth. Out of the atmosphere came air [*ruah*] which mediates and determines the middle between the fire above and the water below. Thus the Holy Spirit determines the middle and mediates between fire and water.

Three mothers, *aleph, mem, shin*, in the universe, in the year, and in mankind.⁷⁰ How? [SY § 28, pp. 117–118] **Three mothers, *aleph, mem, shin*, in the universe: air, water and fire.** The sky was created first from fire, the earth was created from water, and the atmosphere was created from air which, as a rule, determines the middle and mediates between them.

[SY § 29, pp. 118] **Three mothers, *aleph, mem, shin*, in the year: fire, water and air.** Heat was created from fire. The cold was created from water. Moisture was created from the air that, as a rule, determines the middle and mediates between the heat and the cold.

⁶⁸ There seems to be a relationship between Donnolo's text here ("Fire produced the sky ... the earth produced water") and paragraph 25 of SY (שלוש אימות תולדות השמים אש) ["Three mothers *aleph, mem, shin*. Fire produced the sky, spirit produced air and water produced earth. Fire above, water below and the air determines the middle between them"], but they are quite different from one another. Either Donnolo has a completely different version, or he is reorganising the text as he is commenting on it. See Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira*, 112–114.

⁶⁹ As Donnolo said before ("water out of that air ..." see p. 300), water originated from air and not from earth. In this passage he is probably referring, in the first sentence, to the initial creation of the earth out of water, and in the second, to the natural phenomenon of water springing out of the earth. See Ps. 78:20, 105:41.

⁷⁰ Following Hayman (*Sefer Yeşira*, 119), *nefesh*, often translated as "soul," is understood here in its biblical sense of the totality of the individual, a sense which predates the dualistic conceptualisation of man as a compound of body and soul, e.g. "Just as God created man, beast and all living beings." See above p. 265.

[SY § 30, pp. 119] Three mothers, *aleph*, *mem*, *shin*, in mankind: the head was created from fire, the belly was created from water, and the torso⁷¹ was created from the air which determines the middle and mediates between the head and the belly. Heat comes from the head, and from the belly comes the cold produced by food and drink. From the torso and the chest comes air, namely the breath of air [*nishmat ha-ruah*] which determines the middle between the heat of the head and the cold of the belly.

[SY § 24, pp. 110–112] Three mothers, *aleph*, *mem*, *shin*. A great, concealed and wondrous secret, sealed by six rings, which are letters and words. This secret is wrapped up in the universe, in the year and in mankind, in both male and female [form], because everything that was created [to allow for the normal] conduct of the universe—whether planets or constellations, whether fruits, plants, seeds or stones—indeed, everything that occurs in the world as part of the [normal] conduct of creation, was created in the qualities of male and female; the quality of the male as required for male creatures, and the quality of the female as required for female creatures.⁷²

How? [SY § 31, pp. 119–121] Three mothers, *aleph*, *mem*, *shin*: He engraved, carved out, combined and exchanged them, and by them He sealed the three mothers in the universe, three mothers in the year, and three mothers in mankind, both male and female.

[SY § 32, pp. 121] He made the *aleph* king over the air [*ruah*], bound to it a crown, engraved it at the beginning of the word, which is speech, combined the letters with one another, and turned them into two words. He named the first *aleph*, *mem*, *shin* and the second *aleph*, *shin*, *mem*. He then formed breath [*ruah*] out of His spirit [*ruho*], and with it He formed the atmosphere in the universe, moisture in the year, and the torso in mankind, each one of them male and female, the male with *aleph*, *mem*, *shin*, the female with *aleph*, *shin*, *mem*.

[SY § 33, pp. 122] He further made the *mem* king over the water, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the beginning of speech, combined

⁷¹ There are two terms used in SY to indicate the central part of the human body: גויה ["torso"] and חזה ["chest"]. See Hayman, *ibid.*, 119, 121.

⁷² Donnolo repeats here, with a few variations, the passage above (see above § 24) which in SY opens the discussion of the three “mother” letters. He does not proffer any further explanation or comment but simply underlines the concept of the duality of male and female in the universe, of which the human body is a microcosmic reflection. As we have seen (above, p. 299 n. 63), the difference between masculine and feminine in the celestial world was an important concept in Ptolemaic astrology.

a belly, the males and the females. This is *mem, shin, aleph* [and] *mem, aleph, shin*.

At times, a decree is issued from heaven to the world, to cause males to be born and to grow, whether they are living creatures, plants or anything else, and similarly to cause females to be born and to grow.

There is a heat in the year that causes males to be born and grow, whether they are living creatures or anything else, and similarly there is a heat in the year that causes females to be born and grow, whether they are living creatures or anything else. Every living thing has a head, both the males and the females. This is *shin, mem, aleph* and *shin, aleph, mem*.

These are the six words called six rings: *aleph, mem, shin; aleph, shin, mem; mem, aleph, shin; mem, shin, aleph; shin, aleph, mem; shin, mem, aleph*. Atmosphere, moisture, and the torso in mankind; and everything that is male and female was created by *aleph, mem, shin* and *aleph, shin, mem*. Water and earth, cold, and the belly in mankind; and everything that is male and female was created by *mem, aleph, shin* and *mem, shin, aleph*. Fire and sky, heat, and the head in mankind; and everything that is male and female was created by *shin, mem, aleph* and *shin, aleph, mem*. The sky was created out of fire, the earth was created out of water, and the atmosphere [*awir*], which mediates between them, was created out of air [*ruah*].

Heat was created and comes out of the sky, while the cold came out of the earth, and moisture comes out of the atmosphere and determines the middle between the heat and the cold. The head of man was created out of fire and heat, and the belly was created out of water and the cold. The torso and the chest, within which is the heart, were created out of air [*ruah*] and they determine the middle between the head and the belly. Out of the head came heat, out of the belly came the cold, and out of the torso, the chest and the heart came the breath of air which determines the middle and mediates between the heat and the cold.

The sky is from fire; the atmosphere is from air; the earth is from water; heat and fire are from the sky; moisture and air are from the atmosphere; the cold and the flows of water are from the earth. The head of man is from fire; the torso and the heart are from air, the belly is from water. Heat is from the head, fire is from the brain; from the torso, the chest and the heart is moisture, which is the sap rising up to the mouth and to the air of the breath. Out of the belly comes the cold and [the secretion of] water which is urine.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ In this passage Donnolo tries to harmonise the ancient Empedocleian notion that

[SY § 36, pp. 125–127] Three mothers, *aleph*, *mem*, *shin*. With *aleph* were formed the air [*ruah*] and the atmosphere [*awir*], moisture in the year, and the blowing⁷⁶ wind [*ruah*] of the world determines the middle between them. In mankind the torso as a rule determines the middle [between the upper and lower parts of the body]. The tongue, which is set within the spirit of life [*ruah ha-ḥayyim*], and the breath of air [*neshimat ha-ruah*], and the moisture of the torso determine the middle between them.⁷⁷

With *mem* were formed water, earth, the cold springs of water, the belly,⁷⁸ the secretion of water, which is urine, and the scale of merit.

With *shin* were formed fire, the sky, heat, the head, mild heat and extreme [literally, “heavy”] heat, like fire, and the scale of guilt.

From this we learn that merit was granted and decreed to be from the earth and from man’s belly, while guilt was granted and decreed to be from the sky and from the head. About this, David—peace be upon him—said: *Truth springs up from the earth; justice looks down from heaven* [Ps. 85:12], to teach you that whenever human beings conduct

the body, like everything else in existence, was created from the four primary elements (water, air, fire, earth) with SY’s theory of the three mothers, *aleph*, *mem*, *shin* out of which come fire, water and air. The earth, as he explained above, is the product of the interaction between water and fire (“He congealed some of the water by the power of fire and turned it into earth ...” see above p. 272). On the theory of the four primary elements in Jewish medicine, see Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicine*, I, 147. In order to make the three primary elements of SY correspond to the three parts of the body (those which contain vital organs), Donnolo changes the order of the triad by linking the head—the upper part of the body—to fire (*aleph*), the torso/chest to air (*shin*) and the belly—the lower part of the body—to water (*mem*). Cf Ex. Rabbah 15,22: והרוח המים והאש שלשה בריות קדמו את העולם והרוח [“three things (literally, “creations”) preceded (the creation of) the world: water, air and fire”].

⁷⁶ In most of the manuscripts of SH the Hebrew text has נשיפת רוח—“the breathing of air.” Ms. Moscow—Russian State Library—302 (M) and ms. New York—Jewish Theological Seminary—2141 (N), however, reads נשיבת רוח—“blowing,” which makes רוח “wind” rather than “breath of air,” and which seems to make better sense. The translation therefore follows this variant.

⁷⁷ The passage is obscure and appears to be corrupted, although the manuscript tradition offers no helpful variants. It is not clear what the torso is supposed to mediate. We can suppose that either an item (perhaps the belly, if we assume that the mouth stands here for the head) after “the tongue ... and the breath of air” is missing from the text (in which case the plural מכריעים [“determine”] should be considered a scribal emendation), or that, with an implicit reference to the previous passage describing the three main parts of the body (“The head of man is from fire; the torso and the heart are from air, the belly is from water” etc.), Donnolo considers the tongue and the torso as those parts of the body that are linked together and mediate between the heat of the head and the cold of the belly.

⁷⁸ All the manuscripts read here וקור [“and the cold”] which is a redundant repetition.

themselves with truth and uprightness, they earn merit and are pronounced just by heaven, and conversely, if they sin and act wickedly, they are condemned by heaven.

Likewise, the belly of man resembles the earth; whenever he eats and drinks, in regular measure and at the proper time, foods and beverages that are harmless to him, his head will be wholesome, sound, and in [a state of] well being and good health. But if he eats and drinks without measure, irregularly and at the wrong times, even if he consumes foods and beverages that are harmless to him, his bowel and his belly will be damaged and their heat⁷⁹ will rise from the belly and the intestines up to the head. Then, the head will become sick, and from the sickness and malignity of the head, the whole body will suffer and become sick.

This is the secret of *aleph, mem, shin*. Here ends the first group, [the group] of *aleph, mem, shin*, which are the three mothers.

Book Two

Let us begin [the explanation of] the second group, that of the seven double letters which are *bet, gimel, dalet, kaph, pe, resh, taw*. Why are they called double? Because the pronunciation of these seven letters can be both softer and harder than that of all the other letters.

How? [As follows:] *bet-vet, gimel-ghimel, dalet-dhalet, kaph-khaph, pe-fe, resh-rhesh, taw-thaw*. If a person utters these seven letters each on its own, he is able to enunciate each one with the tongue in two different positions, with two different pronunciations, soft and hard. On the other hand, the rest of the letters, which are called simple, cannot be pronounced, each on its own, in two different ways, soft and hard, without difficulty.

However, if any one of the simple letters occurs twice in succession [in the same word] [literally, “if one adds to them another letter, either before or after it”], or if a simple letter is pronounced twice, at the end of one word and again at the beginning of the next, to which it clings [literally, “or if it is pronounced at the beginning of a word, or if another word is pronounced before that word and clings to it with that word at the beginning of which one of the simple letters occurs”], then its pronunciation can be both soft and hard.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ The Hebrew text reads חמתם which can be interpreted also as “their anger.”

⁸⁰ Donnolo’s Hebrew in this passage appears to be particularly clumsy. Unless the text

For this reason these letters have been called “double,” since they can be pronounced with the tongue in two different positions, soft and hard, whether [each] on its own or one by one, when [appearing] at the beginning, the end, or in the middle of any word. But the simple letters, each on its own, cannot be pronounced both soft and hard except with difficulty and effort.

[SY § 37, pp. 127–130] Seven double letters, *bet, gimel, dalet, kaph, pe, resh, tav*. Their foundation is life, peace, wisdom, wealth, fertility, beauty, and mastery. These seven letters are treated, used and pronounced with the tongue in two different positions, since they are double, opposition of *b-v, g-gh, d-dh, k-kh, p-f, r-rh, t-th*, corresponding to soft and hard [pronunciation respectively], a paradigm of strong and weak.

Just as they constitute [two] categories of opposites,⁸¹ so do the words that are formed by them have their opposites: the opposite of life is death; the opposite of peace is war; the opposite of wisdom is folly; the opposite of wealth is poverty; the opposite of fertility is desolation; the opposite of beauty is ugliness; the opposite of mastery is servitude.

[SY § 38, pp. 130–133] Seven double letters, *bet, gimel, dalet, kaph, pe, resh, tav*. Seven and not six. Seven and not eight. Six sides set against the six directions, and the Holy Temple set at the centre within.⁸² *Blessed*

here has been corrupted (which the fairly stable manuscript tradition does not suggest), it would seem that in the lack of a technical grammatical vocabulary, Donnolo was unable to express himself succinctly on such linguistic phenomena. Nevertheless, his meaning seems clear enough. In the case of “if any one of the simple letters occurs twice in succession” he seems to refer to words such as *בְּהִתְחַנְּנוּ* (Gen. 42:21), *קָלְלֵנִי* (1 Kings 2:8), *בְּזוּיִם* (2 Ch. 20:25), *הִקְקִי* (Jud. 5:15), where the same “simple” consonant occurs twice in succession without an intermediate vowel, while in the case of “if a simple letter is pronounced twice, at the end of one word and again at the beginning of the next ...” he has in mind such phrases as *רוּחַ הַיָּמָה* (Gen. 6:17), *רוּחַ הַקֶּמֶה* (Ex. 28:3), or *אֶרֶץ צִיָּה* (Joel 2:20), where the same “simple” consonant is repeated across two consecutive words.

⁸¹ The semantic field of the stem *מור* (from which *תמורות* derives) usually covers the concepts of change, exchange or permutation and not necessarily opposition. However, Ben Yehudah (*A Complete Dictionary*, XVI, 7795) does list “opposition” (“*ויגוד, הפך*”) as one of the post-Talmudic meanings (admittedly, citing SY as his first source), and this meaning, proposed by Hayman, does make good sense here, in view of the list of opposites that follows.

⁸² This is one of the most puzzling passages in SY, which the manuscript tradition transmitted in a number of very different versions. As observed by Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira*, 132, terminologically speaking, this paragraph, as well as the following § 46, is probably modelled on § 4. Donnolo follows the long version attested in ms. Vatican Library 299 (ms. A in Hayman’s edition). Ms. Florence—Biblioteca Laurenziana—Plut. 44.14 and Moscow—Russian State Library—302 (F and M) have *צדדים* [“direction”] for *סדרים*

be the Glory of the Lord from His place [Ez. 3:12]. He is the place of the world but the world is not His place,⁸³ and He carries them all.

[SY § 39, pp. 133–134] Seven double letters, *bet, gimel, dalet, kaph, pe, resh, taw*. He engraved, carved out, weighed, combined, permuted and formed with them the planets in the universe, the days in the year and the orifices [literally, “the gates”] in mankind, all of them in the nature of male and female,⁸⁴ seven [male] and seven [female].

[SY § 40, pp. 134–136] How did he combine them? Two stones build two houses; three build six; four build twenty-four houses; five build one hundred and twenty; six build seven hundred and twenty; seven build five thousand and forty. From here on, go out and ponder what the mouth cannot say, what the eye cannot see and what the ear cannot hear.

How? A single letter may be written down and read on its own, but on its own it does not make up a word, for it is only one [letter]. Two letters may be read together and written down together, and [thus] they do make up a word. They may be written down twice and read twice, one [way] at the time, [first] one [letter] in front of the other and [then] the same two letters in reverse order. This results in two words, for twice one equals two.

And a word made up of three letters may be written in three times two [different ways] and read in three times two [different ways]. This results in six [permuted words], since three times two equals six.

A word made up of four letters may be written in four times six [different ways] and read in four times six [different ways]. This results in twenty-four [permuted words], since four times six equals twenty-four.

A word made up of five letters may be written in five times twenty-four [different ways] and read in five times twenty-four [different ways]. This

(literally, “orders” or, as in Hayman’s version, “sides of a cube”). As noted by Hayman, “Some Observations on Sefer Yesirah (2),” 176–182, §§ 15, 38 and 47 describe a cubic space at the centre of which is God or, as in this case, the Jerusalem Temple.

⁸³ Pines, “Point of similarity,” 86 n. 183, considers this sentence a later addition, since it contradicts the notion expressed in the preceding passage which localises the Godhead in a particular place. The idea, however, is well attested in the midrash; see Gen. Rabbah, 68: 9; Midrash Tehillim, 90; Pesiqta Rabbati, 21. Concerning the interpretation and exegesis of this expression in midrashic and kabbalistic literature, see Urbach, *The Sages*, 66–79; Landau, *Die dem Raume*, 90–91 and Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 143.

⁸⁴ As pointed out above (see pp. 362–366), Donnolo affirms that everything in the universe—either living beings or inanimate objects—was created male and female. In this passage he refers explicitly to the orifices, some of the most distinctive parts of the male and female bodies.

results in one hundred and twenty [permuted words], because five times twenty-four equals one hundred and twenty.

A word made up of six letters may be written in six times one hundred and twenty [different ways] and read in six times one hundred and twenty [different ways]. [The result] is seven hundred and twenty [permuted words], because six times one hundred and twenty equals seven hundred and twenty.

A word made up of seven letters may be written in seven times seven hundred and twenty [different ways], and read in seven hundred and twenty [different ways]. This results in five thousand and forty [permuted words], because seven times seven hundred and twenty equals five thousand and forty.⁸⁵

In this manner, one may arrive at a vast number of words, to the point of not counting [them anymore], since they become innumerable. Just as a word made up of two letters may be turned round and read [differently], so all the other words may be turned round and read [differently]. Each letter in a word made up of two letters may be turned round and read twice. And every single letter in a word made up of three letters may be turned round and read [in different combinations with the other two] twice, and twice more, up to three times, and this generates six words.

Just as a word made up of three letters may be turned round in its entirety and read [differently], so any letter in a word made up of four letters may be turned round [and read differently]. A word made up of three letters may be turned round and read in six [different] ways. And every single letter in a word made up of four letters may be turned round and read in six [different] ways, six permutations and six more,⁸⁶ up to four sets [of six permutations], which generates twenty-four words.

⁸⁵ The mathematical formula of the combinatory process described by Donnolo here is simple:

$$x! = x \cdot (x-1) \cdot (x-2) \cdot (x-3) \dots \cdot 1$$

where “x” denotes the factorial operator (i.e. the number of letters), “!” indicates the specific word, the factors in brackets the number of combinations for each letter. Thus, for example, for words of five and six letters, we will have the following formulas

$$5! = 5 \cdot (5-1) \cdot (5-2) \cdot (5-3) \cdot (5-4)$$

$$6! = 6 \cdot (6-1) \cdot (6-2) \cdot (6-3) \cdot (6-4) \cdot (6-5)$$

which amount, as Donnolo says correctly, to 120 and 720.

⁸⁶ This passage is attested in all the manuscript witnesses but is redundant and probably generated by homeoteleuton.

And just as a word made up of four letters may be turned round and read [differently] in its entirety, so every single letter in a word made up of five letters may be turned round and read [differently].

A word made up of four letters may be turned round in its entirety and read in twenty-four [different] ways, and every single letter in a word made up of five letters may be turned round and read in twenty-four [different] ways: twenty-four permutations, and twenty-four more, up to five times, which generates one hundred and twenty words. And the same applies to all [words and the letters that make them up].

