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Between Proportion and Order. The Latin translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* between Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Egidio da Viterbo (MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190 and MS BNF, Lat. 598)

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French extended abstract

Cette recherche est consacrée aux deux traductions latines du traité kabbalistique *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. La première de ces traductions a été réalisée vers la fin du XVe siècle à Florence par le converti Flavius Mithridate pour Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Ce texte se présente sous une forme mutilée aux foll. 132r-150v ; 212r-221v du MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190. La deuxième traduction latine de ce texte abordée dans cette thèse a été réalisée à Rome au cours des premières décennies du XVIe siècle par le prieur général des Augustins et futur cardinal, Egidio da Viterbo. Le texte de cette traduction, conservé aux foll. 69r-141v du MS BNF, Lat. 598, est complet. Sa datation à 1513, mentionnée dans une brève colophon au fol. 118r, a causé quelques erreurs dans les catalogages précédents de ce manuscrit qui divisaient le texte de la traduction entre les foll. 69r-118r du volume et un *Liber de Nomine* non spécifié aux pages 118v-141v. L'étude de la présente traduction a donc permis de rétablir l'étendue précise de ce texte. Les éditions de ces traductions, présentées dans le deuxième volume de cette thèse, adoptent, avec des adaptations précises, les conventions éditoriales expérimentées dans le projet « The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola ». Les publications de certaines des traductions réalisées par Flavius Mithridate pour le compte de Giovanni Pico della Mirandola dans le cadre de ce projet ont en effet produit des résultats indispensables à l'édition et à la contextualisation historique et textuelle de ces travaux. L'approche semi-diplomatique adoptée pour les éditions précédentes a en effet eu le mérite de rendre accessible ce matériel écrit complexe et, en même temps, de faire ressortir très clairement du texte même des traductions les principales caractéristiques des méthodes de travail utilisées dans leur composition. C'est pourquoi, compte tenu des défis méthodologiques et critiques posés par l'édition des traductions latines de textes kabbalistiques, ainsi que de la nécessité de rendre compte des aspects matériels du travail de traduction à partir du texte même des traductions, il a été décidé d'appliquer ces conventions tant à la traduction mithridatique de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* qu'à celle d'Egidio. En effet, malgré la grande quantité de traductions de l'hébreu produites dans l'atelier d'écriture et de kabbale dirigé par Egidio da Viterbo, l'édition de la traduction de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* présentée dans cette thèse est la première tentative éditoriale visant à explorer systématiquement un texte de ce *corpus* très vaste. Le premier volume de la thèse est quant à lui consacré à l'exploration des contextes culturels et historiques dans lesquels ces traductions ont été conçues et produites, avec une attention particulière portée à l'examen des manuscrits contenant ces travaux. Les traductions de l'hébreu, en particulier des textes kabbalistiques, constituent la principale forme de médiation et de diffusion de ces contenus parmi les intellectuels du mouvement kabbalistique chrétien. À travers l'étude comparative des deux traductions latines de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, nous avons donc cherché à dresser un tableau exhaustif du développement pratique et idéologique des différentes approches traductionnelles adoptées par

d'importants intellectuels chrétiens pour aborder l'étude de la Kabbale juive. L'objectif de cette enquête était en effet d'insérer l'étude des traductions kabbalistiques dans un récit centré sur le développement de la Kabbale chrétienne depuis ses origines dans la Florence humaniste de la fin du XVe siècle jusqu'à la Rome papale du XVIe siècle, bouleversée par la crise de la Réforme puis par le sac de 1527. De cette manière, la contextualisation historique et culturelle globale de ce mouvement intellectuel et de ses activités visait à présenter une étude sur l'évolution de la Kabbale dans la péninsule italienne entre le XVe et le XVIe siècle, dans laquelle ressortaient les contacts culturels et même politiques profonds entre les intellectuels juifs et chrétiens. La Kabbale chrétienne en Italie constitue donc une évolution particulière des instances culturelles, doctrinales et interprétatives qui, au moins aux origines de ce mouvement culturel et dans les premières décennies de son développement, ne pouvait faire abstraction de la confrontation systématique avec les textes et les idées qui circulaient dans les cercles kabbalistiques juifs contemporains. Ces contacts, qui comprenaient également une série de relations interpersonnelles et intercommunautaires d'une importance historique particulière, n'étaient pas exempts de contradictions et de préjugés, dont nous avons tenté de rendre compte dans le cadre de cette étude des premières décennies de développement du mouvement kabbalistique chrétien.

1. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola à Florence

Le premier chapitre de cet ouvrage est consacré à l'origine de l'intérêt chrétien pour les doctrines kabbalistiques dans les cercles intellectuels humanistes de la fin du XVe siècle. Tout d'abord, nous avons analysé les positions sur l'étude et la connaissance de la Kabbale juive exprimées par Giovanni Pico della Mirandola dans son *Oratio de Hominis Dignitate*, jamais prononcée. Ce texte avait en effet été conçu pour introduire les débats publics suscités par la publication par Giovanni Pico des *Conclusiones Nongentae* en décembre 1486. Les thèses exprimées dans ce petit ouvrage visaient à promouvoir, à travers la discussion publique de ces propositions, un vaste projet culturel de concorde philosophique entre les différentes doctrines philosophiques et religieuses. Dans ce contexte, les réélaborations de la doctrine kabbalistique insérées par Giovanni Pico dans son traité apparaissaient comme une nouveauté culturelle et religieuse incontournable. Le jeune comte de Mirandola estimait en effet que l'étude de la Kabbale juive permettait de retrouver dans les textes très anciens de la tradition juive des confirmations et des anticipations des dogmes catholiques et des vérités de la foi chrétienne. Il élaborait donc une histoire de l'origine de cette forme de savoir comme véritable loi orale transmise à Moïse sur le Sinaï, puis à Josué et aux sages d'Israël, jusqu'à trouver sa première expression écrite dans les 70 livres d'Esdras, qui devaient rester inaccessibles aux Juifs avant l'âge de 40 ans. La première expérience de traduction en latin de ces textes et donc un premier projet de

diffusion fut attribué à Sixte IV. Par conséquent, Giovanni Pico aurait apparemment recouru à l'autorité papale pour rendre plus acceptable la portée disruptive de la nouveauté culturelle des conclusions kabbalistiques élaborées par le Mirandolano. Comme l'on souligne dans le contexte historique fourni dans le chapitre, d'autres intellectuels, tels que le converti et évêque de Burgos Pablo di Santa Maria, avaient également utilisé des citations kabbalistiques dans des écrits polémiques anti-juifs visant à convertir cette minorité. Par conséquent, d'autres intellectuels chrétiens, comme Marsilio Ficino, avaient inséré de brèves citations kabbalistiques (souvent issues d'écrits polémiques) dans leurs écrits. Cependant, la nouveauté de la proposition culturelle de Giovanni Pico della Mirandola sur la Kabbale résidait dans l'inclusion des doctrines juives dans le panorama des études chrétiennes, non seulement dans un but polémique, mais aussi comme source de sagesse mystico-philosophique capable de fournir des révélations supplémentaires sur l'interprétation correcte de points spécifiques de la doctrine catholique. Ce renversement novateur de la perspective d'interaction avec les études kabbalistiques fut accueilli, avec d'autres propositions incluses dans l'œuvre de Pico, avec une extrême méfiance de la part des hautes sphères intellectuelles catholiques. Les débats publics sur les 900 thèses proposées par le comte de Mirandola furent empêchés et le texte des *Conclusiones Nongentae* fut soumis à l'examen d'une commission inquisitoriale, instituée par le pape Innocent VIII. L'affaire se termina, après de vives discussions avec les inquisiteurs, la publication de l'*Apologia* et une fuite rocambolesque en France, par l'excommunication de Giovanni Pico, qui ne fut révoquée qu'en 1493 par le pape Alexandre VI. La persévérance du comte de Mirandola dans ses études juives et kabbalistiques, associée à la richesse de sa production littéraire et traductrice liée à l'épisode fondateur tumultueux du mouvement kabbalistique chrétien, a donc conduit à une étude du contexte historique et culturel dans lequel ces événements se sont déroulés. Dans un premier temps, nous avons procédé à la reconstruction biographique et historique de