

TRACES OF ESOTERIC STUDIES IN THE TOSAFIST PERIOD

EPHRAIM KANARFOGEL

The Tosafists of northern France and Germany were rabbinic scholars whose academic orientation was clearly talmudocentric. Despite the very full library of earlier Jewish literature which they had at their disposal, the vast majority of their time was spent studying Talmud. The Tosafists did not inherit a philosophical tradition, nor did they have access to or interest in the intellectual changes and developments regarding philosophy and religious thought that were occurring throughout contemporary Christian society.¹

Scholars who have studied the creativity and literature of the Tosafists have assigned a very limited role to esoteric studies as well. In their view, only the German Pietists were involved in the study of *torat ha-sod*.² The Pietists' interest in *torat ha-sod* was perhaps another reflection of their desire to return to the curriculum and educational values of the pre-Crusade Ashkenaz, where the study and transmission of mystical teachings had been evident. This desire has been demonstrated in regard to initiatives such as the expansion of biblical studies, the cultivation of liturgical poetry and its interpretation, and the promulgation of talmudic studies that would be geared more toward the production of practical halakhic conclusions and less toward dialectical exercises.³

Recent research has shown, however, that aspects of the Pietists' educational critique, their curricular interests, and even their pietism were shared by mainstream northern French Tosafists such as R. Moses of Coucy and the brothers of Evreux who had no known geographic or tutorial link to *Hasidei Ashkenaz*.⁴ There were additional affinities between the German Pietists and prominent Tosafists which can only be alluded to here. I intend, in a larger study, to characterize these affinities more fully and to trace their origins, and to reassess the degree to which Tosafists were interested in esoteric studies. What follows is a partial treatment of some of the sources and issues which will be considered in that study.

In order to properly appreciate the nature of mystical studies in the tosafist period, it is necessary to look briefly at the state of this discipline in the pre-Crusade period. Substantive *torat ha-sod* material, which was preserved almost exclusively in Mainz, can be found in *piyyutim* of R. Shim'on *ha-Gadol* (c.1000), in teachings and customs of R. Eliezer *ha-Gadol* (990-1060), and in writings of R. Qalonymus b. Yizhaq and his contemporary R. Meshullam b. Mosheh, who together fostered a resurgence of

interest in *torat ha-sod* in Mainz during the latter part of the eleventh century. This material includes mystical analyses of Divine names and the completion of those names through prayer, mystical motifs involving the feet of God, the sword of God and its ability to thwart *maziqin*, and the interaction between the female Torah and the male Deity, as well as descriptions of the names and functions of angels.⁵

Rashi (1040-1105) displays familiarity with mystical traditions on Divine names and with a number of *torat ha-sod* texts and magical techniques.⁶ He explains, as did an anonymous contemporary, that the creation of various beings by rabbinic scholars described in talmudic literature was accomplished by means of letter combinations involving certain Divine names, as prescribed by *Sefer Yezirah*. While *Sefer Yezirah* is mentioned in one of the talmudic passages upon which Rashi comments, the specific methods advocated by Rashi, which reflect a mystical orientation and adumbrate methods recorded by R. Eleazar of Worms, are not inherent in the talmudic passages themselves. Elsewhere, Rashi interprets that *demut* or *parzuf Ya'aqov* represents the male aspect within the Godhead. This mystical formulation was espoused by both R. Eleazar of Worms and members of the *Hug ha-Keruv ha-Meyuhad*.⁷

To be sure, there are instances in which Rashi interprets a concept or passage in a manner that is antithetical to mystical or kabbalistic teachings.⁸ Nonetheless, his writings reflect a familiarity with and interest in *torat ha-sod* material. Formulations in *Mahzor Vitry* and other volumes of the so-called *sifrut de-vei Rashi* (found in sections that represent traditions of Rashi or his immediate students) describe the marital imagery of the Sabbath in a manner later expanded upon by devotees of kabbalah,⁹ adopt *Bahir* imagery to explain the efficacy of prayer against *maziqim*,¹⁰ analyze the impact of the *qaddish* in filling out the Divine name by mystical means,¹¹ and insist that Divine and angelic names and markings be included in *mezuzot*.¹²