This is the calculation and number [of permuted words] without vocalisation. It is impossible to add to or subtract from their number. But with the vowel points, their number increases much further.

If a wise person, an [expert] calculator or enumerator was to form a single word out of [all] the twenty-two letters, and if these letters and their vowel points were to be turned round in this manner and by this [method of] calculation, [generating] distinct words, joined-up words, complete words, half-words, thirds of words and doubled words, whether connected to or distinct from one another, whether he hears them [pronounced] or not—he should be able to write and read the words of all the languages of the world. However, no flesh and blood mortal is able to count, calculate and compute them, only the Holy One—blessed be He—who created man with His wisdom out of dust and who put a tongue in his mouth with which to speak to every people in its language, to every nation in its speech.⁸⁷ Now, whoever believes [this], believes it [even] in the absence of proof, and whoever does not believe it without proof let him see [for himself] and believe.

*m-n r-m-z sh-bh-‘-h d-b-r-y-m sh-kh-t-v-n-w b-r-’-sh-w-n-h,*⁸⁸

[here is a demonstration of] the rotation and sequence of [the words that can be generated out of them]:

⁸⁷ See Gen. 11:9.

⁸⁸ This is a sentence consisting of six words which are composed of two, three, four, five, six and seven letters respectively. It means “from allusion [come] the seven words [or “things”] we wrote about at the beginning” and serves as Donnolo’s illustration of the capacity of each set of letters to generate the appropriate number of new words. While throughout the text the ׀ is normally transliterated as “v,” in this letter permutation chart it has been transliterated as “bh” to retain its connection to “b”—׀ which is germane to Donnolo’s argument (e.g. in respect to the “double” letters).

		m-n		n-m.	
r-m-z	r-z-m	m-z-r	m-r-z	z-m-r	z-r-m.
<i>sh-bh-[˘]-h</i>	<i>sh-bh-h-[˘]</i>	<i>sh-[˘]-bh-h</i>	<i>sh-[˘]-h-bh</i>	<i>sh-h-bh-[˘]</i>	
<i>sh-h-[˘]-bh</i>	<i>bh-h-[˘]sh</i>	<i>bh-[˘]-sh-h</i>	<i>bh-h-sh-[˘]</i>	<i>bh-sh-[˘]-h</i>	
<i>bh-sh-h-[˘]</i>	<i>bh-h-[˘]-sh</i>	<i>h-[˘]-sh-bh</i>	<i>h-bh-sh-[˘]</i>	<i>h-bh-[˘]-sh</i>	
<i>h-sh-bh-[˘]</i>	<i>h-bh-[˘]-sh</i>	<i>h-sh-bh-[˘]</i>	<i>h-sh-bh-[˘]</i>	<i>[˘]-h-sh-bh</i>	
<i>[˘]-h-bh-sh</i>	<i>[˘]-sh-bh-h</i>	<i>[˘]-sh-h-bh</i>	<i>[˘]-bh-sh-h</i>	<i>[˘]-bh-h-sh</i>	
<i>d-bh-r-y-m</i>	<i>d-bh-r-d-m[!]</i>	<i>d-bh-y-r-m</i>	<i>d-bh-y-m-r</i>	<i>d-bh-m-y-r</i>	
<i>d-bh-m-r-y</i>	<i>d-r-bh-y-m</i>	<i>d-r-bh-m-y</i>	<i>d-r-y-m-bh</i>	<i>d-r-y-bh-m</i>	
<i>d-r-y-m-bh</i>	<i>d-r-m-bh-y</i>	<i>d-r-m-y-bh</i>	<i>d-y-bh-r-m</i>	<i>d-y-r-bh-m</i>	
<i>d-y-r-m-bh</i>	<i>d-y-m-r-bh</i>	<i>d-y-bh-m-r</i>	<i>d-y-m-bh-r-y[!]</i>	<i>d-y-m-bh-r</i>	
<i>d-m-bh-y-r</i>	<i>d-m-bh-r-y</i>	<i>d-m-r-bh-y</i>	<i>d-m-r-y-bh</i>	<i>d-m-y-bh-r</i>	
<i>d-m-y-r-bh</i>	<i>bh-d-y-m-r</i>	<i>bh-d-y-r-m</i>	<i>bh-d-r-m-y</i>	<i>d-bh-r-y-m</i>	
<i>bh-d-m-r-y</i>	<i>bh-r-m-y-d</i>	<i>bh-y-r-m-d</i>	<i>bh-d-r-m-y</i>	<i>bh-y-d-r-m</i>	
<i>bh-y-r-d-m</i>	<i>bh-y-m-d-r</i>	<i>bh-y-m-r-d</i>	<i>bh-m-d-r-y</i>	<i>bh-m-d-y-r</i>	
<i>bh-m-r-y-d</i>	<i>bh-m-r-d-y</i>	<i>bh-m-d-r-y</i>	<i>bh-m-y-r-d</i>	<i>r-d-y-bh-m</i>	
<i>bh-d-m-r-y</i>	<i>bh-r-d-m-y</i>	<i>bh-d-r-y-m</i>	<i>bh-r-y-m-d</i>	<i>bh-r-y-d-m</i>	
<i>r-y-m-d-bh</i>	<i>r-y-m-bh-d</i>	<i>r-y-d-bh-m</i>	<i>r-y-d-m-bh</i>	<i>r-m-bh-d-y</i>	
<i>r-y-bh-m-d</i>	<i>r-d-m-bh-y</i>	<i>r-d-bh-m-y</i>	<i>r-d-y-bh-m</i>	<i>r-d-y-m-bh</i>	
<i>r-bh-d-y-m</i>	<i>r-d-bh-y-m</i>	<i>r-d-m-y-bh</i>	<i>d-bh-m-r-y</i>	<i>r-bh-d-m-y</i>	
<i>r-bh-m-d-y</i>	<i>r-bh-y-d-m</i>	<i>r-bh-y-m-d</i>	<i>r-m-y-d-bh</i>	<i>d-m-y-bh-r</i>	
<i>r-m-d-y-bh</i>	<i>r-m-bh-y-d</i>	<i>r-y-bh-d-m</i>	<i>r-bh-m-y-d</i>	<i>r-d-y-bh-m</i>	
<i>y-m-d-r-bh</i>	<i>y-m-r-d-bh</i>	<i>y-m-bh-d-r</i>	<i>y-m-bh-r-d</i>	<i>y-m-r-bh-d</i>	
<i>y-m-d-bh-r</i>	<i>y-d-bh-r-m</i>	<i>y-m-bh-r[!]</i>	<i>y-d-bh-m-r</i>	<i>y-d-m-bh-r</i>	
<i>y-bh-d-r-m</i>	<i>y-bh-d-m-r</i>	<i>y-bh-r-d-m</i>	<i>y-bh-r-m-d</i>	<i>y-bh-m-d-r</i>	
<i>y-bh-m-r-d</i>	<i>y-r-d-bh-m</i>	<i>y-r-d-m-bh</i>	<i>y-r-m-bh-d</i>	<i>y-r-bh-m-d</i>	
<i>y-r-bh-d-m</i>	<i>y-r-d-m-bh</i>	<i>m-d-bh-r-y</i>	<i>m-d-bh-y-r</i>	<i>m-d-y-bh-r</i>	
<i>m-r-y-d-bh</i>	<i>m-r-y-d-bh</i>	<i>m-bh-d-y-r</i>	<i>m-bh-y-d-r</i>	<i>m-bh-r-y-d</i>	
<i>m-r-d-bh-y</i>	<i>m-r-d-y-bh</i>	<i>m-r-bh-y-d</i>	<i>m-r-y-bh-d</i>	<i>m-d-y-r-bh</i>	
<i>m-y-d-bh-r</i>	<i>m-y-d-r-bh</i>	<i>m-y-bh-r-d</i>	<i>m-y-bh-d-r</i>	<i>m-y-r-d-bh</i>	
<i>m-y-r-bh-d</i>	<i>m-bh-r-d-y</i>	<i>m-d-r-bh-y</i>	<i>m-d-bh-r-y</i>	<i>m-bh-y-r-d</i>	
<i>sh-k-t-bh-n-w</i>	<i>sh-k-t-w-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-k-t-n-bh-w</i>	<i>sh-k-t-n-w-bh</i>	<i>sh-k-t-n-w-bh</i>	
<i>sh-k-t-w-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-k-t-w-n-bh</i>	<i>sh-k-bh-n-w-t</i>	<i>sh-k-bh-n-t-w</i>	<i>sh-k-bh-n-t-w</i>	
<i>sh-k-bh-w-n-t</i>	<i>sh-k-bh-w-t-n</i>	<i>sh-k-bh-t-w-n</i>	<i>sh-k-bh-t-n-w</i>	<i>sh-k-bh-t-n-w</i>	
<i>sh-k-t-n-bh-w</i>	<i>sh-k-n-t-w-bh</i>	<i>sh-k-n-w-t-bh</i>	<i>sh-k-n-w-bh-t</i>	<i>sh-k-n-w-bh-t</i>	
<i>sh-k-n-bh-w-t</i>	<i>sh-k-n-bh-t-w</i>	<i>sh-k-w-n-t-bh</i>	<i>sh-k-w-bh-t[!]</i>	<i>sh-k-w-bh-t[!]</i>	
<i>sh-k-w-bh-n-t</i>	<i>sh-k-w-bh-t-n</i>	<i>sh-k-w-t-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-k-w-t-n-bh</i>	<i>sh-k-w-t-n-bh</i>	
<i>sh-w-n-t-k-bh</i>	<i>sh-w-k-t-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-w-k-bh-t-n</i>	<i>sh-w-bh-k-t-n</i>	<i>sh-w-bh-k-t-n</i>	
<i>sh-w-k-bh-n-t</i>	<i>sh-k-w-bh-t-n</i>	<i>sh-k-w-t-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-k-w-bh-n-t</i>	<i>sh-k-w-bh-n-t</i>	
<i>sh-w-k-t-n-bh</i>	<i>sh-w-k-t-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-w-bh-k-t-n</i>	<i>sh-w-k-bh-t-n</i>	<i>sh-w-k-bh-t-n</i>	
<i>sh-w-k-bh-n-t</i>	<i>sh-w-bh-k-n-t</i>	<i>sh-w-t-k-n-t[!]</i>	<i>sh-w-t-k-n-t[!]</i>	<i>sh-w-t-k-n-t[!]</i>	
<i>sh-w-t-k-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-w-k-t-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-w-t-k-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-w-t-bh-k-n</i>	<i>sh-w-t-bh-k-n</i>	
<i>sh-w-t-bh-n-k</i>	<i>sh-t-w-n-k-bh</i>	<i>sh-t-w-n-bh-k</i>	<i>sh-t-w-k-n-bh</i>	<i>sh-t-w-k-n-bh</i>	
<i>sh-t-w-k-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-t-w-bh-k-n</i>	<i>sh-t-w-bh-n-k</i>	<i>sh-t-bh-w-n-k</i>	<i>sh-t-bh-w-n-k</i>	
<i>sh-t-bh-w-k-n</i>	<i>sh-t-k-bh-w-n</i>	<i>sh-t-bh-w-k-n</i>	<i>sh-t-k-bh-n-w</i>	<i>sh-t-k-bh-n-w</i>	
<i>sh-t-k-bh-w-n</i>	<i>sh-t-n-w-bh-k</i>	<i>sh-t-n-w-k-bh</i>	<i>sh-t-n-k-w-bh</i>	<i>sh-t-n-k-w-bh</i>	
<i>sh-t-k-n-w-bh</i>	<i>sh-t-k-w-n-bh</i>	<i>sh-t-n-w-k-bh</i>	<i>sh-t-k-w-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-t-k-w-bh-n</i>	

<i>sh-t-w-k-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-t-w-k-n-bh</i>	<i>sh-w-n-t-k-bh</i>	<i>sh-w-n-t-bh-k</i>
<i>sh-w-n-bh-t-k</i>	<i>sh-w-n-bh-k-t</i>	<i>sh-w-k-bh-n-t</i>	<i>sh-w-n-k-t-bh</i>
<i>sh-w-bh-k-n-t</i>	<i>sh-w-bh-n-t-k</i>	<i>sh-w-k-t-n-t[!]</i>	<i>sh-w-bh-t-k-n</i>
<i>sh-w-bh-k-t-n</i>	<i>sh-w-bh-k-n-t</i>	<i>sh-bh-w-k-n-t</i>	<i>sh-bh-w-k-t-n</i>
<i>sh-bh-w-t-k-n</i>	<i>sh-bh-w-t-n-k</i>	<i>sh-bh-w-n-t-k</i>	<i>sh-bh-w-n-k-t</i>
<i>sh-bh-n-w-k-t</i>	<i>sh-bh-n-w-t-k</i>	<i>sh-bh-n-w-t-k[!]</i>	<i>sh-bh-n-t-k-w</i>
<i>sh-bh-n-k-t-w</i>	<i>sh-bh-n-k-w-t</i>	<i>sh-bh-k-n-w-t</i>	<i>sh-bh-k-w-n-t</i>
<i>sh-bh-n-w-k-t</i>	<i>sh-bh-k-n-t-w</i>	<i>sh-bh-k-n-t-w</i>	<i>sh-bh-k-t-w-n</i>
<i>sh-bh-t-k-w-n</i>	<i>sh-bh-t-k-n-w</i>	<i>sh-bh-t-n-k-w</i>	<i>sh-bh-t-n-w-k</i>
<i>sh-bh-t-w-n-k</i>	<i>sh-k-t-w-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-bh-n-t-w-k</i>	<i>sh-n-bh-t-k-w</i>
<i>sh-n-bh-k-t-w</i>	<i>sh-n-bh-k-t-w</i>	<i>sh-n-bh-w-k-t</i>	<i>sh-k-bh-w-n-t</i>
<i>sh-n-bh-w-t-k</i>	<i>sh-n-w-bh-t-k</i>	<i>sh-bh-n-w-k-t</i>	<i>sh-n-w-k-bh-t</i>
<i>sh-n-w-k-t-bh</i>	<i>sh-n-w-t-bh-k</i>	<i>sh-n-t-w-bh-k</i>	<i>sh-t-n-k-w-bh</i>
<i>sh-k-n-t-w-bh</i>	<i>sh-t-n-t-bh-k-w[!]</i>	<i>sh-n-k-t-bh-w</i>	<i>sh-n-k-t-bh-w[!]</i>
<i>sh-n-t-k-w-bh</i>	<i>sh-t-w-k-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-t-k-n-w-bh</i>	<i>sh-n-t-bh-k-w</i>
<i>sh-t-t-w-bh-n[!]</i>	<i>sh-k-t-w-bh-n</i>	<i>sh-n-t-w-k-bh.</i>	

Similarly, you can count up to one hundred and twenty words which are the product of turning round the letter *shin* alone while it remains at the beginning of the word. Likewise, if you place the *khaph* at the beginning of the word, or the *taw*, the *bhet*, the *nun* or the *waw* at the beginning of the word, seven hundred and twenty words will be generated by the six letters of the word *sh-kh-t-bh-n-w*. And the seven-letter word *b-r-²-sh-w-n-h* rotates similarly:

<i>b-r-²-sh-w-n-h</i>	<i>b-r-²-sh-n-w-h</i>	<i>b-r-sh-²-w-n-h</i>	<i>b-r-²-w-sh-n-h</i>
<i>b-r-w-²-sh-n-h</i>	<i>b-r-sh-w-²-n-h</i>	<i>b-²-r-sh-w-n-h</i>	<i>b-²-sh-r-w-n-h</i>
<i>b-²-w-sh-r-n-h</i>	<i>b-²-sh-w-r-n-h</i>	<i>b-²-r-w-sh-n-h</i>	<i>b-²-w-r-sh-n-h.</i>

If you calculate the total number of permutations generated by *b-r-²-sh-w-n-h* with the letter *bet* maintained at the beginning of the word and the letter *he* at the end of the word, and if the other letters of the word *b-r-²-sh-w-n-h* are combined by putting *dalet* at the beginning of the word and the *aleph* at the end of the word, another one hundred and twenty words will be generated. Likewise, if you place the letter *aleph* at the beginning of the word and the *he* at the end of the word and combine them, another one hundred and twenty words will be generated. Likewise, if you place the letter *shin* at the beginning of the word and the *he* at the end of the word and combine them, another one hundred and twenty words will be generated. Likewise, if you place the letter *waw* at the beginning of the word and the *he* at the end of the word and combine them, another one hundred and twenty words will be generated. Likewise, if you place the letter *nun* at the beginning of the word and the *he* at the end of the word and combine them, another one hundred and twenty words will be

generated. Hence, seven hundred and twenty words [may be generated] from the word *b-r-ʿ-sh-w-n-h* by placing the *he* at the end of the word. Similarly, if you place the letter *nun* at the end of the word, seven hundred and twenty words will be generated, and likewise if you place the letter *waw* at the end of word, seven hundred and twenty [words] will be generated. Likewise, if you place the letter *shin* at the end of the word, seven hundred and twenty [words] will be generated. Likewise, if you place the letter *aleph* at the end of the word, seven hundred and twenty [words] will be generated. Likewise, if you place the letter *shin* at the end of the word, seven hundred and twenty [words] will be generated. Likewise, if you place the letter *bet* at the end of the word and permute them forwards and backwards according to the order which we spoke about above, thus another hundred and twenty words will be generated. Hence, the total number of words generated by a seven-letter word will be five thousand and forty words.

Thus permutes also a word made up of the twelve simple letters, and similarly all the letters. This is the basis and fundamental [literally, “stone”]⁸⁹ structure, but there is no end, no limit, and no measure to the sum, computation and number of twenty-two-letter words.

[SY §41, pp. 136–139] Seven double letters *bet, gimel, dalet, kaph, pe, resh, taw*. He made the *bet* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the beginning of the word, combined these seven letters with one another, and made a word out of them, which He called *bet-gimel-dalet-kaph-pe-resh-taw*. With it He formed Saturn in the world, the Sabbath in the year, the mouth in mankind, and life with its opposite, death.

He made the *gimel* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the beginning of the word, combined the seven letters with one another, and out of them made a second word, which He called *gimel, bet, dalet, kaph, pe, resh, taw*. With it He formed Jupiter in the world, Sunday in the year, the right eye in mankind, and peace with its opposite, war.

He made the *dalet* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the beginning of the word, combined the letters with one another and out of them made a third word, which He called *dalet, gimel, bet, kaph, pe, resh, taw*. With it He formed Mars in the world, Monday in the year, the left eye in mankind, and wisdom with its opposite, folly.

He made the *kaph* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the beginning of the word, combined the letters with one another and out

⁸⁹ The term אבנים [“stones”] probably echoes the use of the term in §40 of SY in reference to word permutations. See above p. 374 and Rabinovitch, “Miscellanea,” 203.

of them made a fourth word, which He called *kaph-dalet-gimel-bet-pe-resh-taw*. With it He formed the sun in the world, Tuesday in the year, the right nostril in mankind, and wealth with its opposite, poverty.

He made the *pe* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the beginning of the word, combined the letters with one another and out of them made a fifth word, which He called *pe-gimel-dalet-bet-kaph-resh-taw*. With it He formed Venus in the world, Wednesday in the year, the left nostril in mankind, and fertility with its opposite, desolation.