la relation entre Giovanni Pico della Mirandola et son plus proche collaborateur en matière kabbalistique, le converti Flavius Mithridate. Né en Sicile sous le nom hébraïque de Shmuel ben Nissim Abu al-Farag et baptisé du nom de son parrain, Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada, Flavius Mithridate avait déjà obtenu d'importantes commandes intellectuelles liées à sa connaissance de l'hébreu et de l'arabe avant de travailler pour le comte de Mirandola. En particulier, grâce à la protection du cardinal Giovanni Battista Cybo, le converti avait obtenu le privilège de prononcer devant le pape Sixte IV l'homélie du Vendredi Saint de 1481. Ce sermon combinait une réécriture du *Pugio Fidei* de Ramon Martí et une série de citations en hébreu, en arabe et en chaldéen (araméen caché par des caractères éthiopiens), qui démontrent un substantiel manque de scrupules de la part de Mithridate dans l'adaptation de ses compétences linguistiques et culturelles aux besoins idéologiques de son auditoire. L'impression générée par cette homélie lui valut en effet de se voir confier une série de traductions

de l'hébreu et de l'arabe pour le compte de Federico da Montefeltro et, surtout, pour le compte du pape Sixte IV en personne. Dans son homélie, Mithridate avait en effet traité d'une très ancienne tradition juive qui préfigurait et reconnaissait Jésus comme le Messie et à laquelle les Juifs ne pouvaient avoir accès avant l'âge de 40 ans, appelée *Vetus Talmud*. Sous l'impulsion idéologique du programme culturel promu par Sixte IV, Mithridate traduisit donc une série de textes, dont le *Seder 'Olam Rabba* qui sera cité en 1484 par Marsilio Ficino, relatifs au *Vetus Talmud*, défini plus tard, selon certaines sources, comme « cabala ». Ces dernières sources se réfèrent principalement à la période passée par Mithridate dans diverses villes germanophones, à la suite de sa fuite de Rome pour un crime grave qui lui coûta la protection de Giovanni Battista Cybo. Les informations concernant les premières allusions de Mithridate à la « cabala » pendant son séjour en Allemagne entre 1482 et 1484 sont cependant assez tardives et ont tendance à être déjà influencées par la lecture, par leurs auteurs respectifs, des écrits de Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. On ne peut en effet manquer de remarquer que la description mithridatique du *Vetus Talmud* coïncide en grande partie avec celle de la Kabbale proposée par Giovanni Pico dans l'*Oratio* et puis, sur la base de cette source, dans l'*Apologia* publiée en 1487. On a donc cherché à approfondir le substrat idéologique qui caractérise l'approche de Pico à l'étude de la Kabbale juive et à sa diffusion. Une importance particulière a donc été accordée au thème du substitutionnisme chrétien par rapport au judaïsme et à son adaptation des Écritures saintes aux doctrines kabbalistiques. Nous avons souligné l'apport idéologique du concept humaniste de *prisca theologia* promu dans les écrits de Marsilio Ficino et partagé au sein des cercles humanistes florentins. À partir de ce substrat spécifique, nous avons ensuite examiné l'adaptation du concept de *Vetus Talmud* aux écrits kabbalistiques accompli par Mithridate pour le compte de Giovanni Pico. Dans ce contexte, on a en effet cherché à souligner que cette réélaboration conceptuelle n'est pas seulement une falsification historique de la part de Mithridate pour s'assurer la protection de son jeune et riche mécène, mais le produit d'une collaboration intellectuelle particulière. L'analyse des sources historiques et documentaires relatives à la période où Flavius Mithridate a agi en tant que principal traducteur de l'hébreu pour le compte du comte de Mirandola, montre constamment la tentative de Mithridate d'élaborer et de modeler ses connaissances pour s'adapter aux besoins culturels et idéologiques de son mécène. Cette capacité de réélaboration culturelle et le caractère fondamentalement sans scrupules du personnage ont donné naissance à une sorte de stéréotype fréquent dans la littérature scientifique, selon lequel Mithridate ne serait qu'un faussaire capable de manipuler et de provoquer une incompréhension idéologique de la Kabbale juive de la part de son mécène, en incluant des interpolations christologiques dans les textes kabbalistiques traduits. Cependant, un examen plus approfondi des caractéristiques des traductions produites par le converti, du contenu de ces textes et des idées circulant dans les cercles intellectuels de la fin du XVe