The disposition of pre-Crusade scholars toward *torat ha-sod* was not shared, however, by Rashi's descendants and successors in the first half of the twelfth century. Rashbam was aware of the mystical powers of *Shemot*, and the existence and parameters of *torat ha-sod*.¹³ In at least two significant contexts, however, he distanced himself from mystical interpretation and symbolism. Rashbam's interpretation of the Creation story was intended to bypass any possibility of cosmogonic or theosophic speculation concerning Creation. In his commentary to *Qohelet*, Rashbam asserts that only exoteric wisdom, which is absolutely necessary for mankind to master, be pursued. Mankind need not pursue, however, *hokhmah 'amuqqah v'-yeterah*, which Rashbam identifies as the wisdom contained in *ma'aseh merkavah* and *Sefer Yezirah*.¹⁴

Rashbam's German contemporary R. Eliezer b. Nathan (Raban) also avoided recourse to *sod*. Raban's introduction to his commentary on the prayers is very similar in both style and content to R. Eleazar of Worms' introduction to his prayer commentary, but there is one glaring difference. While R. Eleazar of Worms expresses keen interest in elucidating *sodot ha-tefillah* and *sod ha-berakhot*, Raban makes no mention of these subjects at all.¹⁵ Moreover, Raban reports, in the name of his brother Hizqiyah, a reason for why one must bow before a *Sefer Torah* which strongly deflects the mystical approach.¹⁶

R. Jacob Tam, the greatest of the early Tosafists, has been characterized as a rationalist whose orientation was unwaveringly talmudocentric.¹⁷ Only a handful of passages attributed to him reflect *torat ha-sod* in any way. In one case concerning the properties of Divine names, the esoteric material was available to him without any ideological commitment on his part.¹⁸ In two other places, Rabbenu Tam cites the *torat ha-sod* considerations as having been transmitted by his father R. Meir in the name of *hakhmei Lothaire* of the pre-Crusade period. Rabbenu Tam makes no attempt to explain or analyze them, but accepts them simply as earlier traditions or perceptions which he upheld as a matter of custom or respect.¹⁹ As the leading scholar of his day, Rabbenu Tam was linked to esoteric techniques in three or four cases. All these texts appear, however, to be inherently pseudepigraphic. Rabbenu Tam always interacts with other scholars in these texts, a further indication of pseudepigraphy.²⁰

In the middle of the twelfth century, R. Samuel *he-Hasid* of Speyer and his son R. Yehudah *he-Hasid* (d. 1217) rejuvenated and greatly expanded the mystical teachings that they received directly from their ancestors who had studied in Mainz. Perhaps the lack of interest in *torat ha-sod* on the part of Rashbam and Rabbenu Tam was related to the fact that it was the exegetical methodology of the academy at Worms, in the last part of the eleventh century, that adumbrated and, through their father R. Meir and others, helped stimulate the development of tosafist dialectic.²¹ The influence of pre-Crusade Mainz was barely felt in the early twelfth century. Indeed, even Raban, who studied and taught in Mainz, makes almost no reference to pre-Crusade material from Mainz.²²

The dialectical method pioneered by Rabbenu Tam and his contemporaries held sway in northern France and Germany throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The influence of these scholars may also be present in those *Tosafot* texts that appear to play down or modify *torat ha-sod* interpretations that were proposed by Rashi and others.²³ At the same time, there are *Tosafot* texts whose interest in concepts such as the function of the *hayyot* and *ofannim* and the use of *Shemot* to achieve heavenly revelations transcends the realm of pure *sugya* interpretation or the resolution of conflicting talmudic passages.²⁴

Moreover, a number of Rabbenu Tam's leading students in both northern France and Germany exhibited familiarity with esoteric teachings even though they appear to have had no formal connection to *Hasidei Ashkenaz*. An eschatological formulation by R. Isaac b. Samuel of Dampierre (Ri), which identifies a category of people who will merit their reward in *gan eden* but will not continue to exist in *olan ha-ba* and also describes the fates of complete *resha'im* and *zaddiqim*, is cited by R. Elhanan b. Ya'qar of London in his commentary to *Sefer Yezirah*.²⁵ R. Elhanan, who spent time in northern France with fellow members of the mystical *Hug ha-Keruv ha-Meyuhad*, indicates that he studied *Sefer Yezirah* with an unnamed scholar who himself had studied it with Ri.²⁶ Ri is included among a list of Ashkenazic scholars who allegedly received and transmitted mystical messianic prognostications. He is perhaps the only rabbinic figure in that group who has not been associated with the German Pietists, although it is likely that he was visited in northern France by R. Yehudah *he-Hasid*.²⁷ R. Abraham b. Nathan of Lunel, author of *Sefer ha-Manhig*, studied with Ri. It was within Ri's circle that R. Abraham observed certain pietistic and mystical practices in