He made the *resh* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the beginning of the word, combined the letters with one another and out of them made a sixth word, which He called *resh-pe-kaph-dalet-gimel-bet-taw*. With it He formed Mercury in the world, Thursday in the year, the right ear in mankind, and mastery with its opposite, servitude.

He made the *taw* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the beginning of the word, combined the letters with one another and out of them made a seventh word, which He called *taw-resh-pe-kaph-dalet-gimel-bet*. With it He formed the moon in the world, Friday in the year, the left ear in mankind, and beauty with its opposite, ugliness.

Even though he enthroned [literally, “made king”] every single one of the letters *bet-gimel-dalet-kaph-pe-resh-taw* and turned them into seven words, from every single one of these words He generated seven hundred and twenty words, as we described above with respect to *br’shwnh*.

How [does this work for] *bet-gimel-dalet-kaph-pe-resh-taw*? If the letters rotate forwards and backwards, the placing of the *bet* at the beginning of the word would generate seven hundred and twenty words. Similarly, the placing of the *gimel* at the beginning of the word, and likewise of the *dalet* at the beginning of the word, likewise of the *kaph* at the beginning of the word, as well as of the *pe* at the beginning of the word, of the *resh* at the beginning of the word, of the *taw* at the beginning of the word, all would generate, when you rotate them, a total of five thousand and forty words. [SY § 42, pp. 139–140] Out of them were engraved and formed in the world these seven planets S[aturn], J[upiter], M[ars], S[un], V[enus], M[ercury], M[oon],⁹⁰ the seven firmaments to be the

⁹⁰ The Hebrew text has שצ"ם חנכ"ל which is a mnemonic acronym of Shabbatai, Şedeq, Ma'adim, Ḥamah, Nogah, Kokhav and Levanah [“Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, sun, Venus, Mercury and moon”]. The acronym is attested also in the *Barayta di-Shē mu'el*, Eisenstein, ed., 544, and in *Barayta de-mazzalot*, Wertheimer, ed., 21 but not in any earlier source. The planets are listed in reverse order of their distance from earth, a practice which, according to the 1st-century Roman historian Dio Cassius (ca. 40–110), was derived from the Egyptians and which became standard in Greco-Roman and Ptolemaic astrology. See

abodes of these seven planets, **and the seven earths** to be governed by these seven planets.⁹¹ And in the year [were engraved and formed] **the seven hours** of the day and night, to be governed by these seven planets, while in mankind the **seven orifices** [were engraved and formed] in the likeness of these seven planets.

Just as the world cannot subsist without these **seven planets**, without the [SY §43b, pp. 141, 145] **seven firmaments** which are the abodes of the [SY §43a, pp. 140, 145] **seven planets**, and without the **seven earths**, and just as the year cannot subsist without these **seven hours** and without the **seven days of the week**, so mankind cannot subsist without these **seven orifices**, each one of them in its proper order and proper disposition.⁹²

The waters were formed in their proper order, one after the other; the [seven] **firmaments** were formed in their proper order, on Monday, one above the other; **the seven planets**—which are S[aturn], J[upiter], M[ars], S[un], V[enus], M[ercury], M[oon]—were formed on the eve of Wednesday,⁹³ in their proper order and in their abodes, one above the other; **the seven orifices** were formed in mankind in their proper order, on Friday. The seven things we listed, which are necessary to the [living]

Cassio Dio, *Dio's Roman History*, III, xxxvii, 18–19; Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 37 and Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, 107–108. SY has הַנְּכֹלִי שֶׁצִּיָּו [“sun, Venus, Mercury, moon, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars”] which, as observed by Hayman (*Sefer Yešira*, 143), is incompatible with the theory of the planetary week but which, as pointed out by Gandz (“The origin of the planetary week,” 238) is in accordance with the notion of planetary hours whereby the hours of the day are ruled by the planets in succession. For the planets and their connections with the hours of the days, see Sharf, *The Universe*, 133 n. 66; Colson, *The Week: An Essay*, 122–124 and Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 379.

⁹¹ Donnolo refers to the theory of planetary rulership whereby each of the planets (as well as the constellations) exerts an influence on and dominates a specific territory or country. See Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 432–433 and Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 129–161. One cannot rule out the possibility that in the present context Donnolo is referring specifically to the theory of the “seven climes”—well attested in the Hellenistic and Ptolemaic astrological traditions (but probably derived from Hipparchus, 2nd century BCE)—which divided the earth into seven zones (κλίματα). See Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, 256–257, 272–273; Ptolemy, *Almagest*, Toomer ed., 123–129; idem, *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 231 and Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 110, 454.

⁹² Some of the passages in bold characters (namely, “seven firmaments,” “seven earths”) appear either in §43a or 43b. It seems that Donnolo had in front of him an amalgamated version of the two paragraphs of SY from which, it should be noted, he omitted the names of the firmaments and the earths (see Hayman, *Sefer Yešira*, 141) presumably because he could not find any parallel to them in the classic Ptolemaic tradition.

⁹³ See Gen. 1: 14–19. In the Jewish calendar, the “eve” of a day is the night—from dusk to dawn—of the day preceding it. See Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 112 n. 44.

body, were formed on Friday, together with their opposites, which were also created on Friday, and all of them are in groups of seven pairs.⁹⁴ **Therefore, God preferred [the number] seven for every purpose under heaven,**⁹⁵ as it is written: *Of every clean animal you shall take seven pairs* [Gen. 7:2], and it is written: *Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread* [Ex. 13:6]; it is written: *You shall count seven weeks* [Deut. 16:9]; it is written: *You shall hold a festival for the Lord your God for seven days* [ibid. ibid. 15]; it is written: *Seven days it shall remain with its mother* [Ex. 22:29], and it is written: *Every seventh year you shall practice remission of debts* [Deut. 15.1]; it is written: *She shall remain in her impurity seven days* [Lev. 15:19], and so in many others instances.

[SY § 43c, pp. 141, 145] **God divided the following three witnesses to testify that He is God and that there is none but Him. The world on its own and by itself testifies about Him; the year on its own and by itself testifies about Him; mankind on its own and by itself testifies about Him.** These three witnesses testify that He is one God, that there is no second, and that there is none but Him.

[SY § 44, pp. 141–146] Seven double letters, *bet, gimel, dalet, kaph, pe, resh, taw*. With *bet* were formed Saturn, the Sabbath, the mouth, as well as life and death. With *gimel* were formed Jupiter, Sunday, the right eye, as well as peace and war.⁹⁶ With *dalet* were formed Mars, Monday, the left eye, as well as wisdom and folly. With *kaph* were formed the sun, Tuesday, the right nostril, as well as wealth and poverty. With *pe* were formed Venus, Wednesday, the left nostril, as well as fertility and desolation. With *resh* were formed Mercury, Thursday, the right ear, as well as beauty and ugliness. With *taw* were formed the moon, Friday, the left ear, as well as mastery and servitude.

This is [SY's] explanation of *bet, gimel, dalet, kaph, pe, resh, taw*. Here the second group of letters [*sefer*] is concluded, and this is its [proper] explanation.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Cf. Gen. 7:2–3.

⁹⁵ Cf. Eccl. 3:1 and Lev. Rabbah 29:11.

⁹⁶ All the extant versions of SY contrast שלום with רע or רעה (translated as “evil” in Hayman, *Sefer Yesira*, 141). Even Donnolo presents it as the opposite of evil or wickedness rather than war (ושלום ורעה) a little further below. If this is the correct reading, then שלום is better translated as “well-being” or “wholesomeness” to contrast with רעה—“calamity” or “trouble”.

⁹⁷ Here Donnolo begins his attempt to harmonise SY with his own, classically informed, astrological tradition. See below n. 102 and above, Donnolo's *Sefer Hakhmoni*, 66–71.

Even though Saturn, the Sabbath, the mouth, as well as life and death were formed with the letter *bet*, Saturn does not govern life or the mouth but only the Sabbath, Wednesday night, wealth, poverty and the left nostril. For this reason, whoever is born under Saturn is hard to provoke and hard to appease, for Saturn's quality is exceedingly cold and dry, like the quality of earth and quality of the black bile which dwells in the spleen, on the left-hand side [of the body].

Even though Jupiter, Sunday, the right eye, well-being and calamity were created with the letter *gimel*, Jupiter governs only Thursday, the eve of Monday, life, peace and war and the right ear, to communicate to the body what is good and favourable to it by means of hearing. Hence, the quality of Jupiter is a mixture of heat and humidity, like the quality of blood which originates in the liver that dwells on the right-hand side [of the body], and like the quality of air in the atmosphere, which mediates between heat and the cold. Consequently, whoever is born under Jupiter is hard to provoke and easy to appease.⁹⁸

Even though Mars, Monday, the left eye, wisdom and folly were formed with *dalet*, Mars governs only Tuesday, the eve of the Sabbath, and the right nostril, because fury rises through the nose [*ba-af*], as it is written: *My fury shall come up in my nose* [*be-appi*] [Ez. 38:18]. Consequently, [Mars] governs war and desolation, and for this reason, whoever is born under Mars will be easy to provoke and easy to appease, for the quality of Mars is hot and dry, like fire that burns quickly and dies down quickly, and like the quality of red bile that dwells in the liver, on the right-hand side [of the body].

Even though the sun, Tuesday, the right nostril, wealth and poverty were formed with *kaph*, the sun governs only Sunday, the eve of Thursday, wealth, mastery and servitude in the performance [*avdut*] of every practical work and activity, and the right eye. Consequently, whoever is born under the sun is easy to provoke and hard to appease, since the quality of the sun is hot and dry, like the quality of the great and forceful fire that burns quickly and dies down slowly. For this reason the right eye is brighter than the left eye.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Cf. *bShabbat* 156a: הא"י מאן דבצדק יהי גבר צדקן ["He who is born under Jupiter (*Sedeq*) will be a right-doing man" (*šadkan*)]. On the astrological contents of this passage of the Talmud, see von Stuckrad, *Das Ringen um die Astrologie*, 469 and Ho, *Šedeq and Šedaqah*.

⁹⁹ This statement finds support neither in the Hippocratic-Galenic nor in any Arabic medical tradition. Donnolo's main concern here is probably to give a coherent scheme of correspondences between the planets and the organs of the human body rather than a fully justified medical explanation. I thank Professor Vivian Nutton for his suggestions.

Even though Venus, Wednesday, the left nostril, fertility and desolation were formed with *pe*, Venus governs only Friday, the eve of Tuesday and the left ear, to communicate to the body happiness and joy by means of hearing, since laughter is located in the spleen,¹⁰⁰ and beverages pass through the ducts of the spleen. Consequently, Venus governs the fertility, procreation, joy, happiness and desire, because the quality of Venus is cold and humid like water. For this reason [whoever is born under Venus] is hard to provoke and easy to appease, since happiness engenders patience.

Even though Mercury, Thursday, the right ear, beauty and ugliness were formed with *resh*, Mercury governs only Wednesday, the eve of Sunday, the mouth, the tongue, the lips, wisdom and folly. With respect to wisdom it is written: *The mouth of the righteous utters wisdom and his tongue talks of justice* [Ps. 37:30]; with respect to folly it is written: *Guard your tongue from evil and your lips from speaking guile* [ibid. 34:14], and it is written: *A wise man's talk brings him favour, but a fool's lips are his undoing* [Eccl. 10:12], *for the fool speaks folly, and his heart works iniquity, to practice hypocrisy* [Is. 32:6]. From this you learn that wisdom depends on the mouth: if one is a great sage and keeps silent, his wisdom is not heard; if he is a fool who keeps silent, his folly is not heard, as it is written: *Even a fool, if he keeps silent, is deemed wise* [Prov. 17:28]. Whoever is born under Mercury will also be hard to provoke and hard to appease, but not as [in the case of one born under] Saturn, because the quality of Mercury is cold and dry, like ice and frost as they thaw.¹⁰¹

Even though the moon, Friday, the left ear, mastery and servitude were formed with *taw*, the moon governs only Monday, the eve of Friday, the left eye, beauty and ugliness; [it governs] beauty at full moon and ugliness when the moon wanes and diminishes. Its quality is as mediator and intermingler, a little hot and humid and a little cold and humid, like thawing snow.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ See *bBerakhot* 61b.

¹⁰¹ Donnolo derives the traits of character which he associates with each of the dominant planets from *mAvot* 5:11: יצא שכרו בהפסדו; יצא שכרו ונוח לרצות, יצא שכרו בהפסדו; יצא שכרו ונוח לרצות, יצא שכרו ונוח לרצות חסיד; ונוח לכעוס וקשה לרצות קשה לכעוס וקשה לרצות; יצא הפסדו בשכרו; קשה לכעוס ונוח לרצות חסיד; ונוח לכעוס וקשה לרצות רשע ["There are four types of characters: easy to provoke and easy to appease—his loss is cancelled by his gain; hard to provoke and hard to appease—his gain is cancelled by his loss; hard to provoke and easy to appease—he is a saintly man; easy to provoke and hard to appease—he is a wicked man"].

¹⁰² § 41 and § 44 of SY present a series of correspondences between the planets and the days of the week which is incompatible with the Western (Greco-Roman and Ptolemaic) astrological tradition whereby the days are named after their corresponding planets

(e.g. moon = Monday; Saturn= Saturday, etc). Donnolo is perfectly aware of the glaring discrepancy between this tradition and SY's data, which he remedies by reorganising SY's system of correspondences, allotting to each planet dominion over its corresponding day of the week and a certain part of the human body. Sharf (*The Universe*, 28–29) observes that Donnolo's aim here is not to reject SY's notion that the planets were created by seven double letters and at the times indicated by SY, but simply to define correctly their astrological influences over the days of the week. The table below juxtaposes SY's system and SH's emendations. The items enclosed in square brackets indicate the organs which Donnolo had linked to particular planets in an earlier section of the work (see above p. 264 n. 40).

SY	SH
Saturn—Sabbath—mouth—life and death	Saturn—Sabbath—Wednesday's eve—[left ear] left nostril—wealth and poverty
Jupiter—Sunday—right eye—well-being and calamity	Jupiter—Thursday—Monday's eve—[tongue, mouth, lips] right ear—well-being
Mars—Monday—left eye—wisdom and folly	Mars—Tuesday—Sabbath's eve—[left nostril] right nostril—war and desolation
sun—Tuesday—right nostril—wealth and poverty	sun—Sunday—Thursday's eve—right eye—mastery and the performance of every labour and activity
Venus—Wednesday—left nostril—fertility and desolation	Venus—Friday—Tuesday's eve—[right ear] left ear—fertility, procreation, joy, happiness and desire
Mercury—Thursday—right ear—mastery and slavery	Mercury—Wednesday—Sunday's eve—[right nostril] mouth, tongue, lips—wisdom and folly
moon—Friday—left ear—beauty and ugliness	moon—Monday—Friday's eve—left eye—beauty and ugliness

As observed by Hayman (*Sefer Yešira*, 142–145), Sa'adiah omits §§42 and 43 of SY, probably in order to stir clear of the gross discrepancy between the astrological system of SY and the principles of Ptolemaic astrology. Donnolo maintains §42 but omits the reference to *שבע שעות ושבעה ימים* ["seven hours and seven days"], which he probably perceived as incompatible with the system of planetary hours of Greco-Roman astrology, to which he alluded in his introduction to the work (see above 229–230). For a concise and clear explanation of the classical system of planetary hours, see Sharf, *The Universe*, 133 n. 66 and Gandz, "The origin of the planetary week," 238. As pointed out by Sharf (*ibid.*), the series of correspondences between planets and parts of the human body in SH does not conform to any previous melothesiatic system. Moreover, Donnolo is not consistent and attributes to one planet government over a certain part of the body which he later on in the text assigns to another (e.g. the left nostril is first said to be governed by Saturn and later by Mars. Cf. above pp. 264 and 317). Donnolo likewise occasionally departs from SY's attributions of opposites (life and death, wealth and poverty, etc.) to the influence of certain planets. For example, though in SY Jupiter is said to have dominion over either

The order of the abodes of these seven planets in the seven firmaments follows the order of S[aturn], J[upiter], M[ars], S[un], V[enus], M[ercury], M[oon]. How? In the uppermost firmament, which is above all the others, the seventh one [up], which carries the upper waters, is the abode of Saturn. In the second firmament down is the abode of Jupiter. Beneath it, in the third firmament down, is the abode of Mars. And in the fourth firmament down, which is the middle one, is the abode of the sun. [Beneath it], in the fifth firmament down, is the abode of Venus, and beneath it, in the sixth firmament down, is the abode of Mercury. In the seventh firmament down is the abode of the moon. If you count them from the bottom up, then the uppermost firmament is the seventh, while if you count them from the top down, the lowest firmament is the seventh. It is right to count them from the bottom up.

The quality of each of these seven planets depends on the height of its abode.¹⁰³ The hot planets absorb heat from the sun, while the cold ones absorb the cold from water and earth. How? All the planets derive from the great fire, and the most powerful of them is the sun, which is set in the fourth firmament—the central and middle one. It conducts itself in the manner of fire and its intensity similarly always raises the heat and the flame from below upwards, rather than from above downwards.

Saturn is set in the firmament that is below the upper waters, and it absorbs a great deal of cold from the upper waters. Since it is high up and very far from the sun, it does not absorb any heat from the sun, and is cold and dry like hail and frost.

Mars, being in the fifth firmament [up, directly] above the sun, absorbs a great deal of heat from the sun and is hot and dry like fire.

Jupiter, being in the sixth firmament [up], is a mediator between the cold of Saturn and the heat of Mars. Its quality is mixed and moderate, neither excessively hot nor excessively cold, and it is warm and humid. It absorbs humidity from the cold of Saturn and heat from Mars.

well-being or calamity, in Donnolo's series of correspondences, calamity is missing; by the same token, Venus, which in SY is said to have dominion over fertility and desolation, in Donnolo's correspondences is related only to fertility (in addition to procreation, joy, etc., all of which, however, seem to be expressions of the same idea). This lack of symmetry is probably due to the influence of Ptolemy who time and again in his *Tetrabiblos* (e.g. *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 36–37; 308–309; 310–311) affirms that Jupiter and Venus are positive planets which exert only propitious influences.

¹⁰³ That is, on their distance from the sun, as assumed in Ptolemaic astrology. See Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 36–37.