siècle examinés jusqu'à présent, remet fortement en question ces hypothèses. La grande quantité de notes à caractère privé, et donc d'une grande importance historique, disséminées dans les pages des traductions kabbalistiques que Mithridate a composées pour Giovanni Pico, témoignent d'une tentative constante d'attirer l'attention du jeune protecteur, dans le cadre d'une relation de pouvoir certainement déséquilibrée en faveur du comte de Mirandola. Mithridate souligne constamment ses talents d'interprète et de pédagogue, ajoute des considérations – souvent obscènes ou, pour le moins, particulièrement sarcastiques – sur d'importants intellectuels du cercle des Médicis et des membres de la cour papale romaine. Plus généralement, le convers sicilien semble rechercher une profonde complicité intellectuelle avec son élève, qui détient à la fois le pouvoir et la capacité d'agir en tant que mécène résolu, capable de différer fortement les rémunérations et les gratifications et d'orienter concrètement le travail de traduction de son collaborateur. Il ressort en effet de ces annotations que le travail de traduction de Mithridate et l'étude des traductions kabbalistiques qui en résultaient étaient menés en phases nettement distinctes, au cours desquelles, en raison de la distance géographique entre les deux collaborateurs, le converti se retrouvait souvent à envoyer à son mécène des fascicules et des cahiers de traductions plus volumineux qui étaient ensuite diffusés au sein du cercle des humanistes florentins. Compte tenu de ces contingences spatiales et temporelles, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola a apparemment imposé ou du moins indiqué précisément à son traducteur les principales caractéristiques recherchées dans les travaux de traduction commandés. Dans ce contexte, l'extrême littéralisme des traductions kabbalistiques de Mithridate ressort particulièrement. La stricte adhésion au texte hébreu, qui pourrait facilement être assimilée à la définition de Saverio Campanini de « traduction interlinéaire *in absentia* », sacrifie souvent la complétude syntaxique, grammaticale et donc sémantique du texte latin résultant. Cependant, ce mode de traduction spécifique permet de reconstituer avec une extrême précision les caractéristiques textuelles et même codicologiques des manuscrits hébraïques à la base des traductions kabbalistiques de Flavius Mithridate. Cette hypothèse a été confirmée par la comparaison entre certaines traductions kabbalistiques intitulées « *Fragmenta libri Bahir* », contenues aux foll. 288r-335v du MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191, et le texte hébreu à la base de leur traduction aux foll. 1r-38r du MS BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209. Malgré de nombreuses études et recherches sur la vaste collection de livres de Pico, ce volume kabbalistique daté de 1298 est en effet le seul manuscrit conservé à ce jour dont on ait pu prouver avec certitude qu'il ait été utilisé par Mithridate comme antigraphe hébraïque pour des traductions kabbalistiques commandées par Giovanni Pico. Le fait que ce volume ait appartenu au comte de Mirandola et que seules certaines sections de ce manuscrit aient été traduites semble démontrer que le programme culturel et les exigences pratiques et matérielles auxquelles ces traductions adhéraient étaient en fin de compte établis par Giovanni Pico. À partir d'un examen minutieux du contenu et des caractéristiques