prayer which he attributes to scholars and pietists of northern France.²⁸

Ri's approval of the magical summoning of *shedim* to divine the whereabouts of lost objects or to cure illnesses, and his interest in the role played by the constellations and other forces in the content of dreams, reflect more than an acceptance of popular beliefs.²⁹ Another leading student of Rabbenu Tam, R. Eliezer of Metz (1115-98), has a lengthy discussion in his *Sefer Yere'im* about *hashpa'at shedim* and *hashba'at malakhim*. He concludes that these techniques, which he notes are akin to methodologies that are found in *Sefer Yezirah*, are not prohibited as *ma'aseh keshafim*. When a person, however, "creates an actual object or changes a person's mind through his own actions," that person is guilty of sorcery.³⁰ The title of R. Eliezer's halakhic work and its depiction of *yir'at ha-Shem*, as well as its purpose, format, and stated attitude toward uncontrolled dialectic, all adumbrate teachings of *hasidut Ashkenaz*.³¹ Moreover, R. Eliezer suggests that mystical names and markings quite similar to those found in *Maḥzor Vitry* be included in *mezuzot*. Unlike *Maḥzor Vitry* and perhaps in deference to Rabbenu Tam, R. Eliezer writes that these are not absolutely required by Jewish law but should be included for added protection.³²

A contemporary of Ri and R. Eliezer of Metz, R. Ya'akov of Corbeil, discussed the number of words to be recited in *Shema*, and the effects of this recitation, in a manner that modern scholarship has already noted reflects an esoteric or pietistic bent. In a fuller version of R. Ya'akov's formulation, extant in only one manuscript, R. Ya'akov links the recitation of a precise number of words in *Shema* with protection from *mazqim*. This nuance, which is not found in any other Ashkenazic source with the exception of a citation from R. Yehudah *he-Hasid* (who used the term *shed*), is found in R. Yehudah b. Ya'qar's commentary to the prayers. R. Yehudah b. Ya'qar, who studied with northern French tosafists, as well as Spanish and perhaps Provencal kabbalists, was a teacher of Nahmanides in both talmud and kabbalah. Although R. Yehudah also transmitted teachings of *Hasidei Ashkenaz* to Ramban, his formulation in this case is even closer to that of R. Ya'akov of Corbeil than it is to R. Yehudah *he-Hasid*'s.³³

R. Isaac b. Mordekhai of Bohemia (Ribam), another devoted student of Rabbenu Tam, responded to a question that was asked of him by R. Yehudah *he-Hasid* on the role of certain angels.³⁴ Ribam's pietistic tendency in regard to fasting on Rosh ha-Shanah, similar to R. Yehudah *he-Hasid*'s view concerning fasting two days for Yom Kippur, lends credence to his role as a source of esoteric material for R. Yehudah *he-Hasid*.³⁵ Another student of Rabbenu Tam, R. Menaḥem of Joigny, is mentioned in a manuscript as transmitting a *sofei tevot* formulation in conjunction with a revelation of Elijah. This passage occurs in a section of the manuscript that is laden with references to *Hasidei Ashkenaz*, and to their esoteric techniques and *segullot*.³⁶

R. Isaac b. Abraham (Rizba, d.1210), the older brother of R. Samson of Sens, and one of Ri's most important students, is referred to in a kabbalistic formulation of R. Yehudah b. Ya'qar. There remains some doubt, however, as to whether R. Yehudah appended his own kabbalistic interpretation to remarks made by Rizba in the course of an analysis of talmudic passages, or whether Rizba discussed the esoteric material himself.³⁷ Moshe Idel has suggested that either Rizba or Ri was the intended figure in a cryptic manuscript reference to the making of a golem that appears in a text produced by

the *Hug ha-Keruv ha-Meyuḥad*.³⁸ Rizba also issued eschatological formulations which have mystical overtones.³⁹