The moon is set in the lowest firmament, which is above us, and it absorbs the cold from earth and the lower waters. Being far above the earth and the lower waters, it is not as cold as Saturn. The moon possesses a little heat, which it absorbs from the constellations¹⁰⁴ and from

¹⁰⁴ In this context *mazzalot* must refer to the groups of fixed stars which, in the Ptolemaic tradition (see Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 47–59) are said to interact with the planets and thus exert their influence on the world. The idea that the fixed stars are set in the sphere of the moon represents a glaring departure from the Ptolemaic astrological tradition, one of whose fundamental ideas, accepted by many other astrological traditions, was that the fixed stars were set in the eighth firmament (see Ptolemy, *Almagest*, Toomer, ed., 419–423 and Caiozzo, *Images du ciel*, 117), above Saturn, in which Donnolo locates the upper waters (“Saturn is very cold because the upper waters are set over the seventh firmament [up], in which they are held as in a vessel;” see above here). As suggested by Castelli, *Il commento*, 59 [Italian section], Donnolo is probably following an ancient astrological tradition, attested only in a passage of the *Bibliotheca Historica* by the 1st century BCE Greek historian Diodorus Siculus. Diodorus says that according to the cosmological tradition of the Chaldeans, the abode of the constellations is the lower firmament, that of the moon: “Under the course in which these planets move are situated, according to them, thirty stars, which they designate as “counselling gods” (translation in *Diodorus of Sicily*, I, 451; see also *Bibliotheca Historica*, I, 176). Since Diodorus attributes this idea to “Chaldeans,” it may well be that this, as suggested by Castelli (*ibid.*), was one of the astrological notions that Donnolo had learned from his Babylonian teacher. In light of the extant documentation, Castelli’s suggestion seems plausible. It is, however, difficult to accept that such a peculiar notion was part of the astrological background of a 10th-century Babylonian astrologer whose Arabic astrological tradition was strongly reliant on Ptolemy. See Saliba, *History of Arabic Astronomy*, 66–68 and *EI*, VIII, 105. On the other hand, a similar if not identical idea about the position of the fixed stars is attested in *Liber Gaphar de mutatione temporis*, a Latin translation of an astrological work by the 8th-century Ja’far far al-Hindi (probably identical with the Arab astrologer Abū Ma’shar [787–886]), who argued, following an Indian tradition, that the constellations lie between the orbits of Mercury and the moon. See Pingree, “The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages,” 174. It is important to note, however, that the idea that the constellations lie in the firmament of the moon perfectly matches Donnolo’s astrological system. According to Donnolo, the two points where the moon cuts the ecliptic of the earth (namely, the lunar nodes) correspond to the “head” and “tail” of the celestial Dragon, the imaginary creature whose body lies along the orbit of the moon. As Donnolo states below (see 345), the twelve constellations are attached to the Dragon (or the two Dragons, according to an alternative tradition which he mentions below). Therefore, given that the constellations are attached to the Dragon which moves in perfect correspondence with the orbit of the moon, it follows that the constellations, as Donnolo states, lie in the first firmament together with the moon. Donnolo expresses this idea more explicitly when he says: “the twelve constellations are set in the lower firmament, which is above us and is the abode of the moon. They are attached to the [two] Dragons ...” (see below 347). It is important to note, finally, that in SH, whenever the moon is associated with the constellations, they are consistently referred to not simply as “constellations” but as “the constellations and their armies,” “the constellations and their armies and hosts” or “the constellations and the planets of their hosts,” as if there was a difference between the usual constellations and the constellations related to the moon. Such a distinction, which seems to be purely terminological, probably reflects an ancient astrological practice—attested in Indian, Arabic

the planets of their hosts and their armies, which are set in the lowest firmament, together with the moon. For this reason, the quality of the moon is a mixture of cold and heat.

Saturn is very cold because the upper waters are set over the seventh firmament [up], in which they are held as in a vessel. God placed them over the seventh firmament for no other reason but for the benefit of the creatures on earth and in the oceans. [If not for this], they would not have been able to survive even for a fleeting moment, for they would have been consumed by the force of the great and mighty fire that is over the upper heavens.¹⁰⁵ However, because of the great height, the abundance of the upper waters and the thickness of this firmament—which is divided into seven firmaments and which separates waters from waters, upper waters from lower waters—the creatures living below this great fire suffer, as in the summer, they cannot tolerate even the heat of the sun that is weaker than that fire, let alone the heat of that fire!

For this reason, from the very beginning of the Creation, God created the height of the world without limit or measure, and the upper and lower waters without limit, measure or size. And the sun [*shemesh*] is The Hot One [*ḥammah*]. For this reason He set and fixed it in the fourth firmament—which is the central and middle one—for the benefit of the living creatures and the plants, in order that they should be in the middle, between the cold above and the heat below, so that they would be able to tolerate the heat of the sun. For they cannot exist without heat and without the cold but require the heat of the sun above and the cold of the earth below.

Being far below the sun, the moon does not receive any heat from the sun and is as cold as the thawing snow. It receives heat from the constellations and their armies and hosts. As a result, the moon's quality is moderate, [and it functions] as an intermediary, a mixture of cold and hot.

Mercury is set in the second firmament [up], which is above the moon, and it is a little cold and a little hot; cold because it receives the cold from

and Greek sources long before the 10th century—to distinguish the constellations (fixed stars or zodiacal signs) from the lunar mansions, also called “constellations,” which were the 28 groups of stars through which the moon passes in its cycle around the earth. See Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 292–293.

¹⁰⁵ The Hebrew has השמים העליונים, which time and again throughout SH, and particularly in the introductory section and in the commentary on Genesis 1:26 (see e.g. above 259; Hebrew Text, 152), Donnolo uses as a general term for heaven as opposed to earth, independently of the seven firmaments in which the seven planets are located.

the moon, and hot because it receives heat from the constellations and their armies which are beneath it,¹⁰⁶ and because it always moves in the proximity of the sun, either in front of it or behind it.

Venus is set in the third firmament [up], which is above Mercury and below the sun, and it is both hot and cold; cold because it receives the cold from Mercury and from the moon, but warming up a little from below, from the sun, so that its cold is thawed by the heat of the sun which is above it. For this reason, Venus is as cold and humid as water.

The quality that each of these seven planets possesses determines its dominion, the quality of its actions, the quality of the human beings born under its influence and the quality of the land over which it has dominion.¹⁰⁷

How? Saturn, because it is very cold and dry, was put in charge of death and poverty—the corpse being very cold, and the body and mind of the poor person being like those of a corpse.¹⁰⁸ It was appointed over the Sabbath day on which there is no work or activity, and over idleness, since extreme cold renders both men and plants idle, retarded, melancholic, anxious and sick. For this reason it was appointed over calamity, and it is associated with Moses.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Namely, in the firmament of the moon.

¹⁰⁷ See above n. 260.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Eccl. Rabbah 6:7.

¹⁰⁹ The correspondences suggested here between the planets, the days of the week and the physical and moral qualities of man is an elaboration of a passage from the *Barayta demazzalot* (Wertheimer, ed., *Batei Midrashot*, II, 35–36), to which Donnolo adds a further correspondence between each planet and a biblical figure. He does not provide any details concerning this correspondence, which, to the best of my knowledge, is without precedent in either Hebrew or non-Hebrew sources. Castelli proffered a series of possible explanations based primarily on personal intuitions which, as he himself stressed, were entirely conjectural: “Già abbiamo veduto, come secondo il Donnolo la colpa discenda dal cielo, il merito salga dalla terra. La colpa può identificarsi col male, il merito col bene ... Ora Mosè è legislatore, Aaron sacerdote. Mosè come interprete, se non autore, della legge che discende dal cielo, e porta con sé la colpa, che è quanto dire il male, è unito a quel pianeta che ha malefico influsso. Aaron come sacerdote, ministro cioè, di tutte quelle azioni umane che ricongiungono la creature al creatore, che la purificano, la innalzano, ed espiano perfino il delitto, è cagione di merito, che è quanto dire bene, e perciò è unito a quel pianeta che ha influenza sulle buone cose. Questa è soltanto una congettura che proponiamo, e se altri avesse altra spiegazione migliore, anche noi saremmo vaghi d'impararla”; see Castelli, *Il Commento*, 61–62 [Italian section]. El'azar of Worms inserted the entire section in his own commentary on SY (*Perush ha-rav El'azar*, 8b–9a) without explanation or comment. In *bShabbat* 156a those who are born under Saturn are said to be destined to have their plans frustrated. This may well apply to Moses who, after he guided his people to the Promised Land, died in Moab, just few miles from *ereš Yisra'el*. See Deut. 34: 1–7.

Jupiter, since it is hot and humid, and since its quality is mixed, was appointed over life and well-being, because life is a mixture, neither too hot nor too cold, neither too dry nor too humid. Whenever the weather is temperate, living creatures and plants also enjoy a state of well-being, tranquillity, quietude, joy, happiness, delight, prosperity, beauty, honour, greatness, kingship and good health. For this reason, Jupiter was appointed over propitious circumstances, over Thursday on which were created the birds, the fishes, the sea-monsters and the unclean and creeping things, which are living creatures, since no living or breathing creatures were created until Thursday.¹¹⁰ And [Jupiter] is associated with Aaron.¹¹¹

Mars, since it is as hot and dry as fire, was appointed over wrath, fury and anger, because wrath burns with the extreme heat of red bile, and because wrath gives rise to quarrels, disputes, envy, hatred, animosity, rivalry, bruises, wounds, injuries, bloodshed and war. For this reason, Mars was appointed over sword and iron, over the wicked and the adversary,¹¹² over fire, burning and strangulation, over ruin and desolation, as well as over Tuesday, for on that day the waters were gathered and the dry land, the stones—out of which came fire and iron—appeared, and the trees and the grasses which kindle fire were created. And [Mars] is associated with David, with whom the entire secret of Messiah resides.¹¹³

Since the sun is fire and is located in the middle, within the fourth firmament, its quality is a mixture of four [properties]: [it is] cold, humid, hot and dry, and this determines the qualities of the four seasons of the

¹¹⁰ See Gen. 1:20–25.

¹¹¹ There is no obvious explanation for this association. Aaron might just conceivably be associated with Jupiter by virtue of having been “always at Moses’ right” (see *bEruvin* 54b), just as Jupiter is at Saturn’s right while moving through the celestial vault.

¹¹² Cf. Psalms 109:6: *עַל-יְמִינוֹ יִצְמַד רָשָׁע וְשָׂטָן יִשְׁטֶן* [*Appoint a wicked man over him; and let Satan stand at his right hand*]. The close proximity of *רָשָׁע* and *שָׂטָן* in this verse strengthens the impression that Donnolo has in mind *רָשָׁע* rather than *שָׂטָן*. *רָשָׁע*, here, may be either any adversary or, more specifically, the celestial adversary, Satan.

¹¹³ An alternative reading would be to take the possessive suffix of *אֲצִלּוֹ* as referring directly to Mars rather than to David. Donnolo draws an analogy here between Mars—the planet named after the homonymous god of war which, in the Ptolemaic tradition, is said to have power over death, violence and tragic events (*Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 183–185)—and the Messiah, whose coming, in many rabbinical sources, (see e.g. Gen. Rabbah 42:4, *bSanhedrin* 97b, etc. is heralded by a series of cataclysmic events. The “secret” is probably that of the Messiah’s advent (see *bSanhedrin* 94a) which, like any other violent event, should coincide astrologically with the time of Mars’ rule, here presumably understood as its point of exaltation (in Capricorn, according to the *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 91).

year, which are the cold [season], the warm [season], summer and winter. For this reason, the sun is a mixture of these four properties, for the benefit of the world, the living creatures and the plants, because it governs by heat and dryness, since it is fire, while receiving the cold from the great height that is above it, from the upper waters, and receiving humidity from the moisture of the atmosphere and the humidity which rises up from the lower waters, as it is written: *But a flow would well up from the ground* [Gen. 2:6]. Being a mixture of these four properties, the sun was appointed over light, to distinguish between day and night. Its light outshines the light of the moon and the [other] planets, which cannot be seen in front of it. Since its light is greater than that of the moon and the [other] planets, the sun was appointed over mastery and kingship, over travel from place to place, and over every practical action and work, because it is during the day more than at night that every labour is carried out, since the night is reserved for sleep and rest from every activity, for sleep and slumber. For this reason, the sun was put in charge of Sunday, which is the day following the Sabbath, on which every practical action and work must cease. And [the sun] is associated with the Kings.¹¹⁴

Since Venus is as cold and humid as water, and warmed slightly by the heat of the sun, which is above it, it was appointed over lust, desire, grace, beauty and love. It is just like water, at the sight of which living creatures delight and rejoice. It pleases them and the plants, and they desire, crave and long to drink from it, in order to quench their thirst, to be infused and moistened by it, and to bathe in it. For this reason, Venus was appointed over sexual desire and intercourse, over fertility and procreation in both man and beast, over the fruit of the earth, the fruit of the tree and over plants, as all these cannot live without moisture. For this reason, Venus was appointed also over joy, happiness and laughter, because if man is anxious and depressed, if he is not happy and joyful, he does not lust after sexual intercourse. For this reason, Venus was appointed over Friday, on which Adam and Eve were created and on which they were granted happiness, joy, and delight, as well as the desire for union, sexual intercourse and procreation. For this reason, Venus was appointed also over propitious circumstance and it is associated with the Levites.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ The association between the Kings and the sun seems obvious, the sun being the most powerful planet.

¹¹⁵ The association of Venus with the Levites may be based on the fact that the Levites were responsible for the performance of music at the Jerusalem Temple, and music was viewed as a source of joy. Cf. 1 Chronicles 15:16 and Num. Rabbah 15:11.

Mercury is at once both cold and hot, a little dry and a little humid, because it receives the cold from the moon, which is as cold as snow, while receiving its dryness and heat from the planets that are beneath it, and such humidity as it has from Venus, which is as cold and humid as water. Since it absorbs a little heat from the sun, Mercury is not exceedingly but rather only moderately cold, dry, hot, and humid, and it is a temperate planet. For this reason it was appointed over wisdom, intellect, understanding, knowledge and study, [with which] to open every door and to devise every skillful craft, as well as over the script of every language, since it is neither extremely cold or dry, nor excessively hot or humid. For if it were extremely cold and dry, it would render the heart idle while cooling and troubling the spirit and the intelligence, [preventing them] from understanding or conceiving any wise thought or any skillful craft or any script, as is the case with Saturn on account of its exceeding cold and dryness.¹¹⁶ For even though Saturn troubles and cools the body, while the mind secretly formulates malevolent rather than beneficent thoughts, it is too idle to bring them to fruition [literally, “to conclusion”].

And if Mercury were exceedingly hot, like Mars, one would be raging and stirring up quarrels, wars and [other] calamities, [through] lacking the ability and patience to consider and formulate in one’s mind any wise, insightful thoughts, for one would be like fire blazing in straw.

If Mercury were a mixture of hot, cold and humid like Jupiter, one would not formulate wise thoughts or trouble oneself with languages, scripts or skilled crafts, but rather one would enjoy a good life of peace, tranquillity, quietude and high rank.

If Mercury were cold and humid like Venus, man would be preoccupied with the desire for sexual intercourse, for happiness, joy and other cravings, chasing after these thoughts and not after the notions of wisdom, knowledge and understanding.

¹¹⁶ As commonly held in Greco-Roman and Ptolemaic astrology (see *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 359, 375, etc. and Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 313–314), Mercury is associated with wisdom and all the various activities pertaining to it, among which Donnolo includes the invention of all scripts. The source of this may well be *bShabbat* 156a, which states that “he who is born under Mercury will be perceptive and wise. What is the reason? Because Mercury is the sun’s scribe.” An association between Mercury and writing is hinted at in the *Carmen Astrologicum* by the 1st-century Greek astrologer Dorotheus of Sidon, who recommended that the letters should be composed only when Mercury was in conjunction with the moon and in a positive aspect. See Dorotheus of Sidon, *Carmen Astrologicum*, 271.

And if Mercury were a thorough mixture of these four properties—cold, humid, hot and dry like the sun, it would drive the heart [of man] to dominate, to govern, to travel, to act and to labour in the performance of practical work; it would not guide it with wise, well-informed and insightful thoughts. If its quality were like that of the moon, man would alternate between being wise on one occasion and foolish on another, just as the quality of the moon alternates, for it is beautiful so long as it waxes until the middle of the month, and ugly from the middle of the month, while it wanes.

Likewise, the quality of Mercury alternates between masculine and feminine. When it enters the masculine constellation it becomes male, and when it enters the feminine constellation it becomes female.¹¹⁷ For this reason, it was appointed over folly, Wednesday—on which the luminaries and the planets were created, which require [scientific] wisdom and computation. And [Mercury] is associated with Solomon.¹¹⁸

The moon is as cold as snow, for it receives the cold from earth and from the lower waters, and from the height which is between the earth and the firmament in which it is ordered and placed. Its coldness is frozen like snow, but it is tempered with the heat that it receives from the constellations and the planets of their hosts, which are set in the lower firmament, in the abode of the moon. For this reason Samuel said: “The moon is in-between,”¹¹⁹ since it is a mixture of cold and hot. Moreover, since the moon waxes from the time of its ascendance until the middle of the month, it was appointed over beauty and beneficence. How? Its frozen cold, which is like snow, causes the plants to grow, as does the snow, as it is said: *For as the rain or snow drops from heaven [and returns not there, but soaks the earth and makes it bring forth vegetation]*¹²⁰ [Is. 55:10]. Since the moon waxes and possesses the property of some heat, it was appointed over beauty and beneficence, for it is by virtue of the moon that the plants, the seeds, the fruits—both common and fine—produce crops and flourish, as it is written: *With the bounteous yield of the sun, and the bounteous crop of the moons* [Deut. 33:14]. By virtue of the moon’s

¹¹⁷ See above, p. 299 n. 63.

¹¹⁸ The association of wisdom with Mercury seems to underlie the association of Mercury with Solomon, the emblematic wise man of the Jewish tradition (see e.g. 1 Kings 5:9–10, 14, 26).

¹¹⁹ See *Barayta di-Sh’e mu’el ha-qaṭan*, in Eisenstein, ed., 544.

¹²⁰ The second part of the verse is not attested in the manuscript tradition, even though it is more relevant to the discussion. This common scribal practice assumes recognition of the full scriptural reference on the part of the reader.

waxing, the bone marrow and the brain are replenished, the blood, and the water [that gathers] in wells and ditches increases [in volume], the liver and the spleen grow bigger, and every living thing that is thin and slight becomes more robust.

The moon was [also] appointed over ugliness, because from the middle of the month until the time of the new moon, [while] it wanes, the moon diminishes, empties and renders thin every living creature which had been filled during its waxing. Moreover, at the time of the New moon and as it begins to wane, the moon spoils garments and spun yarn that have been soaked in water, while trees felled during those times soon split open and rot, and seeds or fruit harvested or picked at those times soon spoil and rot.¹²¹ Likewise, wool or hair sheared during those times soon spoils and disintegrates [literally, is consumed] by itself. In addition, as long as the moon is in the firmament [directly] below the earth, it is harmful to everything, while as long as the moon moves alongside a beneficent planet or a beneficent constellation, it is beneficial to everything. As long, however, as it is together with a maleficent planet, it is harmful to everything.

For all these reasons, the moon was appointed over both beauty and ugliness, good and bad, over the openings of both heaven and earth,¹²² and its importance¹²³ to all creatures is that it sets them up, for better or for worse. It was [also] appointed over Monday, since it is as cold as snow while possessing heat as well, and since it is the day on which the waters solidified and this firmament that is above us was created,¹²⁴ which is like frost and ice; since on the very same day the fire of flesh and blood was created, that was granted for the benefit of living creatures, for better or for worse; since on the very same day the fire of Gehenna was created, that was prepared for the detriment of the wicked, who forsake the Lord, and to avenge the righteous, for their benefit.

You have now learned how the properties of the seven planets work out and the quality of their rule, in accordance with the seven days

¹²¹ According to Ptolemy (*Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 35), one of the moon's actions is to humidify and moisturise, therefore causing the putrefaction of everything under its influence.

¹²² See *Barayta de-mazzalot*, in Wertheimer, ed., 547: מפתחי שמים וארץ: לבנה ממונה על מפתחי שמים וארץ. ["The moon was appointed over the openings of the sky and the earth"].