codicologiques des MSS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189 ; 190 ; 191 et Chigi A VI 190, ainsi que de certains travaux de traduction élaborés par Mithridate pour Giovanni Pico contenus dans les MSS BAV, Vat. Lat. 4273 ; Vat. Ebr. 357 et Ottob. Lat. 607, il est donc possible de reconstituer avec une bonne précision la trajectoire de la relation et de la collaboration entre les deux intellectuels, dont l'activité est certainement à l'origine du mouvement kabbalistique chrétien. On peut notamment constater que Giovanni Pico n'a confié au converti sicilien la traduction de l'hébreu d'un très vaste programme de textes kabbalistiques qu'après une période initiale pendant laquelle Mithridate s'était consacré, pour le compte du comte de Mirandola, à la traduction de textes bibliques exégétiques ou même à quelques incursions dans la philosophie. Les quelque 3500 pages de textes kabbalistiques qui subsistent dans la collection vaticane ne comprennent pas le volume fondamental de la traduction latine du *Commentaire sur le Pentateuque* de Menaḥem da Recanati, acheté et décrit en 1651 par le bibliophile français Jacques Gaffarel, aujourd'hui perdu. Il existe en effet un consensus académique sur le fait que la traduction latine de ce texte a été largement consultée par le comte de Mirandola et utilisée comme source principale pour un grand nombre de thèses kabbalistiques dans les *Conclusiones Nongentae*. La perte presque totale de ce texte, à l'exception d'une petite partie transcrite aux foll. 117r-124r du MS Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX.29, est donc particulièrement lourde. De plus, comme cela s'est également produit dans les cercles kabbalistiques juifs italiens, le *Commentaire* de Recanati – dans ce cas dans sa version latine – fut le principal médiateur des citations zohariques divulguées par Giovanni Pico, à une époque où il était particulièrement difficile de se procurer le *Sefer ha-Zohar* dans la péninsule italienne, indépendamment de la réticence éventuelle des communautés locales à prêter ou à vendre des manuscrits ésotériques à un acheteur chrétien. En effet, dans ses écrits, Giovanni Pico se plaint non seulement du coût élevé des manuscrits kabbalistiques, mais aussi de leur difficulté à se procurer en raison de la réticence des kabbalistes juifs à divulguer ces textes en dehors d'un cercle ésotérique restreint et, en particulier, à un intellectuel chrétien. Ces affirmations semblent confirmées par l'analyse et la description du contenu des manuscrits des traductions mithridatiques, surtout si on les compare aux suggestions de lectures kabbalistiques que Giovanni Pico della Mirandola reçut vers 1485 de son collaborateur Élie Del Medigo. Traducteur d'œuvres philosophiques et averroïstes qu'il a rendues de l'hébreu pour le compte de Giovanni Pico, le philosophe de Candie a transcrit dans une lettre adressée à son puissant mécène une série de titres kabbalistiques que le comte aurait pu trouver intéressants, étant donné qu'il était très occupé « in isto benedicto Cabala ». Parmi les lectures – et donc les traductions – suggérées figuraient : le *Sefer ha-Zohar*, *Me'irat 'Enayim* de Yitzḥaq deAqko, *Sha'are Orach* de Yosef Gikatilla, le Recanati, *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* et un *Perush Sefer Yetzirah* générique suivi de la note « et multa alia quorum nomina non occurrunt mihi quia multas habeo occupaciones ». En comparant cette liste