R. Yehudah *he-Hasid* was an almost exact contemporary of Rizba. His closest student in pietistic and mystical lore, R. Eleazar of Worms (who also studied with R. Eliezer of Metz), was responsible for the dissemination of R. Yehudah's teachings. Other students and tosafist colleagues of R. Yehudah in Speyer, where he spent his earlier years, such as R. Yehudah b. Qalonymus (Ribaq), refer to pieces of *torat ha-sod* that they received from R. Yehudah. Ribaq's *Sefer Yihusei Tanna'im va-Amora'im* contains a lengthy passage which interprets the activities of R. Yishma'el *Kohen Gadol* based on *Heḥalot* literature as well as the *torat ha-kavod* of the German Pietists.⁴⁰ Esoteric and pietistic dimensions of *hasidut Ashkenaz* also impacted on the thirteenth-century northern French halakhist R. Isaac of Corbeil.⁴¹

Two other prominent Tosafists, who studied in northern France and Germany and were linked directly with *Hasidei Ashkenaz*, record *torat ha-sod* teachings. R. Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, who studied with R. Yehudah *he-Hasid*, and with R. Abraham b. Azriel among others, begins his *Sefer Or Zarua'* with an analysis of the Hebrew alphabet. This treatise makes reference to esoteric letter combinations, to *gematriot* and *sofei tevot* utilized in other Ashkenazic *sod* literature, to pietistic prayer practices that are based on *Heḥalot* texts, and to aspects of *torat ha-malakhim*. *Or Zarua'* also interprets the talmudic accounts of R. Yishma'el *Kohen Gadol* according to the *torat ha-kavod* of *Hasidei Ashkenaz*. Material on *shedim* found in *Sefer Or Zarua'*, citing R. Yehudah *he-Hasid*, corresponds closely to material found in esoteric texts of the German Pietists such as *Sefer ha-Kavod*.⁴²

R. Meir of Rothenburg, a student of R. Isaac *Or Zarua'* and other figures associated with *Hasidei Ashkenaz*, exhibited affinities to the Pietists and to R. Yehudah *he-Hasid* in particular in areas such as conservatism in halakhic decision-making, the conception of *qiddush ha-Shem*; biblical interpretations characterized as *ta'amei massoret*, the status of women, and attitudes toward *Erez Yisrael*. He also followed the esoteric teachings of R. Yehudah *he-Hasid* in regard to *nosah ha-tefillah*.⁴³ In terms of *torat ha-sod*, R. Meir was involved in aspects of magical and kabbalistic praxis through the recitation of Divine names and mystical formulae, and possibly in the writing of amulets involving letter combinations and the use of Divine names. His formulae are recorded in several manuscripts in close proximity to those of R. Yehudah *he-Hasid*, R. Eleazar of Worms, and other Ashkenazic figures including his own student, R. Dan. These formulae were intended to achieve states of being or physical effects such as *petiḥat ha-lev* or protection from harm, aims which are found in parallel material from the German Pietists. R. Meir is also linked with prognostication techniques such as *she'elat halom* and *goralot*. Some of the manuscripts which record mystical material attributed to R. Meir are of Spanish provenance or date from the later middle ages, raising the question of whether R. Meir was in fact the author of these practices. Nonetheless, a number of the manuscript texts are of Ashkenazic provenance and are not as late. In addition, two texts of the thirteenth-century Castilian *Hug ha-Iyyun* identify an unusual heavenly figure in the names of R. Meir of Germany and R. Perez of France, no doubt referring to R. Meir of Rothenburg and to his student, R. Perez of Corbeil. Moreover, R. Meir's involvement in *torat ha-sod* can be confirmed from passages that

record the practices of his students and followers like R. Dan.⁴⁴

R. Shelomoh Simḥah b. Eliezer, author of the lengthy treatise *Sefer ha-Maskil*, also studied rabbinics and *torat ha-sod* with R. Meir of Rothenburg and with R. Perez of Corbeil. R. Shelomoh was thoroughly familiar with the *torat ha-kavod* of the German Pietists and with a form of the doctrine of the ether that was similar to one found in the writings of the Pietists. He was also interested in uses of Divine names to achieve certain effects and in the manipulation of demonic and angelic forces. He mentions as the greatest authorities in these areas R. Yehudah *he-Hasid*, and Rabbenu Meir *ha-Gadol*, referring to his own direct teacher, R. Meir of Rothenburg. In a formulation quite similar to passages in *Sefer Or-Zarua'* and in the esoteric literature of the German Pietists, *Sefer ha-Maskil* writes that the power of demons and the Divine names is effective even when activated *be-tum'ah*, by those who do wrong in the eyes of God, because all is derived from God's power and the power of His six names. Recourse to these names however, decreases *yir'at shamayim*. They should not be used regularly but teaching or studying them is permitted.⁴⁵