¹²³ The translation reflects the reading of וְעִרְכָּהּ as a noun meaning "its value," "its importance," but the term can conceivably be read also as the verb וְעִרְכָּהּ meaning "it arranged," "prepared," in which case the sentence should be translated as "and it [the moon] arranged all creatures to set them up."

¹²⁴ See Gen. 1:6–9.

of the week. Come and learn why each particular planet governs a particular night, as it is written: *The Lord founded the earth by wisdom; He established the heavens by understanding* [Prov. 3:19]; *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth* [Gen. 1:1], that is to say, at the beginning of the first hour of the eve of Sunday.¹²⁵

Since God appointed Mercury over wisdom, He appointed it to govern the first hour of the eve of Sunday. God made the firmament that is above us at the first hour of the eve of Monday,¹²⁶ and He raised it, together with one half of the waters, up to the upper heavens. [He did this] for the benefit of the creatures on earth, to surround them with it so that they would not be destroyed by the power of the supernal fire. He cleared the atmosphere of the world, to make a space in which the creatures may live by means of breathing, for without air and without space, the creatures cannot be or breathe and live even for a short time;¹²⁷ if they are locked up in a cramped space with no air at all, they will instantly die.

Since Jupiter was appointed over life, well-being and propitious circumstance, for this reason it was appointed to govern the first hour of the eve of Monday.

God gathered the lower waters into one place, and the dry land appeared in the first hour of the eve of Tuesday.¹²⁸ At the same hour God produced from the earth every fruit-bearing tree and every seeding plant to become nourishment for the creatures.

Venus was appointed over the fruits, the seeds and the plants, and for this reason it was appointed to govern the first hour of the eve of Tuesday.

The planets and the constellations were created in the first hour, at the beginning of the eve of Wednesday,¹²⁹ and God arranged them in the seven abodes of this firmament that is above us, while at the highest level, above them all, He positioned Saturn. The luminaries were created at the western corner of the world,¹³⁰ which is the middle one, where the

¹²⁵ In this passage Donnolo seems to refer the word *beginning* of the verse in Gen. 1:1 to the beginning of the first day, namely, according to the Jewish time reckoning, to Saturday night, which is the eve of Sunday.

¹²⁶ See Gen. 1:7.

¹²⁷ Literally, "for one hour" (שעה). For the meaning of *sha'ah* as a short time unit, see Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, XV, 7342.

¹²⁸ See Gen. 1:9–13.

¹²⁹ See Gen. 1: 16–19.

¹³⁰ Namely, as stated in the *Barayta de-mazzalot*, Wertheimer, ed., 25, in the first degree of Aries, which corresponds to the point of the equinox. It is interesting to note that among the many Hebrew terms meaning "side" or "corner" (e.g. רצף, a term which Donnolo uses only in reference to north and south, or צלע, which in SY indicates each

sun sets during the vernal and autumnal equinoxes.¹³¹ The luminaries immediately set, at that moment of the beginning of the first hour of the eve of Wednesday, and they travelled all night, following the height of the earth¹³² from west to east, until they reached the east, to rise in it at the first hour of Wednesday morning.

Since the [two] luminaries set immediately, and since Saturn, which is the uppermost one, was appointed over darkness, death and adversity, it was appointed [also] to govern the first hour of the eve of Wednesday, for every adverse act is committed at night more often than during the day, and human beings sleep during the night, when they resemble the dead.

In the first hour of the eve of Thursday, the waters brought forth swarms of living creatures—fishes, sea-monsters and birds of every kind.¹³³ This was by virtue of the heat of the sun, which warmed up the earth and the waters, so that they swarmed with creatures, as we can see even today, for by the heat of the sun when it shines over ponds, springs and puddles, the water warms up and out of it swarm worms, frogs, leeches, both clean and unclean fishes, and many varieties of creeping creatures, which come forth spontaneously, without parental procreation.¹³⁴

one of the six directions of physical space [see above n. 276]), Donnolo employs here פנה, literally, corner, angle, probably a calque of the Greek γωνία [“angle”], commonly used in Greco-Roman and Ptolemaic astrological texts to indicate the corners of the horoscope. See, for example, Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 61, 121. See also Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, I, 364 [3]. In *Sefer ha-mazzalot* (Luzzatto, “Mikhtav gimel,” 62–63) Donnolo employs the synonymous קרן in the same sense.

¹³¹ The two equinoxes correspond to the zodiacal signs of Aries and Libra, which, according to Ptolemy (*Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 89), are the “exaltation” and “depression” of the sun, the points known in the Ptolemaic tradition as *hypsonoma* and *tapeinoma*, where the sun is said to exert its most powerful and weakest influence respectively. See Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 187–188. During the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, the sun sets in the west, following the line of the equatorial meridian, the imaginary line which divides the earth into two hemispheres.

¹³² Namely, the celestial vault through which the planets move. See also see Luzzatto, “Mikhtav gimel,” 66. For the meaning of גבה [“height”], see above n. 63. The term is used in the same sense also in the Talmud. See e.g. *bPesahim* 94b. In the *Barayta de-mazzalot* the term has a completely different meaning, indicating a planet’s point of exaltation. See and Sarfatti, *Mathematical Terminology*, 56.

¹³³ See Gen. 1:24–25.

¹³⁴ The common notion of spontaneous generation was attributed to the 5th-century BCE Greek physicist Archelaus of Athens and retained by Aristotle in his physical theory as γένεσις αὐτόματος. Aristotle refers to this theory in a number of passages but particularly in *Historia Animalium*. See Aristotle, *The Works*, Ross, ed., IV, 570a5; 569a10; 588b20, and *De Generatione Animalium*, 715a20; 715b25; 732b10; 757a30; 757b20; 758a5; 759a5; 761a15; b20; 762a5; 763a30. On Aristotle’s notion, see also Boyan, *Method*

The sun was appointed over heat and over the luminaries, to provide light for the eyes of the creatures that live by breathing. For this reason, the sun was appointed to govern the first hour of the eve of Thursday.

Since in the first hour of the eve of Friday, the earth brought forth every kind of living being, cattle, creeping creatures and wild beasts of every kind, both good and bad, beneficial and harmful, and since in the same hour it occurred to God to create man, who knows [how to distinguish between] good and evil,¹³⁵ the moon was appointed over good and evil as well as over beauty and ugliness, and its importance to all creatures is that it sets them up¹³⁶ for better or for worse. For this reason, the moon was appointed to govern the first hour of the eve of Friday. From this you learn that the creatures were granted permission to act either malignly or benignly.¹³⁷

Since God finished all His work on Friday, He ceased from all His work at the beginning of the first hour of the Sabbath's eve. He saw that because of the evil impulse that He gave to all creatures, they would not exist without envy, hatred, hostility, rivalry, strife, wickedness, and enmity, and nor could they exist without fire and iron [implements], for better or for worse. Since Mars was appointed to govern the first hour of the Sabbath's eve, Mars was appointed over all these adversities.

After man had sinned and transgressed the commandments of God—may He be blessed—by eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, it was decreed that *by toil shall you eat of it all the days of your life* [Gen. 3:17]. *Thorns and thistles shall it sprout for you* [ibid. ibid. 18]. *By the sweat of your brow shall you get bread to eat* [ibid. ibid. 19]. It is well known that man needs to kindle the thorns with fire, and he must cease and rest from his labour. Now, when he rests from his labour, various thoughts occur to him, both good and bad, whereas so long as he is busy with his work, he has no time to think about anything other than his work. It is [only] while they rest from their work that sinners, and those who plot wickedness and plan iniquity,¹³⁸ are plotting wickedness, as it is written: *In bed he plots mischief* [Ps. 36:5].

and Practice, 148–149. This belief was held also by the 1st-century Roman poet Lucretius in his *De Rerum Natura*, Bailey, ed., I, 282–283. See also Read, “Spontaneous Generation in Lucretius”; McCartney, “Spontaneous Generation,” particularly p. 108.

¹³⁵ See Gen. 1:26–28.

¹³⁶ See above, p. 299 n. 63.

¹³⁷ Donnolo clearly feels the need to stress that the influence of the planets and constellations does not deny man his ability to exercise free will.

¹³⁸ Cf. Ezek. 11:2.

Since the Sabbath is the day of rest from sunset on Friday, Mars was appointed to govern the first hour of Sabbath's eve.

In the beginning, before [the creation of] all the days of the week, the Sabbath day was created with the letter *bet*, because before God embarked on the creation of the world, it was the Sabbath.¹³⁹ It was only at the end of that Sabbath that God began to work in the world; He worked for all the six days and completed his work on the eve of the Sabbath. On the seventh day [the Sabbath] He again ceased from work, as he did before the Creation of the world. And He appointed Saturn over Saturday, at the first hour of sunrise.

If you begin to calculate the Sabbath day as consisting of twelve short hours¹⁴⁰ of the day and twelve short hours of the night at the end of the Sabbath, and likewise with all the days and nights of the week, you will allocate seven hours to each of the seven planets, according to the times they govern and following the order of S[aturn], J[upiter], M[ars], S[un], V[enus], M[ercury], M[oon].

Begin with Saturn, from the first hour of the Sabbath day, from sunrise to sunset, counting Saturn in the first hour, Jupiter in the second hour, Mars in the third hour, the sun in the fourth hour, Venus in the fifth hour, Mercury in the sixth hour and the moon in the seventh hour. This gives you seven hours corresponding to the seven planets. From the eighth hour of the Sabbath day begin again to reckon from Saturn in the eighth hour; [follow this with] Jupiter in the ninth hour, Mars in the tenth hour, the sun in the eleventh hour, Venus in the twelfth hour and, by the time of sunset, the first hour of the eve of Sunday begins.

¹³⁹ Donnolo is elaborating on Gen. Rabbah 1:10 where the world is said to have been created with the letter *bet*. Since *bet* is the preposition "in" preceding "the beginning" of Gen. 1:1, it corresponds to the Sabbath, the day which precedes Sunday on which God began to create. See also Song Rabbah 5:13.

¹⁴⁰ From antiquity until the 14th century, time was commonly reckoned in the West by the so-called "seasonal hours," which meant that both daylight and nighttime were divided into twelve hours which were independent of the season and thus of variable length. See Gibbs, *Greek and Roman Sundials*, 4–6. It is not entirely clear why Donnolo defines these hours as "short." He is probably simply trying to specify that the system of planetary hours works only if the day is divided into 24 hours rather than the 12 (6 in the day and six in the night) resulting from the division of daylight and nighttime into six *sha'ot gedolot* ["long hours"] mentioned in *Barayta di-Sh'e mu'el* (Eisenstein, ed., 544) and *Pirkeh de Rabbi Eliezer*, VII, Friedlander, ed., 48, each equivalent to two short hours. The Tosafot to *bRosh ha-Shanah* 24b distinguish between "short," "long" and "medium" hours, the latter probably referring to the "equinoctial hours," equivalent to seasonal hours at the equinox (when daylight and nighttime are of equal length). For further information, see Gandz, "The Division of the Hour," particularly pp. 11–19.

Reckon Mercury and the moon in the second hour, Saturn in the third hour, Jupiter in the fourth hour, Mars in the fifth hour, the sun in the sixth hour, Venus in the seventh hour. Hence, [here you have] the seventh hour of the first night [in correspondence] to the seven planets. From the eighth hour of the first night reckon from Mercury [in] the eighth [hour], the moon in the ninth hour, Saturn in the tenth hour, Jupiter in the eleventh hour, Mars in the twelfth and by the time the sun—which is the hot one [*ḥamah*] rises up the first day, begins [lit. “enters”] the first hour of the first day and reckon the first hour of the first day [in relation to the sun], Venus in the second hour, Mercury in the third hour, the moon in the fourth hour, Saturn in the fifth hour, Jupiter in the sixth hour, Mars in the seventh hour, while the eighth hour falls again under the sun’s dominion, the ninth [hour] under the dominion of Venus, the tenth hour under the dominion of Mercury, the eleventh hour under the dominion [of the moon], the twelfth [hour] of the first day under the dominion of Saturn, and by the time the sun [sets] the first day, begins the first hour of the second night, under the dominion of Jupiter, and the second under Mars.

By this method of calculation, reckon all the hours of the days and nights of every week, from the first hour of the Sabbath day at sunrise to the first hour of the [following] Sabbath day at sunrise, following the sequence of S[aturn], J[upiter], M[ars], S[un], V[enus], M[ercury], M[oon], in order to assign the seven hours to the seven planets, and to assign the eighth hour to the same planet governing the first hour of the same day and the same night, one after the other, to the conclusion of the twelve daytime hours and the twelve night-time hours, to the conclusion of the days of the week from the first hour of the previous Sabbath to the beginning of the first hour of the next.

You will then find that the calculation of the hours governed by the seven planets—which are S[aturn], J[upiter], M[ars], S[un], V[enus], M[ercury], M[oon]—matches the way in which we ordered them above, according to the seven days of the week and their seven nights, and according to the twelve hours of the day and the twelve hours of the night.

Even though the planets change in order to govern one after the other following the order of S[aturn], J[upiter], M[ars], S[un], V[enus], M[ercury], M[oon], whether during the day or at night, every one of them [governs] at its appointed time. If one planet begins to govern the first hour, whether of the day or of the night, then the whole of that day and the whole of that night are considered as being governed by the same planet that began to govern, either at the beginning of the day or at the

beginning of the night, because this planet was the first, but the planet of the following hour governs with it, as if they were two friends.¹⁴¹

Here ends [my explanation of] the second group of the seven double letters, *bet, gimel, dalet, kaph, pe, resh, taw*. This is their ordering and their computation, and [with it] concludes the method of their ordering, rotation and permutation.

Book Three

Let us begin the third group of the [SY §45, pp. 146–148] twelve letters called simple. They are: *he, waw, zayin, het, zet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, ayin, sade, qof*. Their basis is sight, hearing, smelling, speech, swallowing, coitus—which is sexual intercourse, practical work [*ma'aseh*—literally, “action”], travel, anger, laughter, thought and sleep.

[SY §46, pp. 148–149] Twelve simple letters: *he, waw, zayin, het, zet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, ayin, sade, qof*. Twelve and not eleven. Twelve and not thirteen.

[SY §47, pp. 149–151] Twelve diagonal boundaries, split into six orders, each pointing in its own separate direction.¹⁴² Boundary of east-north; boundary of east-south; boundary of upper east; boundary of lower east; boundary of west-south; boundary of west-north; boundary of upper west; boundary of lower west; boundary of upper south; boundary of lower south; boundary of upper-north; boundary of lower

¹⁴¹ So, for example, Saturn governs the whole of Saturday, but every single hour of that day is also governed by one of the seven planets according to the following scheme: 1st hour of Saturday = Saturn (which also governs all the hours of the day); 2nd hour = Saturn and Jupiter; 3rd hour = Saturn and Mercury, etc. As observed above, the aim of Donnolo is to outline the correct relations between the planets and the days of the week, as well as to explain the theory of the planetary hours. Neither Ptolemy nor any other Western astrological author had devoted a specific discussion to this issue, which became central to Muslim astrologers. The 8th-century al-Qabiṣi in his *Introduction to Astrology*, 89 and the 10th-century Al-Birūni in his *The Book of the Instruction*, Wright, ed., 237–238, for example, discussed at length the theory of the planetary week and the theory of the planetary hours, in a way which closely resembles Donnolo's text. This may have been a novel astrological issue which Donnolo learnt from his Babylonian teacher, who could have been informed by the teachings of the aforementioned Arab astrologers.

¹⁴² Or, according to Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 149, “separating in each direction.” The passage is rather obscure but nonetheless it seems very clear that *ruaḥ* (which previously was translated either as “spirit,” “breath,” or “air”) has the alternate meaning of “direction.” On the interpretation of this section and its possible links with other cosmological traditions, see Hayman, “Sefer Yetsirah,” 20–38 and idem, “Sefer Yesira and the Hekhalot Literature,” 71–85.

north. They continue to expand for ever and ever,¹⁴³ and they are the arms of the universe.¹⁴⁴

[SY §48a, pp. 151–152] Twelve simple letters: *he, waw, zayin, het, tet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, ayin, sade, qof*. He engraved, carved out, combined, weighed, permuted and formed with them the constellations, the months and the principal organs: two babbling ones, two merry ones, two counsellors,¹⁴⁵ two joyful ones, two predators and two hunters.

Two babbling ones: these are the bile and the liver, for they agitate man and cause him to babble. **Two merry ones:** these are the omasum [*hameses*]¹⁴⁶—that is the stomach—and the spleen, which make man merry; the omasum by means of food and drink, and the spleen by means of laughter, since laughter is generated from it. **Two counsellors:** these are the two kidneys, as it is said: *I bless the Lord who has counselled me, my conscience* [literally, “kidneys”] *admonishes me at night* [Ps. 16:7].¹⁴⁷

Two joyful ones: [these are] the craw [*qurqevan*], that is the oesophagus [*weshet*], and the maw [*qevah*],¹⁴⁸ that is the lower belly. They make man rejoice: the oesophagus by swallowing and the belly by expelling excrement and urine.

Two predators: these are the two hands.

Two hunters: these are the two feet. He made them as if they were in dispute, He arranged them as if in battle array. *God also has set the one over against the other* [Eccl. 7:14].

[SY §48b, pp. 152–153] Three—each one stands by itself, like three witnesses who testify that the Lord is one. They are the world, the year

¹⁴³ Cf. *bHagigah* 12a: והולך היה מרחיב והולך הוא את הים היה מרחיב והולך (“When the Holy One, blessed be He, created the sea, it went on expanding”).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Deut. 33:27, probably meaning, in the present context, the full (and limitless) scope of the universe.

¹⁴⁵ Most manuscripts of SH read נועצים [literally, “those who take advice”], while according to Hayman (*Sefer Yeşira*, 152), all but one ms. of SY have נועים [literally, “bold,” “daring”]. Hayman, however, translates “deliberating ones.” It seems that Donnolo, particularly in view of Ps. 16:7 (in which the active form of יעץ occurs, and which Donnolo uses as the proof-text for his interpretation) takes the verb to be active, that is, יועצים, which is a variant reading attested in ms. London, British Library Or. 1023 (L) of SH.

¹⁴⁶ This is the first stomach of the ruminants known also as “manyplies.” See Jastrow, *A Dictionary*, II, 356 and Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, VI, 3128.

¹⁴⁷ See Midrash Tehillim, 16, 7. Cf. also *bShabbat* 31b–33b; *bBerakhot* 17a.

¹⁴⁸ Donnolo probably refers to the abomasum, the fourth stomach of the ruminants. It receives food from the omasum (*meses*) and passes it to the small intestine. See Zivotofsky and Amar, “Giraffe,” 208–209 and Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, XI, 5669.

and mankind. **Seven are divided into three groups of two, which amount to six, and the seventh is the one which, as a rule, holds the balance in the middle.**

The seven are further divided into two groups of three, with the seventh as a rule holding the balance in the middle, to fulfil [the verse]: *On the testimony of two witnesses, or by the mouth of three witnesses* [Deut. 19:15]. The six are divided into three groups of two witnesses¹⁴⁹ each, and they testify that the One is one who has no other.

Twelve stand arrayed in battle: three foes, three friends, three who kill, and three who vivify, and the Lord is a faithful King who governs them all. One over the three, three over the seven, and the seven over the twelve, all attached to one another. This is indicated by the twenty-two objects which comprise one category; the twenty-two letters are the objects, and they are attached to the world, the year, and mankind.