avec les traductions de Mithridate, on découvre que le converti n'a traduit que « Recanati », probablement, selon le contenu d'une lettre du philosophe de Candie, à partir d'une copie de ce texte appartenant à Élie Del Medigo, et *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, conservé sous forme incomplète dans le MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190. Comme nous le verrons plus loin, ce manuscrit semble être le résultat de l'assemblage de cahiers et de textes épars, probablement traduits à une période particulièrement tardive et controversée de la collaboration entre Giovanni Pico et Mithridate. Ces données semblent démontrer que Giovanni Pico aurait pu avoir du mal à obtenir une copie de ce texte, ainsi que d'une grande partie des traités indiqués par Del Medigo, et que dans le cas de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, le jeune comte n'aurait même pas pu lire la traduction commandée au convers. Cette reconstruction semble également étayée par l'absence d'annotations autographes du comte de Mirandola dans les marges des textes du MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, ainsi que du MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189. Nous avons donc cherché à démontrer comment l'analyse attentive des traductions de Mithridate peut fournir des données importantes pour reconstruire le contexte historique particulier dans lequel ces textes ont été conçus et produits. En particulier, à travers la description précise du contenu de ces volumes, nous avons cherché à proposer un aperçu des textes sélectionnés par Giovanni Pico pour la traduction, par nécessité pratique, mais aussi par intention culturelle et intellectuelle précise. Nous avons donc signalé la présence de deux textes kabbalistiques de Yosef Gikatilla comme alternative à *Sha'are Orah*, en particulier *Sha'are Tzedeq* et *Sefer ha-Niqqud*. Environ 191 cartes de traduction présentent la version latine de textes composés par Abraham Abulafia, parmi lesquels *Sitre Torah*, accompagné de commentaires enthousiastes de Mithridate, et un *Commentaire sur le Sefer Yetzirah*. L'intérêt pour le *Sefer Yetzirah* et l'explication de la doctrine séfirotique est représenté par la présence importante de traductions de commentaires et de brochures tels que *Keter Shem Tov* d'Abraham ben Axelrad de Cologne. Environ 700 cartes présentent également la traduction de documents relatifs au cercle des piétistes rhénans des *Haside Ashkenaz*. La réflexion sur les textes mystiques et kabbalistiques traduits par Mithridate a donc conduit à une mise en perspective générale de l'étude de la Kabbale dans les cercles intellectuels juifs toscans à l'époque des premières approches de Pico à ces doctrines. Cette analyse ne pouvait faire abstraction d'une enquête sur les relations entre les élites intellectuelles juives locales et Lorenzo de' Medici, ainsi que sur les interventions directes de ce dernier pour protéger les membres de la communauté juive florentine. Nous avons donc procédé à l'analyse du cas de la censure des livres juifs à Florence en 1472, certifiée par les signatures du notaire chargé des affaires concernant la communauté juive locale, Marchione. Survenu au tout début de la crypto-régence de Lorenzo, cet épisode semble en effet lié à une tentative plus générale d'expulsion des Juifs de la ville. Cependant, l'absence de chroniques documentaires liées à cette période empêche de clarifier les contours juridiques de cet épisode dramatique, ainsi que l'étendue de l'action du Magnifique pour

conjuré ce danger, contrairement à l'épisode de l'assaut du Banco della Vacca géré par Immanuel da Camerino en 1488. En effet, l'assaut s'est terminé par l'intervention des Otto di Guardia e di Balìa de la ville de Florence et par l'expulsion, à la demande de Lorenzo lui-même, du prédicateur Bernardino da Feltre. Nous avons ensuite tenté d'illustrer le rôle politique et culturel joué par les différents membres des familles da Pisa, da San Miniato et da Montalcino, toutes issues de la lignée originale de la famille Mi-Beit-El émigrée de Rome. Il en ressort un tableau historique et culturel varié dans lequel l'étude kabbalistique pouvait ou non être intégrée à l'étude de la philosophie et des classiques, en