R. Shelomoh refers to the prophetic *hishuv ha-gez* activities of R. Ezra *ha-Navi* of Moncontour. R. Ezra studied in his youth with Ri and was one of R. Meir of Rothenburg's tosafist teachers during R. Meir's sojourn in northern France. R. Ezra "ascended to heaven" using *Hekhalot* techniques, and was perhaps one of the mystical prophets described by Rashba as being active in Ashkenaz.⁴⁶ The Torah commentaries of another of R. Meir's teachers, R. Avigdor Kohen Zadeq (or Katz, a student of R. Simḥah of Speyer) display marked similarities to esoteric material of *Hasidel Ashkenaz*.⁴⁷ Mention should also be made of R. Zidqiyah *ha-Rofe*, author of *Shibbolei ha-Leget*, who integrated within his work kabbalistic themes such as the link between the Tetragrammaton and circumcision.⁴⁸

The late twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Ashkenaz see a renewed interest in esoteric studies among Tosafists, some of which cannot be attributed to the influence of the German Pietists. While the talmudic methodologies of Rabbenu Tam and Raban dominated the period, their downplaying of other disciplines including *torat ha-sod* was not accepted by all.⁴⁹ Further research must be undertaken to correlate these findings with other developments in the intellectual history of the tosafist period, and to analyze possible antecedents, but it appears that aspects of this history must be reconsidered.

¹ See my *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Detroit, 1992), 69-73.

² See, e.g., M. Glüdemann, *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Hayyim B'tei ha-Benayim*, v.1 (Warsaw, 1897), 119-39. The few scattered references to *torat ha-sod* and *kabbalah* in E.E. Urbach's *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* are found in regard to German Pietists or their associates.

³ See, e.g., H. Soloveitchik, "Three Themes in the *Sefer Hasidim*," *AJS Review* 1 (1976): 339-54, and my *Jewish Education and Society*, 86-91.

⁴ E.E. Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* (Jerusalem, 1980), 1:466-70; I. Ta-Shma, "Hasidut Ashkenaz bi-Sefarad: R. Yonah Gerondi," *Galut Ahar Golah*, ed. A. Mirsky et al., 165-73; and my *Jewish Education and Society*, 73-79.

⁵ See A. Grossman, *Hakhmei Ashkenaz ha-Rishonim* (Jerusalem, 1981), 76-78, 100-01, 230-31; E. Wolfson, "Images of God's Feet: Some Observations on the Divine Body in

Judaism," *People of the Body*, ed. H. Eilberg-Schwartz (Albany, 1990), 154; ms. Parma 541, fol. 266v; mss. Jerusalem 3037 and 4199, cited in H. Pedaya, *Mashber ba-E-lohut ve-Tiqqun ha-Te'urgi be-Qabbalat R. Yizhaq Sagi Nahor ve-Talmidav* (Ph.D., Hebrew University, 1989), 261, n.52.

⁶ See, e.g., Rashi, *Sukkah* 45a, s.v. 'ani va-ho; *Qiddushin* 71a, s.v. *Shem ben arba otiiyyot*; *Avodah Zarah* 17b, s.v. 'alav li-serefah; *Sanhedrin*, 101b, s.v. *u-vileshon*; *Hagigah* 13a, s.v. *sitrei Torah*; 14b, s.v. *nikhnesu le-pardes*; and I. Ta-Shma, "Sifriyyatam shel Hakhmei Ashkenaz," *Qiryat Sefer* 60 (1985): 307.

⁷ See Rashi, *Sanhedrin* 65b, s.v. *bara gavra*, and 67b, s.v. *aspei be-hilkhot yezirah*; M. Idel, *Golem* (Albany, 1990), 30-31, 40, n.18, 50, 58; E. Wolfson, "Demut Ya'aqov Haquqah be-Kisse ha-Kavod," *Sefer Zikaron li-Prof. Ephraim Gottlieb*, ed. A. Goldreich and M. Oron (in press), nn. 41-42, 117, 138.

⁸ See, e.g., E. Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah* (Albany, 1989), 105, 122; *Shibbolei ha-Leget*, ed. S. Büber, sec. 20 (p.19). Cf. Y. Dan, "Rashi and the Merkabah," *Rashi, 1040-1990*, ed. G. Sed-Rajna (Paris, 1993), 259-64, and D. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot* (Tübingen, 1988), 184, 210, 219-20, 243, 534, n.1.