[SY § 49, pp. 154–158] Twelve simple letters: *he, waw, zayin, het, tet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, ayin, sade, qof*. He engraved, carved out, weighed, exchanged, permuted and formed with them the twelve constellations in the world, the twelve months in the year, and the twelve principal organs in mankind. How? [SY § 52, pp. 160–162] He combined, permuted them and made the *he* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the head of the word, combined the simple letters with one another, and out of the *he* at the beginning of the word He made many words. He constructed the first one, *he, waw, zayin, het, tet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, ayin, sade, qof*, and with it He formed the constellation of Aries in the world, the month of Nisan in the year and the liver as a principal organ in mankind.

He made the *waw* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the head of the word, combined the letters with one another, and out of the *waw* at the beginning of the word He made many words. He combined the letters and constructed *waw, he, zayin, het, tet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, ayin, sade, qof*, and with it He formed the constellation of Taurus in the world, the month of Iyyar in the year and the bile as a principal organ in mankind.

He made the *zayin* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the head of the word, and out of the *zayin* at the beginning of the word, combined the letters with one another, and out of the *zayin* at the beginning of the

¹⁴⁹ The Hebrew text has כתי עדים, an expression commonly occurring in the Mishnah. See e.g. *mNazir* 3:7; *mGiṭṭin* 6:2; *mShavuot* 4:4; *mEduyot* 4:11.

word made many words. He constructed the first one, *zayin, waw, he, het, tet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, 'ayin, sade, qof*, and with it He formed the constellation of **Gemini in the world**, the month of **Siwan in the year** and the **spleen as a principal organ in mankind**.

He made the *het* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the head of the word, and out of *het* at the beginning of the word He made many words. He constructed the first one, *het, zayin, waw, he, tet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, 'ayin, sade, qof*, and with it He formed the constellation of **Cancer in the world**, the month of **Tammuz in the year**, and the **omasum [meses] as principal organ in mankind**.

He made the *tet* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the head of the word, combined the letters with one another, and out of the *tet* at the beginning of the word He made many words. He constructed the first one, *tet, het, zayin, waw, he, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, 'ayin, sade, qof*, and with it He formed the constellation of **Leo in the world**, the month of **Av in the year**, and the **right kidney in mankind**.

He made the *yod* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the head of the word, combined the letters with one another, and out of *yod* at the beginning of the word He made many words. He constructed the first one, *yod, tet, het, zayin, waw, he, lamed, nun, samekh, 'ayin, sade, qof*, and with it He formed the constellation of **Virgo in the world**, the month of **Elul in the year**, and the **left kidney as a principal organ in mankind**.

He made the *lamed* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the head of the word, combined the letters with one another, and out of *lamed* at the beginning of the word He made many words. He constructed the first one, *lamed, yod, tet, het, zayin, waw, he, nun, samekh, 'ayin, sade, qof*, and with it He formed the constellation of **Libra in the world**, the month of **Tishre in the year**, and the **craw [qurqevan] as a principal organ in mankind**.

He made the *nun* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the head of the word, combined the letters, and out of *nun* at the beginning of the word He made many words. He constructed the first one: *nun, lamed, yod, tet, het, zayin, waw, he, samekh, 'ayin, sade, qof*, and with it He formed the constellation of **Scorpio in the world**, the month of **Marḥeshwan in the year**, and the **maw [qevah] as a principal organ in mankind**.

He made the *samekh* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the head of the word, combined the letters, and out of *samekh* at the beginning of the word He made many words. He constructed the first one, *samekh, nun, lamed, yod, tet, het, zayin, waw, he, 'ayin, sade, qof*, and with it He

formed the constellation of Sagittarius in the world, the month of Kislev in the year, and the right hand as a principal organ in mankind.

He made the *'ayin* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the head of the word, combined the letters, and out of *'ayin* at the beginning of the word He made many words. He constructed the first one, *'ayin, samekh, nun, lamed, yod, țet, ȧet, zayin, waw, he, řade, qof*, and with it He formed the constellation of Capricorn in the world, the month of Tevet in the year, and the left hand as a principal organ in mankind.

He made the *řade* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the head of the word, combined the letters, and out of *řade* at the beginning of the word He made many words. He constructed the first one, *řade, 'ayin, samekh, lamed, yod, țet, ȧet, zayin, waw, he, nun, qof*, and with it He formed the constellation of Aquarius in the world, the month of Shevat in the year, and the right foot as a principal organ in mankind.

He made the *qof* king, bound to it a crown, engraved it at the head of the word, combined the letters, and out of *qof* at the beginning of the word He made many words. He constructed the first one: *qof, řade, 'ayin, samekh, nun, lamed, țet, ȧet, zayin, waw, yod, he*, and with it He formed the constellation of Pisces in the world, the month of Adar in the year and the left foot as a principal organ in mankind.

[SY §§43c, 53, pp. 141, 163] God split up the witnesses, and made each one stand by itself: the world by itself, the year by itself, mankind by itself. [SY § 54, pp. 163–167] Twelve simple letters: *he, waw, zayin, ȧet, țet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, 'ayin, řade, qof*. They are called simple because, on their own, they cannot be pronounced in two ways, soft and hard, as can *bet, gimel, dalet, kaph, pe, resh, taw*. But at the beginning, the middle or the end of a word also these letters, *he, waw, zayin, ȧet, țet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, 'ayin, řade, qof*, can be pronounced in two ways, soft and hard. For this reason, the words formed by these letters may also be exchanged [for their opposites]. How? Blindness for sight; deafness for hearing; anosmia, which is blocked nostrils, for olfaction; dumbness for speech; hunger for ingestion; impotence for sexual intercourse; one-handedness for practical work; lameness for walking; anger for mercy; weeping for laughter; lightheartedness for thoughtfulness; wakefulness, that is insomnia, for sleep. Twelve simple letters: *he, waw, zayin, ȧet, țet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, 'ayin, řade, qof*.

With *he* were formed Aries, Nisan, the liver, sight and blindness.

With *waw* were formed Taurus, Iyyar, the bile, hearing and deafness.

With *zayin* were formed Gemini, Siwan, the spleen, olfaction and anosmia.

With *ḥet* were formed Cancer, Tammuz, the omasum [*meses*], speech and dumbness.

With *ṭet* were formed Leo, Av, the right kidney, ingestion and hunger.

With *yod* were formed Virgo, Elul, the left kidney, practical work and one-handedness.

With *lamed* were formed Libra, Tishre, the craw [*qurqevan*], sexual intercourse and impotence.

With *nun* were formed Scorpio, Marḥeshwan, the maw [*qevah*], walking and lameness.

With *samekh* were formed Sagittarius, Kislew, the right hand, anger and mercy.

With *ʿayin* were formed Capricorn, Ṭevet, the left hand, laughter and weeping.

With *ṣade* were formed Aquarius, Shevaṭ, the right foot, thoughtfulness and light-heartedness.

With *qof* were formed Pisces, Adar, the left foot, sleep and wakefulness.

This is the group [*sefer*] of the twelve letters *he*, *waw*, *zayin*, *ḥet*, *ṭet*, *yod*, *lamed*, *nun*, *samekh*, *ʿayin*, *ṣade*, *qof*.

Even though with *he* [the constellation of] Aries and [the month of] Nisan were formed, [the constellation of] Aries does not govern all the days of the month of Nisan but only from the vernal equinox for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours.

Even though with *waw* the constellation of Taurus and [the month of] Iyyar were formed, the constellation of Taurus does not govern the [whole month of] Iyyar but only from the completion of the constellation of Aries for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours, and so on for [other] thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours each month.

Even though with *zayin* the constellation of Gemini and [the month of] Siwan were formed, Gemini does not govern but from the end of the constellation of Taurus, for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours. Even though with *ḥet* the constellation of Cancer and Tammuz were formed, the constellation of Cancer does not govern the whole of Tammuz but from the end of the constellation of Gemini for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours, from hour to hour, for thirty days and ten and a half hours.¹⁵⁰ Even though with *ṭet* Aries and Av were formed,

¹⁵⁰ From here up to the end of the explanation concerning the relation between the constellations and the months ("... Pisces does not govern the whole Adar but from the end of the constellation of Aquarius, for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours, and so for

the constellation does not govern the whole month, but from the end of the constellation of Cancer for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours, and so thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours. Even though with *yod*, Virgo and Elul were formed, the constellation of Virgo does not govern the whole Elul but from the end of the constellation of Aries for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours, every day and every hour, for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours. Even though with the letter *lamed* the constellation of Libra and Tishre were formed, the constellation of Libra

thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours”) appears mss. F, M, N and P in a much shorter form, reading: ... *with tet Leo and Av, with yod Virgo and Elul, with lamed Libra and Tishre, with nun Scorpio and Marheshwan, with samekh Sagittarius and Kislew, with ‘ayin Capricorn and Tevet, with sade Aquarius and Shevat, and with qof Pisces and Adar, the constellation does not govern the whole month with which it was formed, but rather the constellation of Aries begins [to govern] from the eleventh day until after the Calends—which is the day of the [vernal] equinox—and serves together with the sun for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours* [Aries begins at the vernal equinox, the point on the celestial sphere at which the sun passes from south to north and intersects the Earth’s equator. For this reason the sign of Aries was commonly held to be the point of exaltation of the sun. See Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 89], *then beginning again from Aries and concluding in Pisces* [this is the so-called “tropical year,” (known also as the “solar year”), which is the interval of time marking two succeeding passages of the sun over the vernal point. See Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 522. The probable source of this passage is *Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer*, VI, Friedlander, ed. 33–34.]. For further information about this passage and the position of the manuscripts in the tradition, see above 110–112. As I have previously pointed out (see above 110), this version was probably produced by a scribe who, once he had understood the principles governing the relation between the constellations and the months, shortened the passage preserving only the essential information. This passage is on the whole very accurate and, if my hypothesis is correct, the scribe who produced it had a not superficial calendrical-astronomical knowledge, making use of “Calends,” which is an appropriate astronomical term: in the ancient Roman calendar, the Calends (or Kalends) corresponded to the first day of the month. The month was divided not into weeks but into three periods, the Calends, the Ides (the 13th or 15th day of the month) and the Nones (8 days after the 13th or the 15th day), whose names remained in use in astrological literature until the late Middle Ages. In 47 BCE the Roman calendar was replaced by the Julian calendar—a solar calendar keeping in step with the seasons—which maintained the terminology of the old Roman calendar and remained in use until 1582. See Cappelli, *Cronologia, Cronografia*, vi and Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 269. The vernal equinox, the point in the celestial sphere at which the sun crosses from the south to the north of the equator, occurs on 20 or 21 March. In the Julian calendar, these dates corresponded to the 12th and 13th days of the Kalends of April and not to the 11th day corresponding to March 22. This was a small inaccuracy which resulted either from including in the computation the first day of the month—i.e. the Kalends (the Julian calendar excluded it so that, for example, the 10th day after the Kalends would be the 11th day of the month) or to a different reckoning of the beginning of the day (at dusk, as in the Hebrew calendar, rather than or at dawn, as in the Julian one).

does not govern the whole Tishre, but from the end of the constellation of Virgo for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours. Even though with *nun* the constellation of Scorpio and Marḥeshwan were formed, the constellation of Scorpio does not govern the whole Marḥeshwan but from the end of the constellation of Libra for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours, every day and every hour for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours. Even though with *samekh* the constellation of Sagittarius and Kislew were formed, the constellation of Sagittarius does not govern the whole Kislew but from the end of the constellation of Scorpio for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours, and so for thirty days and ten and a half hours. Even though with *ayin* the constellation of Capricorn and Ṭvet were formed, the constellation of Capricorn does not govern the whole of Ṭvet but from the end of the constellation [of Sagittarius] for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours, and so for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours. Even though with *ṣade* the constellation of Aquarius and Shevaṭ were formed, the constellation of Aquarius does not govern the whole Shevaṭ but from the end [of the constellation of Capricorn], for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours, every day and every hour, for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours. Even though with *qof* the constellation of Pisces and Adar were formed, Pisces does not govern the whole Adar but from the end of the constellation of Aquarius, for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours, and so for thirty days and ten-and-a-half hours.

Twelve simple letters: *he, waw, zayin, het, zet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, ayin, ṣade, qof*. Even though the liver, sight and blindness were formed with *he*, the liver governs sight, hearing, and mercy, since blood is generated by the liver.

Even though the bile, hearing and deafness were formed with *waw*, inflammation of the bile provokes man to anger and agitation, and he becomes blind and deaf. This is the reason why tears have a pungent and salty taste, and earwax is bitter.

Even though the spleen, olfaction and anosmia were formed with *zayin*, laughter is generated by the spleen, and weeping is triggered by the black bile which is within the ducts of the spleen, for the spleen contains nothing but blood, while they [its ducts, carry blood which is] mixed with black bile. Blood generates happiness and laughter, while from black bile come anxiety and weeping.

Black bile is generated by the red bile and by phlegm, just as earth—which is like black bile—was generated from fire—which is like red bile—and from water—which is like phlegm.

Even though the omasum [*meses*], speech and dumbness were formed with *het*, the omasum generates olfaction and sleep, since it [is the organ that] smells from within the nose and induces sleep, especially when a person has had plenty of food and drink, when he feels heavy and weighed down as his eyelids drop and he falls into deep sleep. This is the reason why one cannot sleep deeply when one is hungry or fasting.

Even though the right kidney, ingestion and hunger were formed with *tet*, and the left kidney, practical action and one-handedness were formed with *yod*, thoughtfulness, reflection, advice, and joy come from the heart and the two kidneys. As regards the two kidneys, it is written: *Yea, my reins shall rejoice* [Prov. 23:16]. The two kidneys generate speech by means of the voice, for they are the ones that think and [thereby] induce speech by means of the voice. They also stimulate coitus, that is sexual intercourse, as it is within them that the sperm becomes white.¹⁵¹ For at first the sperm is as red as blood. It becomes white in the heat of the kidneys, and it passes through the ducts of the kidneys to the testicles of the genitals and sexual organ. From the two kidneys comes impotence, because if one suffers an external burn on the two kidneys, one becomes impotent.

Even though the craw [*qurqevan*], as well as sexual intercourse and impotence were formed with *lamed*, the craw ingests swallowed food and drink.

Even though the maw [*qevah*], walking and lameness were formed with *nun*, hunger originates in the maw, since it empties all the intestines in order to evacuate the sediments of food and drink in the normal way.

Even though the right hand, anger and mercy were formed with *samekh*, anger comes from the bile, which is in the liver, and mercy from the liver.

Even though the left hand, laughter and weeping were formed with *ayin*, laughter comes from the spleen, while anxiety and weeping [come] from the black bile, which is within the spleen. Practical work and action are [performed] by two hands; one-handedness affects this because without hands there is no practical work.

¹⁵¹ According to the Hippocratic medical tradition, the sperm was a fluid substance diffused in all the body organs, but particularly in the brain and in the spinal marrow. Because of the movements of the body during sexual intercourse, this fluid was said to pass through the kidneys where, as Donnolo says here, it was warmed so as to become as white and dense as foam. See *Hippocratic Writings*, Lloyd, ed., 317–323.

Even though the right foot, thoughtfulness and reflection were formed with *šade*, and with *qof* were formed the left foot, sleep and wakefulness, that is insomnia, as well as walking and lameness, which concern the legs, as long as a person is well, strong and healthy, he can walk on his feet wherever he wants, while when he is sick in his body or his feet, he cannot walk around, like one who is lame and limping.

[SY § 55, p. 168] This is *he, waw, zayin, het, zet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, ‘ayin, šade, qof*. Sight, hearing and mercy come from the liver. Anger, blindness and deafness come from the red bile, which is in the liver.¹⁵² Laughter and joy come from the spleen, while anxiety, weeping and insomnia come from the black bile, which is mixed within the spleen. For the black bile is cold and dry like earth, and it provokes anxiety. Anxiety induces weeping and insomnia; dumbness is provoked by the black bile, which is in the spleen, and which prevents the tongue from speaking. Olfaction, sleep and anosmia come from the omasum [*meses*]. Thoughtfulness, reflection, advice, merriment and loud rejoicing come from the kidneys, while from the heart come sexual intercourse and impotence. Ingestion and swallowing come from the craw [*qurqevan*], while hunger comes from the maw [*qevah*]. Practical work and action concern the hands, while one-handedness means inaction and the cessation of work. Walking and lameness are to do with the feet.

This concludes the third group of the twelve simple letters, which are *he, waw, zayin, het, zet, yod, lamed, nun, samekh, ‘ayin, šade, qof*, their formation, foundation and permutation; this concludes [the explanation of] their actions, their moves and their secret.

[This is] the order of the twenty-two letters, their foundation, combination and rotation, their measure, the words [they generate] and their formation, their secret, their permutations and their actions, **all adhering to the Dragon, the [celestial] sphere and the heart.**

Who is the **Dragon**? When God created this firmament, which is above us and which is divided into seven firmaments, He created the Dragon out of water and fire, in the likeness of a large sea monster, like a large writhing serpent.¹⁵³ He made for it a head and a tail and set [literally, “stretched”] it in the fourth firmament, which is the middle one and the abode of the sun. He stretched it from end to end as an axis,¹⁵⁴ like

¹⁵² See *bBerakhot* 61b.

¹⁵³ Cf. Is. 27:1.

¹⁵⁴ Donnolo may have read the term בריח either as בְּרִיחַ [“axis”] or בְּרִיחַ, usually understood as “fleeing” in respect of the נָחַשׁ בְּרִיחַ of Is. 27:1 (see also Job 26:13). See

a writhing serpent, twisted half way along its length and stretched out in the shape of a circular ring. All the planets, the luminaries and the constellations are attached to it, as the threads of the warp and woof are attached to the weaver's loom. Likewise are attached to it all the planets in the seven firmaments, from the lowest to the uppermost one, as well as the two luminaries and the twelve constellations.

It [the Dragon] was appointed king over them all, to guide them, either benignly or malignly. It darkens the light of the two luminaries and the five planets, it moves the luminaries forward and backward¹⁵⁵ and the planets and the constellations from east to west and from west to east; it draws the planets back¹⁵⁶ and holds them in one place, preventing them from straying either forwards or backwards.¹⁵⁷ It conducts them in

Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, II, 618 (בְּרִיחַ), 624 (בְּרִיחַ). The *axis mundi* is an imaginary line connecting the two terrestrial poles and around which, according to the Greco-Roman and Ptolemaic astrological tradition, all the celestial bodies turn. The position which the Dragon is said to occupy in the fourth sky, however, is in contradiction with the definition of *axis mundi*.

¹⁵⁵ The expression המוליך והמביא is commonly used in the classical rabbinic sources, in relation to the forward and backward movements of the slaughterer's knife (e.g. *bHullin* 20a–b) or to the messenger who is sent to deliver a message (e.g. *mGiṭtin* 1:1; *mMenaḥot* 5:6). The same expression is used consistently in relation to the movements of the Dragon also in *Barayta di-Sh'e mu'el*, Eisenstein, ed., 543.