⁹ Ginsburg, *The Sabbath*, 106, 168, n.189. Cf. *Mahzor Vitry*, ed. S. Hurwitz, 115-16, and G. Scholem, "Havdalah de-R. Akiva," *Tarbiz* 50 (1980-81): 243-49, 278-79.

¹⁰ I. Ta-Shma, *Minhag Ashkenaz ha-Qadmon* (Jerusalem, 1992), 148-56.

¹¹ See H. Pedaya, "Pegam ve-Tiqqun shel ha-E-lohut be-Qabbalat R. Yizhaq Sagi Nahor," *Mehqerei Yerushalayim be-Mafshevet Yisrael* 6 (1987): 253-59.

¹² See *Mahzor Vitry*, 648-69; *Sefer ha-Pardes*, sec. 285; *Siddur Rashi*, sec. 455; V. Aptowitz, "Le Nom de Dieu et des Anges dans la Mevoza," *REJ* 60 (1910): 40-52.

¹³ See Rashbam, *Pesahim* 119a, s.v. *u-mai nihi sitrei Torah*; E. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, (forthcoming), ch. 5; Pedaya, "Pegam ve-Tiqqun," 157, n.2.

¹⁴ See, e.g., S. Kamin, "Rashbam's Conception of the Creation in Light of the Intellectual Currents of his Time," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 31 (1986): 91-132.

¹⁵ See A. Grossman, *Hakhmei Ashkenaz ha-Rishonim*, 348; *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. E.E. Urbach, vol. 4 (Jerusalem, 1963), 24-39.

¹⁶ See E. Wolfson, "The Mystical Significance of Torah Study in German Pietism," *Jewish Quarterly Review* [in press], n.112.

¹⁷ See, e.g., Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 1:70-71, 88-93, and Grossman, *Hakhmei Ashkenaz ha-Rishonim*, 94-95. Cf. my *Jewish Education and Society*, 79-95.

¹⁸ See *Tosafot Hagigah* 11b, s.v. 'ein dorshin, and E. Wolfson, "Letter Symbolism and Merkavah Imagery in the Zohar," *Alei Shefer: Studies in the Literature of Jewish Thought*, ed. M. Hallamish (Ramat Gan, 1990), pp.217*-218*.

¹⁹ See I. Ta-Shma, *Minhag Ashkenaz ha-Qadmon*, 102, 203-13; *Mahzor Vitry*, 364; *Shibbolei ha-Leget*, sec. 28 (p.26). Cf. Rashi, *Tosafot Menahot* 32b, s.v. *sakkanah*.

²⁰ See Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* 1:88, 123, and M. Idel, *Golem*, pp. 81-82, 92-93.

²¹ See my *Jewish Education and Society*, 69-74; A. Grossman, "Reshitam shel Ha-Tosafot," *Rashi, Iyyunim be-Yezirato*, ed. Z.A. Steinfeld (Jerusalem, 1993), 57-68.

²² See Grossman, *Hakhmei Ashkenaz ha-Rishonim*, 439.

²³ See, e.g., *Tosafot Berakhot* 3a, s.v. *ve-onin*, and H. Pedaya (above, n.11); *Hagigah* 14b, s.v. *nikhnesu le-pardes*; *Tosafot ha-Rosh, Gittin* 84a, s.v. 'al menat she-ta'ali.

²⁴ *Tos. Hagigah* 13b, s.v. *katuvehad omer*, 13a, s.v. *ve-raglei ha-hayyor*; *Hullin* 92a,