¹⁵⁶ In ancient geocentric astronomy and before the discovery by Kepler of the elliptic orbits of the planets, the celestial bodies were thought to stop and reverse their movement around the earth. The retrogression was the cause, according to the Ptolemaic system, of the epicycles—the circles which the planets were said to describe around their circumferences while moving around the earth. Like many others in Byzantium, Donnolo rejects the theory of the epicycles—which many found extremely complicated and often contradictory. Instead, Donnolo associates the *Tli* with the notion of the “lunar dragon”—an imaginary celestial beast governing the whole universe and responsible for the movement of every single star—which Byzantine and Arabic astronomy had long since preferred to the intricate system of the forty Ptolemaic epicycles. See Sharf, *The Universe*, 37–38 and “‘Tli’ and ‘Jawzahr.’”

¹⁵⁷ The notion of the Dragon as the celestial creature which controls all the celestial bodies and prevents them from straying from their course is clearly expressed in an anonymous Byzantine astrological text of the 13th century, probably drawing on earlier sources: Ἰδόντες δέ (οἱ) ἑπτὰ φωστήρες τὸν μέγαν καὶ φοβερὸν δράκοντα καὶ τὴν ὄξειαν καὶ ἐναντίαν αὐτοῦ κίνησιν σὺν τῷ χορῶ τῶν ἀνομοιοτάτων δώδεκα ζῳδίων, ἄφνω θροηθέντες ἔσφαλον τῶν οἰκείων δρόμων πλανώμενοι ἐκ τῆς ὁδοπορίας αὐτῶν ἄλλος ἐστήριζεν, ἕτερος ἀνεποδίξεν, ἕτερος ἐπὶ βορρᾶν, ἄλλος ἐπὶ νότον ἔφυγε· καὶ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ὀνομάσθησαν πλάνητες. καὶ οὕτως εἴθισαν πορευέσθαι μέγχι συντελείας φυλακτόντες τὴν πορείαν ἐκείνην [“When the seven luminaries saw the great and fearful dragon with its swift and contrary movement in the company of the twelve distinct and different signs of the Zodiac, they suddenly took fright and lost their proper courses, straying from their path: one stood still, another went backwards,

a straight path, and it comes from fire and water; its quality is like [the quality of] water, and it cannot be seen with the naked eye but rather it is by the study of the ancient texts transmitted to us that we gain knowledge of the Dragon and its quality, its dominion, its kingship, its creation, its beneficence and its malignity, the features of those who are born under it,¹⁵⁸ the time it takes to move from constellation to constellation,¹⁵⁹ when it reverses its course, how its head follows its tail, its ascent and descent¹⁶⁰ and how the twelve constellations are attached to it, six to the south,

one fled to the north, another to the south. And for this reason they have been named “strayers”. And thus they have been accustomed to journey until the consummation of things, keeping to the same paths”] Greek text in CCAG, V, ii, 134; English translation in Sharf, *The Universe*, 38. The absolute dominion which the Dragon is given here over all the other celestial bodies perfectly suits the dictum of SY to the effect that “the Dragon in the world is like a King upon his throne”: see below 354.

¹⁵⁸ The only capacity in which the Dragon can be said to play a part in defining the nativity (“the features of those who are born under it”) is in that of the celestial *caput* and *cauda*, that is, the two lunar nodes which in Arabic astrology were counted among the group of seven celestial bodies. This interpretation originated in Muslim astronomy, as attested by the works of Abū Ma‘shar (787–886), who discussed extensively the influence of the two lunar nodes in his *Kitāb al-mudḥal al-kabīr* (*Great Introduction to Astrology*) and in *Kitāb tahāwil sini al-‘ālam* (*The Book of Revolutions of the World-Years*). Ma‘shar’s works—possibly the “ancient texts” which Donnolo mentions in the previous passage—were held in great esteem in western astrology and already in the 10th century, his work and the doctrine of the Dragon’s *caput* and *cauda* had been accepted in Byzantine astrology. See Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences*, 92–94; Hartner, “The Pseudoplanetary Nodes,” 113–154; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, VII, 142–143 n. 3. The study of the lunar nodes may also have been part of the astrological apprenticeship of Donnolo under the Babylonian scholar B-g-d-ṭ. See Sharf, *The Universe*, 43, 136 n. 48. An important treatise on the lunar nodes, largely relying on the work of Abū Ma‘shar, was composed in the 10th century by the Muslim astronomer al-Birūni (973–1048). See al-Birūni, *The Book of the Instruction*, Wright, ed., 191, 255 ff. and Nasr, *An Introduction*, 107–174.

¹⁵⁹ Donnolo refers here to the “transit,” (a term known in Ptolemaic astrology as *πάροδος*; see *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 121 n. 3) which is the time, measured in degrees of the Zodiac, spent by a celestial body to move from constellation to constellation. A detailed description of the movements of the planets and the Dragon’s head and tail through the constellations appears in *Barayta de-mazzalot*, Wertheimer, ed., 33–35.

¹⁶⁰ That is, the points at which the Dragon’s head and tail exert their most powerful and weakest influence respectively. According to the *Barayta de-mazzalot*, Wertheimer, ed., 34–35, the point of exaltation of the Dragon’s head and tail are the 3rd degree of Gemini and the 3rd degree of Sagittarius. Donnolo uses the terms *גובהו ושפלותו*, which seem to be calques from the Greek *ὑψωμα* [“elevation”] and *ταπείνωμα* [“dejection”]. In Ptolemaic astrology these terms indicate the degree in the Zodiac at which a planet exerts its strongest and weakest influence. See Getting, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 187–189, 249–250. These terms are used also in the *Barayta di-Sh’ mu’el*, Eisenstein, ed., 544 ff. and in *Barayta de-mazzalot*, Wertheimer, ed., 20, 33–35.

six to the north.¹⁶¹ According to some books,¹⁶² there are two Dragons [*l' layyim*], which are like two big sea-monsters [*tanninim*], or like two writhing serpents [*nehashim 'aqaltonim*] twisted in the shape of two [half] rings facing each other, one to the south, the other to the north, with the head of the one attached to the tail of the other and vice versa. As they progress along their course, they change over: the one to the south turns north, and the one to the north turns south. They are in the fourth firmament, the abode of the sun. Six constellations are attached to the first Dragon, and six other to the second Dragon.

¹⁶¹ A similar description of the Dragon appears in *Sefer ha-mazzalot*, where Donnolo states: וגם חכמי הגוים הם חכמי בבל והודו וחכמי ישמעאלים אומ' כי יש לתלי ראש וזנב וקורין שמו תנין ואומ' שהוא מכוסה בעוביו שלרקייע כתנין בתוך המים ואינו נראה לעין וכח גדול וחוק גדול יש לו מאד יותר מכל הכוכבים והמזלות כי הוא כמלך על כולם ["Also the sages of the Gentiles, that is to say, the Babylonian, the Indian and Arab sages, say that the Dragon has a head and tail. They call it *Tanin* [sea monster]. They also say that it is stretched all over the vault of the sky like a sea monster [*tanin*] in the waters, and that it cannot be seen by the naked eye and that its power is great and strong, more so than that of all the other stars and constellations, since it is as a King over all of them"] (my translation. P.M.). Hebrew text in Luzzatto, "Mikhtav gimel," 62.

¹⁶² There are no extant astrological works in any language written before the 10th century that deal with the idea of the two Dragons, which Donnolo is here going to explain. As pointed out by Sharf (*The Universe*, 38, 135 n. 16), however, the idea of two Dragons set alongside the zodiacal belt probably originated in a Byzantine milieu, as is suggested by an anonymous, short Byzantine text written around the 12th century but possibly drawing on earlier traditions: "Ἐστί δὲ ὁ Ἀναβιβάζων ὁ καλούμενος δράκων ὁ ἐκλιπτικός κινῶν πάντως ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων, κρατῶν τὸ ἡμισφαίριον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ὅπου δ' ἂν λάξη, κατὰ διάμετρον ἔστιν ἡ οὐρᾶ ἢ καλουμένη Καταβιβάζων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζητήσις ἔστι περὶ τῶν καταρχῶν πρὸς ἕκαστον παρ᾽ ἄλλη: καὶ δεῖ σκοπεῖν τὴν Σελήνην κατ' ἐπιβαθμὴν φερομένην πρὸς πάντας τοὺς πλάνητας καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων ἂ λάξη ζῳδίων πρὸς τὸν Καταβιβάζοντα, χαλεπή ἔστιν, καὶ ὁμοίως πρὸς τὸν Ἀναβιβάζοντα, ἢ ὅπου πατήσῃ ἢ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τὴν οὐρᾶν † καὶ ἄκουε ἐν τοῖς ἐκλιπτικοῖς ["There is then the Ascending (Dragon), which is called the ecliptic Dragon. It moves everywhere, from one side to the other (of the sphere), and has power over the hemisphere of the sky, while all along the diameter (of the sphere) there is the tail, called the Descending (Dragon), and it is from it (i.e. the study of the Ascending and Descending Dragons) that the research begins of all (natural) principles. It is necessary to observe the moon when it moves through all the planets and the four signs of the Zodiac towards the Descending (Dragon) and the Ascending (Dragon). And it is difficult (to understand) where it (the Dragon) lies, or what the head and the tail are ... pay attention to the eclipses"] (my translation. P.M.). The Greek text was published in CCAG, VIII, i, 195–196. The idea that the sky was encompassed by a couple of Dragons is preserved in *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, a pseudepigraphic text, probably composed in the 15th century in a Byzantine milieu. See Kushnir-Oron, *The Sefer ha-Peli'ah and the Sefer ha-Kanah*, ii–iv [English abstract] and 1–15 [Hebrew section]; Ta-Shma, "Sefer Haqaneh and Sefer Hapeliah," 56–63, and de Lange, "Hebrew scholarship in Byzantium," 26. It states that the celestial vault is made up of ten spheres encompassed by two sea-monsters: שם וסביב העגולה של גלגלים מצויירים שם התנינים הגדולים שברא השם יתברך בששת ימי הבראשית זנב עם ראש בצד אחד זנב עם ראש בצד אחד

Although the twelve constellations are set in this lower firmament, which is above us and is the abode of the moon. They are attached to the [two] Dragons above item from below upwards. Likewise attached to them are the two luminaries and the five planets—which are S[aturn], J[upiter], M[ars], S[un], V[enus], M[ercury], M[oon]—from above

[“And all around the circumference of the spheres are the two big sea-monsters which God—blessed be He—created during the six days of the Creation. The tail and the head (of one) is to one side, the tail and the head (of the other) is on the other side”] (my translation. P.M.). See *Sefer ha-Peli’ah*, 30a. The passage is followed by a chart (f. 30b):



Even though the cosmological concepts which inform *Sefer ha-Peli’ah*, are largely incompatible with Donnolo’s astrology, the notion of the two sea-monsters is not dissimilar to what Donnolo describes in SH. One cannot rule out the possibility that *Sefer ha-Peli’ah* (whose author, in another passage of the work, quotes verbatim from *Sefer ha-Mazzalot*; see Works, above, 23–24) derived the idea of the two Dragons from Donnolo. At the basis of Donnolo’s notion of the two celestial Dragons may lie a simple misunderstanding: while Hebrew does not distinguish between the ascending and the descending nodes of the Dragon, which are both called *tli*, in the Arabic and the Sanskrit astrological traditions (which in the introductory section to SH Donnolo claims to have studied, even though there is no proof that he knew either of these languages), the two nodes are given by two different names, respectively *al-djawzahar/nawbahr* and *radu/ketu* (see *EI*, II, 501–502). This terminological difference—which also caused a certain confusion in the Sanskrit tradition, leading some astrologers to the erroneous conclusion that there were two Dragons (see Hartner, “The Pseudoplanetary Nodes,” 131 ff. figs. 7–9 and Azarpay, “The Eclipse Dragon,” 370)—may well have led Donnolo to believe that the two names did indeed refer to two distinct Dragons. Some passages of Donnolo’s discussion on the Dragon are attested in Latin translation in *Liber Alchandreii* and in *Quicumque*, two texts of the so-called *Alchandreana*, a 10th century astrological anthology from Spain. See Juste, *Alchandreana*, 463, 497; Leicht, *Astrologumena*, 87 and Mancuso, “La scienza astrologica”.

downwards and from below upwards, all of them [formed] by His breath, as it is said: *By His breath the heavens were calmed; His hand pierced the writhing serpent* [Job 26:13].

This is the Dragon, and it governs all the planets and the constellations.

The [celestial] sphere turns the planets, the constellations and the luminaries. This sphere is set within the depth of the firmament, and the constellations are permanently attached to it, never straying from their fixed position. This sphere surrounds the firmament to the south, the north, the east and the west, and the Dragon stretches within it from end to end, like a cross-beam, as is claimed by those sages who say that there is only one Dragon, and that it is stretched out in the middle of the sphere, from the central mid eastern point to the central mid western point.¹⁶³

The Wain [*agalah*],¹⁶⁴ which is set to the north of the Dragon, is close to it; the extremities of the Wain are attached to the ring of the Dragon, which is the twist, and the Wain turns to the north of the Dragon, where the six southern constellations¹⁶⁵ are located. It turns the Dragon, and the force of the Dragon's rotation drives the extremity of the Wain which is attached to the Dragon's ring—the twist; the sphere rotates, and the constellations set in it move south from east to west, and north from west to east, in perpetuity.¹⁶⁶

According to the books claiming that there are two Dragons,¹⁶⁷ the Wain is set at the centre, in the middle of the sphere, within the two Dragons, and one of the Wain's extremities is attached to the ring of the southern Dragon, while the extremity of the other is attached to the ring

¹⁶³ Namely, the two equinoctial points.

¹⁶⁴ This is the third-largest constellation of the northern hemisphere, also known as Ursa Maior or The Great Bear. See Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, IX, 4313 and Ridpath, ed. *Dictionary of Astronomy*, 478.

¹⁶⁵ The astrological south (i.e. the *imum caeli*) corresponds to the true north and the constellations observed there are said to be southern. See above p. 232 nn. 60, 64. In accordance with this, Donnolo says in a passage immediately below that “the Wain turns a full circle in the north pulling the Dragon to drive and rotate it with the sphere, the constellations ... the southern ones from east to west in the south, and the northern ones from west to east in the north.”

¹⁶⁶ This description of the Wain and the Dragon is quoted by Yehudah Eliyahu Hadassi, one of the leading authorities of Karaite Jews of the 12th century, in his encyclopaedic work *Eshkol ha-kofer*, also known as *Sefer ha-peles* (Eupatoria-Crimea, 1836), 31a. See Sharf, *The Universe*, 124–125; Pinsker, *Likkute kadmoniot*, 223–225; Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology*, 235–377; Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, index s.v. “Yehudah Hadassi”; Szysman, *Le Karaïsme*, 52; Barthélemy, “La tradition manuscrite,” 5–22. On the role of this work in the broader context of Byzantine Jewish literary production, see de Lange, “Prier et études,” 56.

¹⁶⁷ See above n. 162.

of the northern Dragon.¹⁶⁸ The Wain turns a full circle in the north, serves the Dragon to drive and rotate it with the sphere, the constellations, the planets and the luminaries, the southern ones from east to west in the south, and the northern ones from west to east in the north.

Let this be your sign¹⁶⁹ if you wish to believe that the Wain is in the middle of the firmament, at its very centre,¹⁷⁰ to the north of Scorpio and to the north of the six southern constellations.¹⁷¹ Note that the constellations of Libra and Aries, which are in the middle of all the constellations, rise at the centre of the mid eastern part of the firmament, and set at the centre of the mid western part of the firmament. It will become apparent that the long extremity of the Wain always faces¹⁷² the balance ring of Libra.¹⁷³ And wherever the constellation of Libra may be, whether in the east or in the south, in the west or in the north, it will [always] be faced by the long extremity of the Wain, and the balance ring

¹⁶⁸ According to what Donnolo says immediately below (“And wherever the constellation of Libra may be ... it will [always] be faced by the long extremity of the Wain, and the balance ring in the middle of the scale of Libra”) the rings of the two Dragons should correspond to the zodiacal signs of Aries and Libra, and their heads and tails (the head of one Dragon touching the tail of the other and viceversa) to the two points of the solstitial colure. See below n. 173.

¹⁶⁹ Donnolo employs here the same term *סימן* (*siman*), which he had previously employed to introduce his chart of letter permutations. The original text may well have contained a diagram or some other graphic representation of the celestial bodies, of which the following sentence [“note that the constellations ...”] is the verbal explanation.

¹⁷⁰ Namely, in the northern extremity of the sphere, in close proximity to the northern point of the terrestrial axis.

¹⁷¹ See *bPesahim* 94a.

¹⁷² Literally, “is attached to.”

¹⁷³ It is not entirely clear to which part of Libra Donnolo is referring here. Libra is normally represented by a pair of scales connected by a bar in the middle of which is the balancing ring. The “balancing ring” of Libra, and the “horns of the constellations of Aries,” which Donnolo mentions at the end of this paragraph in relation to the other extremity of the Wain, probably indicate the so-called “first points” of Aries and Libra, namely the two equinoctial points where the sun intersects the celestial equator. These two points correspond to the beginning (Aries) and the middle point (Libra) of the zodiacal belt, which Donnolo had previously identified with the head and tail of the Dragon. This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that the “horns of Aries” are traditionally held to correspond to the beginning of the asterism and to be set along the line—the so-called “colure”—which connects the two equinoctial points and intersects the equator at right angles. See Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 112 and Ridpath, ed., *Dictionary of Astronomy*, 87. Donnolo probably consulted the star catalogue of Ptolemy in which the constellation of Aries is said to begin by “the more advanced of the 2 stars on the horn.” See Ptolemy, *Almagest*, Toomer, ed., 360. The expression “balancing ring of Libra” is not attested in the Ptolemaic tradition. Donnolo probably derived it, as well as the entire description of the equinoctial colure, from the *Astronomica* of the 1st century Roman astrologer Manilius, who states: “One line, descending from the summit of the

in the middle of the scale of Libra. And the other extremity are the wheels of the Wain,¹⁷⁴ which always face the horns of the constellation of Aries.¹⁷⁵

In front of the circular motion¹⁷⁶ of the Wain, these two constellations [Libra and Aries] rotate in full circles, facing its two extremities, one constellation facing the other. And the two luminaries and five planets—which are S[aturn], J[upiter], M[ars], S[un], V[enus], M[ercury], M[oon]—also each has its own sphere.¹⁷⁷ These spheres propel and conduct them from west to east and from constellation to constellation, and they drive the five planets backwards from east to west, each planet in its turn, at its appointed time.

When these spheres stop, they stop the planets, preventing them from moving to and fro, and each one of the five planets is held still¹⁷⁸ at its proper time and in its proper turn, according to the calculation of the number of days on which it is customary for it either to stand still or to rotate.

sky, passes through the Dragon's tail and the Bears [= the Wains] that shun ocean, and the yoke of the Balance which revolves in the midmost circle." See Manilius, *Astronomica*, Goold, ed., 52–53.

¹⁷⁴ In *Sefer ha-mazzalot* Donnolo states that the constellation of the Wain consists of seven stars, five called the "cords of Orion" (as in Job 38:31) and two called simply Orion, which he identifies with the "wheels of the Wain." See Luzzatto, "Mikhtav gimel," 65.