- s. v. *barukh ofannim*; Gittin 84a, s. v. 'al menat she-ta'ali; Sukkah 45a, s. v. *ani va-ho*.
- 25 Ms. JTS Mich. 8118 [ENA 838], fol. 65v.
- 26 See G. Vajda, "Perush R. Elhanan le-Sefer Yezirah," *Qovez 'al Yad* 6 (1966): 148, 184.
- 27 See my "Rabbinic Figures in Castilian Kabbalistic Pseudepigraphy," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 3 (1993): 87-88.
- 28 See, e.g., *Sefer ha Mānḥig*, ed. Y. Raphael (Jerusalem, 1978), 1:85, 363, 2:607, 626 and E. Zimmer, "Tiqunei ha-Guf be-Et ha-Tefillah," *Sidra* 5 (1989): 94-95, 128-29.
- 29 See Avraham Halpern, *Sefer Mordekhai le-Massekhet Bava Qamma* (Ph.D., Hebrew University, 1978), v. 2, 211-12. Cf. *Teshuvot ha-Rashba*, 1:413, and *Ha-Meyuhassot la-Ramban*, #283; Y. Dan, *Torat ha-Sod shel Ḥasidut Ashkenaz*, (Jerusalem, 1968), 184-93, 218-22; *Tosafot Pesahim* 25a, s. v. *huz*; *Berakhot* 55b, s. v. *poteret halomot*.
- 30 *Sefer Yere'im ha-Shalem*, sec. 239; R. Yeroham b. Meshullam, *Toledot Adam ve-Havvah* (Venice, 1547), 17:5 (fol. 159d).
- 31 See, e.g., *Sefer Yere'im*, introduction, secs. 404-05, 414, 232; and above, n. 3.
- 32 *Sefer Yere'im*, secs. 399-400; *Haggahot Maimuniyyot, Hilkhot Mezuzah* 5:4. Cf. *Sefer Yere'im*, sec. 241, and *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. E. E. Urbach, 2:32.
- 33 See E. E. Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 1:150-51, and my "Rabbinic Figures in Castilian Kabbalistic Pseudepigraphy," 89-90.
- 34 See *Perushei Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roqeah*, ed. M. Hershler (Jerusalem, 1992), 87, and cf. *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. Urbach, 4:99-100, n. 75.
- 35 *Sefer Or Zarua'*, *Hilkhot Rosh ha-Shanah*, sec. 257, and Grossman, *Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz ha-Rishonim*, 287.
- 36 Ms. Parma 541 (above, n. 5). Cf. ins. Moscov-Gunzberg 734, fol. 92b, and *Tosafot Berakhot*, 40; s. v. *have melah*.
- 37 See G. Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, ed. R. J. Z. Werblowsky (Princeton, 1987), 251, and my "Rabbinic Figures," 97, n. 73.
- 38 Idel, *Golem*, 91-92, n. 4.
- 39 See ms. Darmstadt Cod. Or. 25, fol. 13b, 17a-b, reported by R. Moses of Coucy.
- 40 See Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 1:376-77.
- 41 See my "Rabbinic Figures in Castilian Kabbalistic Pseudepigraphy," 91-99.
- 42 *Sefer Or Zarua'*, *hilkhot qeri'at shema*, sec. 8; *hilkhot ba'al qeri*, sec. 124; *hilkhot 'eruvim*, sec. 147. Cf. Dan, *Torat ha-Sod shel Ḥasidut Ashkenaz*, 186-88.
- 43 See my "Preservation, Creativity and Courage: The Life and Works of R. Meir of Rothenburg," *Jewish Book Annual* 50 (1992-93): 249-59.
- 44 See my "Rabbinic Figures in Castilian Kabbalistic Pseudepigraphy," 100-02.
- 45 I. Ta-Shma, "Sefer ha-Maskhil: Hibbur Yehudi Zarefati Bilti Yadua' mi-Sof ha-Me'ah ha-Yod Gimel," *Meqerei Yerushalayim be-Mahshevet Yisrael* 2 (1983): 416-38.
- 46 See Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 1:336-37; Scholem, *Origins*, 239-40; Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, 91-96; *Teshuvot ha-Rashba*, 1:548.
- 47 See ms. Hamburg 45. It is also possible that R. Avigdor Katz and R. Avigdor Zarefati, a compiler of *Hug ha-Keruy ha-Meyuhad* texts, were the same person.
- 48 See E. Wolfson, "Circumcision and the Divine Name," *JQR* 78 (1987): 110-11; *Shibbolei ha-Leqet*, secs. 15, 185, 236; and Ta-Shma in *Tarbiz* 57 (1988): 62.
- 49 Cf. V. Aptowitz, *Mavo le-Sefer Rabiah*, 19-21.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
**ELEVENTH WORLD
CONGRESS OF
JEWISH STUDIES**

JERUSALEM, JUNE 22-29, 1993

DIVISION C

THOUGHT AND LITERATURE

VOLUME II

JEWISH THOUGHT, KABBALAH AND HASIDISM

THE WORLD UNION OF JEWISH STUDIES

JERUSALEM 1994