¹⁷⁵ The constellation of the Wain (i.e. Ursa Major) was traditionally described in the Greco-Roman and Ptolemaic tradition as a four-legged animal whose tail was formed by three stars, the last of which (namely, η UMa also known as Alkaid or Benetnash; see Ridpath, ed., *Dictionary of Astronomy*, 11 and, for a graphical representation of the constellation, Manilius, *Astronomica*. Goold, ed., Star-chart 1 at p. 470) lies on the equinoctial colure in correspondence, as Donnolo says in the passage above, with the sign of Libra. However, none of the other stars of the Wain lie, as Donnolo claims, in correspondence with the sign of Aries. As observed by Sharf (*The Universe*, 50), such a discrepancy was probably due to the fact that in Byzantine astrology (see *Excerpta ex Antiochi thesauro*, in CCAG VII, 123 n. 1) Arcturus—one of the brightest stars of the northern hemisphere, very close to the constellation of the Wain with which it was often included—was also called "head and tail," a name which Donnolo probably mistook for the homonymous parts of the celestial Dragon (which, moreover, situated where the eclipses take place, correspond to the sign of Aries and Libra), thinking that the extremities of the Dragon were "attached," as he says, to the constellation of the Wain.

¹⁷⁶ For גלגול as "motion," see Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, IX, 4309.

¹⁷⁷ The Greco-Roman and Ptolemaic cosmological tradition assumed that the planets and the luminaries were moved around the earth, set in the middle of the universe, by seven spheres, one for each planet. See Gettings, *The Arkana Dictionary*, 484.

¹⁷⁸ Donnolo refers here to the "stationary points," the positions in the celestial sphere at which some planets appear to stand still before starting their retrograde motion. Ptolemy called these stationary points στασησεις (e.g. *Tetrabiblos*, Robbins, ed., 45, 163), a term which is employed in Hebrew transliteration as סטיריגמוס in *Barayta de-mazzalot*, Wertheimer, ed., 24–25.

The sphere of the constellations drives these spheres of the seven planets, namely S[aturn], J[upiter], M[ars], S[un], V[enus], M[ercury], M[oon], with the seven planets and the twelve constellations, from east to west and from west to east, to all eternity. On account of the sphere of the Wain, which drives the Dragon, and by the driving force of the Dragon, the sphere of the constellations and the seven spheres of the seven planets rotate, and all this is by the breath of the Holy One—blessed be He—and His power, as it is said: *By His breath the heavens were calmed; His hand pierced the writhing serpent* [Job 26:13]. This is the Dragon. And it is written: *By the word of the Lord the heavens were made, by the breath of His mouth, all their host* [Ps. 33:6]. From this you learn that the breath of His mouth and His word conduct the entire Host of Heavens, as the planets and the two luminaries and the constellations are also called the Host of Heavens, as it is said: *Lift high your eyes and see: Who created these? He who sends out their host by count, Who calls them each by name* [Is. 40:26]. From this verse you learn that God named the planets, the luminaries, the constellations and the entire Host of Heaven. And from another verse you will know that is written: *He reckoned the number of the stars; to each He gave its name* [Ps. 147:4]. And the next verse says: *Great is our Lord and full of power; His wisdom is beyond reckoning* [ibid. ibid. 5]. This teaches you that the greatness of God is more apparent in the order and workings of the planets, the constellations, the Dragon, the sphere and the Wain than it is in the workings of the rest of the universe. For there is no wisdom or knowledge in the world that is as wondrous as this wisdom, which is deep, vast and ample. That is why it is written that the entire universe is **bound to the Dragon, the sphere and the heart**, for just as the universe and all that is in it is driven by the **Dragon and the [celestial] sphere**, so are human beings driven by the **heart**, for the heart directs the body and all man's labours.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ All the manuscripts read here עבודת העולם ["the universe's labour"], which seems to be incompatible with the previous statement, particularly in reference to the role of the heart in the human body. However, this variant reading can be accepted if one puts a full stop after "the body" and considers עבודת העולם to be the beginning of a new sentence that would read: "And all the workings of the universe (arise from) three mothers, seven doubles ..." This is Castelli's interpretation, *Il commento*, 83. In ms. Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library 28° 1303 and ms. Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences 238 (J and K), however, is written עבודת האדם ["man's labour"] which is compatible with the entire passage and perfectly fits its meaning. Although these two manuscripts have not been included in the apparatus, the present edition accepts this variant and translates accordingly.

[SY § 56, pp. 168–172] **Three mothers, seven doubles and twelve simple [letters].**¹⁸⁰ They are three groups [of letters] that emerge from the twenty-two letters of the foundation, **with which Y-h—Lord of Hosts, God of Israel, Living God, Almighty God, High and Exalted, Dwelling for Ever, Holy is His name—established the two worlds,**¹⁸¹ as it is written: *Trust in the Lord for ever and ever, for in Y-h the Lord you have an everlasting Rock* [šur] [Is. 26:4]. Šur: this means the One who forms [šayyar].

Another explanation—two worlds and not one: This world and The World to Come. This verse teaches you that with Y-h the Lord, the everlasting Rock, with the name of Y-h He formed the two worlds, for there are two names: Y-h and H-y. With the first name He formed This World, and with the second name [He formed] The World to Come. *Yhwh: Yh, Wh. Four names: Yh, Hy, Wh, Hw.*¹⁸²

What does [the name] “Hosts” [ševa’ot] mean? **That it is a sign [ot] in His Hosts** [ševa’ot], for all His Hosts cannot see Him except by a sign. **“God of Israel”:** Israel is prince [sar] before God [El]. **“Living God”:** because He is living over all the living, for [only] three were called “living” [ḥayyim]: fresh water [mayyim ḥayyim]; the way of the Tree

¹⁸⁰ A comparative analysis of the text of SY § 56 and the exegesis of Donnolo appears in Séd, *La mystique cosmologique*, 244–246.

¹⁸¹ All the manuscripts of SY have שמות [“names”] while all the manuscripts of SH consistently read עולמות [“worlds”]. Donnolo’s version of SY may have read עולמות, and at any rate, he goes on to explain the creation of “two worlds” in terms of “two (divine) names.”

¹⁸² Cf. *bMenaḥot* 29b: “For R. Judah the patriarch asked R. Ammi: ‘What is the meaning of the verse, *Trust ye in the Lord for ever, for in Yah the Lord is an everlasting Rock?* (Is. 26:4)’ He replied: ‘It implies that if one puts his trust in the Holy One, blessed be He, behold He is unto him as a refuge in this world and in the world to come.’ This, retorted the other, was my difficulty: ‘Why does the verse say in Yah [ביה] and not Yah [יה]?’ The reason is as was expounded by R. Judah b. R. Ila’i. [Yah, he said,] refers to the two worlds which the Holy One, blessed be He, created, one with the letter *he* and the other with the letter *yod*. Yet I do not know whether the future world was created with the *yod* and this world with the *he* or this world with the *yod* and the future world with the *he*; but since it is written, *These are the generations of the heaven and of the earth when they were created* (Gen. 2:4), read not *be-hibare’am*, when they were created, but *be-he bera’am*, He created them with the *he*; hence I may say that this world was created with the *he* and the future world with the *yod*.” The same interpretation can be found in the commentary on Psalm 62 in *Midrash Tehillim*, (see Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms*, I, 519), a midrash probably composed around the 9th century in southern Italy, and in *Seder Rabba de-Bereshit*, in Wertheimer, ed., 22–23, (also attested in a shorter version as *Siddur Rabba de-Bereshit Rabba*, Wertheimer, ed., 365), an astronomical midrash composed at the end of the gaonic era (ca. 10th–11th century). For a detailed analysis of the astronomical information contained in this text, see Séd, *La mystique cosmologique*, 77–106.

of Life [‘eṣ ha-ḥayyim]—as it is said: *The way of the Tree of Life* [Gen. 3:24], and “**Living God**” [*Elohim ḥayyim*], because He is living over all the living.¹⁸³ “**God**” [*El*].¹⁸⁴ because He is strong and valiant. “**Almighty**” [*Shadday*]: because He is all-sufficient [*she‘ad kan day*].¹⁸⁵

Another explanation: “**Almighty**”—consuming fire, destroying [*shod-edet*] fire. “**High**”: because He sits at the height of the world and He is High above all those on high [*ha-ramim*]. “**Exalted**” [*nissa*]: because He is exalted over all those who are exalted in glory, greatness and splendour, and [because] He holds up [*nose*] and carries everything with His word and His mighty power, both above and below. It is in the nature of all those who carry that they are below [their burden], while those who are carried are above. But the Creator—blessed be He—holds up and carries everything, and yet He is above everything by His word, as it is written: *He it is who stretched out Zaphon over chaos, who suspended earth over emptiness* [Job 26:7].

“**Dwelling for ever**” [*shokhen ‘ad*]: because His reign will last forever [*‘adey ‘ad*] and has neither end nor limit. “**Holy be His name**”: because He is holy and His servants are holy, and they say to Him daily: “*Holy, holy, holy! The Lord of Hosts! His presence fills the earth!*” [Is. 6:3].

[SY § 57, pp. 172–173] The twelve below [are] attenders and servants; over them are seven lords, and over the seven are three lords. With the three He established his abode, and all of them depend on the One. A sign for the One is that there is none but Him. He is the Lord, faithful King, the only One in his world, because He is One, and His name is one.

[SY § 58, pp. 173–176] Three fathers and their offspring. They dominate the seven, and the seven conquerors with their hosts conquer and rule over the hosts of the twelve and the twelve oblique boundaries. Reliable proof of the divine [nature] of the matter are the three faithful witnesses: the world, the year, and mankind.

The world is counted by ten, seven and three. Three: water, air and fire. Seven: the planets. And to the counting of the world by ten are added and counted the twelve constellations as well. This results in twenty-two by which the world is counted. The year is counted by ten, seven and three. Three: the cold, heat and moisture, which mediates between the

¹⁸³ This passage, which is attested in all the manuscripts of SH, is probably a dittography of the previous sentence (“**Living God**” ... over all the living...”).

¹⁸⁴ The term *El*—God—is derived from the noun *el* meaning power, strength.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. *bḤagigah* 12a.

cold and the heat. Seven: the days of Creation, which are the seven days of the week, and to them are added and counted the **twelve months** as well. This results in twenty-two by which the year is counted. **Mankind is counted by ten, seven and three. Three: head, belly and the torso**, which mediates between the head and the belly. **Seven orifices** [literally, “gates”] are counted, and added [to them] are the **twelve principal organs** as well. This results in twenty-two by which mankind is counted. But the world, the year and mankind are principally counted by ten.

[SY § 59, pp. 176–177] **Ten: three and seven, while the twelve counts are beneath them, and they are all subject to the authority of the Dragon, the sphere and the heart. The Dragon in the world is like a King upon his throne. The sphere in the year is like a king in his kingdom. The heart in the body is like a king at war.** The explanation [of this is as follows]: the Dragon is like a king over the two luminaries, the five planets, and everything that takes place in the world, whether good or bad.

The sphere in the year is like a king in the kingdom, for out of the rotation of the sphere day and night are made, as well as the cold and the heat, summer and winter, rain and snow, hail and frost, dew and evaporation, aridity and moisture, the changing four seasons, the equinoxes, and the New moon. **The heart in the body is like a king at war**, because the heart, with the breath [of life] within it, directs the entire body and alerts it to what is good and what is bad, [prompting it] to toil and labour, to be joyful and anxious, to beget, to sow, to plant, to spread and scatter, and to do anything else, whether good or bad.

[SY § 60, pp. 178–181] **To sum up the matter: some of these combine with those, and those combine with these; these are exchanged for those, and those for these; these correspond to those and those to these; if these do not exist, neither do those, and if those do not exist, neither do these; for these are of no benefit without those, nor those without these. All of them are bound to the Dragon, to the sphere and to the heart.**

Moreover, God has created every object, *one opposite the other* [Eccl. 7:14]. Good opposite evil; evil opposite good; good out of good, evil out of evil; good distinguishing evil, evil distinguishing good; good stored up for the righteous, evil stored up for the wicked.

[SY § 61, pp. 181–186] When our father Abraham came, he looked, saw, understood, investigated, engraved, carved out, combined, formed, calculated and succeeded, and the Lord of all was revealed to him. He made him sit in His lap, kissed him upon the head, and

called him His beloved and made him his son.¹⁸⁶ He made a covenant with him and His offspring forever,¹⁸⁷ as it is written: [*The covenant ...*] that He made with Abraham, swore to Isaac [Ps. 105:9]; it is also written: *And because he put his trust in the Lord, He reckoned it to his merit* [Gen. 15:6], and He invoked upon him the Glory of the Lord: *Before I created you in the womb, I knew you* [Jer. 1:5].¹⁸⁸ He made with him a covenant between the ten toes of his feet, which is the covenant of circumcision, and He made with him a covenant between the ten fingers of his hands, which is the covenant of the Holy tongue and of the declaration of God's oneness. He bound twenty-two letters to his mouth and to his tongue.

Twelve are at war. [SY § 63, pp. 189–192] **Three are foes. These are the tongue, the liver and the bile.** The tongue says things that are harmful to the body; the liver grinds down the food with its heat, and it stirs up both food and drink; the bile irritates, angers, blinds and deafens. **Three are friends. These are the eyes, the ears and the heart.** The eyes enable the body to see, guiding it in everything that is pleasant and good for both soul and body; the ears, hence, listen and enable the body to hear everything, whether good or bad; the heart thinks and counsels, together with the kidneys, to guide the body, for better or for worse.

Three vivify. These are the two orifices of the nose and the spleen: the two orifices of the nose—which are the nostrils—inhale the breath of the spirit of life and smell both pleasant and unpleasant odours; the spleen cools down the boiling heat produced by the internal organs and stimulates laughter to gladden the body.

¹⁸⁶ The translation is based on reading the phrase as *וְשֵׁמוֹ בְּנוֹ*. It can also be read as *וְשֵׁמוֹ בְּנוֹ*, and translated accordingly as “and his name is His son.”

¹⁸⁷ Donnolo omits § 62 even though, as observed by Hayman, *Sefer Yešira*, 188, he generally follows the Long Recension, of which none of the manuscripts omits the paragraph. As observed above (nn. 63 and 102), Donnolo was well aware of contradictions between the astrological details discussed in SY and the principles of Ptolemaic astrology. He had almost completely reformulated the material in SY § 44 and corrected the chronological divisions of the zodiacal constellations in § 54. All these astrological details, which Donnolo felt to be incorrect, recur in § 62, which consists of two sections, each reiterating the astrological material previously presented in §§ 44 and 54. This suggests the possibility that Donnolo consciously omitted § 62.

¹⁸⁸ There seems to be no clear connection between SY's invocation upon Abraham of the Glory of God and the biblical verse chosen to be its proof-text. As observed by Liebes, *Ars Poetica*, 290 n. 8, the verse does not refer to Abraham but to the prophet Jeremiah, and it should be considered a spurious addition to the text of SY. Donnolo's version does not have *דְּכַתִּיב* [“as it is written”] which in SY is omitted only by the manuscripts of the Long Recension. See Hayman, *Sefer Yešira*, 182–183.

Three kill. These are the two lower orifices and the mouth. The two lower orifices are the anus, which expels excrement, and the mouth of the bladder, which expels urine. If they are either too tightly closed or too widely open, they kill the body. **The mouth**, if one consumes with it harmful foods or if one speaks with it ill words, will kill [the body].

Three things are within man's control. These are the hands, the feet and the lips. **The hands**—whether he wishes to move and do [something] with them, for better or for worse, or whether he wishes to keep them still and do nothing at all with them—are within his control. Likewise **the feet**, whether [he wishes] to make them move or walk, or whether to stop them from walking and moving—are within his control. Likewise **the lips**—whether one wishes to speak or to keep silent—are within one's control.

Three things are not within man's control. These are his two eyes, his two ears and his two nostrils. His eyes would see, [even] against his will, what he does not wish to see; likewise the nostrils would smell, [even] against his will, a bad odour that he does not wish to smell, and likewise the ears would hear, [even] against his will, a sound that he does not wish to hear.¹⁸⁹

Three things are bad for the ear to hear: a curse, blasphemy, and an evil report. Three things are good for the ear to hear: a blessing, praise, and a good report. There are three evil sights for the eyes to see: an adulterous leer, a deceptive look¹⁹⁰ and an evil eye. There are three good sights for the eye to see: a modest look, a trustworthy look, and

¹⁸⁹ A similar passage, dealing with the involuntary sense perceptions of the ears, eyes and nose as against the voluntary nature of the activities of the hands and feet occurs in *Aggadat Bereshit*, a midrash generally assumed to have been composed between the 10th and the 11th century in a Byzantine milieu, that is to say, in close geographical and chronological proximity to Donnolo's work: "When Jacob saw that there was grain in Egypt (Gen. 42:1). This is what the Scripture says: *The hearing ear and the seeing eye—the Lord has made them also* (Prov. 20.12). What did Solomon see, that he said this? Does the Holy One not make the whole body, that he had to say about the ear and the eye that God has made them also? Rather, all the members are going to render account except the ear and the eye. Why? Because the eye sees involuntarily, and also the ear hears involuntarily. But in the case of the hands, if one does not want to, he does not steal, or burn, or strangle; and the same with the feet. Therefore it is stated: *The hearing ear and the seeing eye.*" English translation in Teugels, *Aggadat Bereshit*, 207; see also Buber, ed., *Aggadat Bereshit*, 136–137. The midrash contains a substantial number of Latin words (complete list in Buber, *ibid.*, xxvii–xxviii), which suggest Byzantine southern Italy as the place of composition. See Teugels, *ibid.*, XV; idem, "Aggadat Bereshit and the Triennial," 117–132, and Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached*, I, 90–91.

¹⁹⁰ The translation follows Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira*, 190.

a good eye.¹⁹¹ There are three evil smells: the smell of decomposition, a stuffy, fusty smell, and the smell of deadly poisons. There are three good smells: the good drugs, the sharp smell of mustard, pepper and the like, the smell of food and the smell of drink. Three things are bad for the tongue [to practice]: evil speech, slander, and insincere speech [literally: “one who says one thing with the mouth but another with the heart”]. Three things are good for the tongue [to practice]: silence, reticence, and telling the truth.

[SY §64, pp. 193–195] This is the Book of the Letters by Abraham our father—peace be upon him—which is called the Book of Formation. There is no limit to the wisdom of everyone who understands it.

¹⁹¹ The meaning in SY of the עין רעה [“evil eye”] and עין טובה [“good eye”] is uncertain, and since Donnolo does not comment on these expressions, it is impossible to tell how he understood them. In Biblical Hebrew, and particularly in the book of Proverbs (see Prov. 22:9), עין טוב means generous, munificent, while its opposite עין רע signifies mean, parsimonious, stingy (see Prov. 23:6, 28:22). The same applies to the expressions עין טובה and עין רעה in Rabbinic literature (e.g. *mAvot* 2:9, 5:19; Gen. Rabbah 58:7; Ex. Rabbah 31:17; *bBekhorot* 11a), which follow the Biblical meaning. But these expressions acquire also an apotropaic and magical connotation, which is attested in Rabbinic literature. See Ben Yehudah, *A Complete Dictionary*, IX, 4443–4446 and Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, 54–56.

PART FOUR

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Abbreviations

- BBGG Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata
 JQR Jewish Quarterly Review
 MGWJ Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
 REJ Revue des études juives

- Abraham ibn Daud.** *The Book of Tradition*. = Abraham ibn Daud. *The Book of Tradition (Sefer ha-Qabbalah)—A Critical Edition with a Translation and Notes*. G.D. Cohen, ed. Philadelphia, 1967.
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