confrontation active avec la culture humaniste environnante. La diffusion des contenus kabbalistiques et l'opportunité d'un dialogue actif avec les cercles intellectuels chrétiens et l'étude de la philosophie constituent un sujet de controverse particulier au sein des cercles intellectuels et kabbalistiques juifs qui, à la fin du XVe siècle, se sont affrontés dans la péninsule italienne, en particulier en Toscane et dans le centre de l'Italie. C'est dans ce contexte que s'inscrit notamment la figure de Yoḥannan Alemanno, maître de Kabbale des enfants de la famille Da Pisa à la demande expresse du patriarche Yeḥiel ben Yitzḥaq et membre du cercle intellectuel de Marsilio Ficino et Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, après le retour de ce dernier de France et la fin de sa relation avec Flavius Mithridate. Conformément aux orientations de l'humanisme florentin, l'approche magico-théurgique de la Kabbale proposée par Alemanno prévoyait une étude rigoureuse des textes kabbalistiques traditionnels faisant autorité, ainsi que de la philosophie. L'intégration de la Kabbale et de la philosophie, typique de la spéculation intellectuelle des cercles kabbalistiques italiens, fut remise en question avec l'arrivée des kabbalistes séfarades, avant et après leur expulsion de la péninsule ibérique, et la conséquente majeure diffusion locale du *Sefer ha-Zohar*. Le contexte historique et culturel dans lequel la discussion sur la légitimité de l'interprétation philosophique de la Kabbale et l'arrivée des écrits et des kabbalistes séfarades s'est entremêlée avec la naissance de la Kabbale chrétienne devrait faire l'objet d'une étude plus approfondie. Dans les limites de cette thèse, il a donc été décidé de se limiter à un cadrage de ce contexte qui permette de l'inclure dans la description de l'humanisme florentin et de ses développements. Dans le but de reconstituer plus précisément l'environnement culturel dans lequel Giovanni Pico et Flavius Mithridate ont collaboré, nous avons procédé à un réexamen des hypothèses formulées à ce jour sur l'identité d'un certain Abraam. Ce personnage est mentionné par Mithridate dans certaines notes aux traductions où l'on signale la suppression du texte hébreu copié par ce scribe. Un compte rendu de Marsilio Ficino sur un débat qui a eu lieu chez le comte de Mirandola mentionne également la polémique entre Mithridate et Élie Del Medigo, soutenu dans ces argumentations par un autre intellectuel juif du nom d'Abraam. Pour étayer l'hypothèse selon laquelle les deux personnages mentionnés étaient la même personne, nous avons cherché à fournir quelques éléments supplémentaires en faveur de l'identification de cet

Abraam avec le chantre de la communauté de Ferrare et copiste Abraham ben Mordekhai Farissol. Sa présence à Florence à plusieurs reprises et ses contacts avec les élites locales, associés à sa participation à un débat à la cour d'Este, ainsi que les caractéristiques de ses collaborations avec les humanistes de Ferrare, semblent en effet donner corps à cette reconstruction. Nous avons ensuite procédé à l'analyse et à la description du contenu des manuscrits de traductions de l'hébreu vers la langue vernaculaire commandés par le médecin de Laurent de Médicis, professeur d'université et membre illustre du cercle intellectuel humaniste de Florence, Pier Leone da Spoleto. Après avoir discuté de la *damnatio memoriae* qui a frappé le médecin de Spoleto à la suite du décès de son patient le plus illustre et de sa mort violente, nous avons passé en revue les études récentes qui ont approfondi le contenu de la bibliothèque de Pier Leone et reconstitué ses intérêts kabbalistiques. Nous avons donc passé en revue les manuscrits relatifs aux études kabbalistiques du médecin. Tout d'abord, les volumes dans lesquels Pier Leone a copié des extraits de traductions composées par Flavius Mithridate, tels que le MS BUG, A.IX.29 déjà mentionné ou le MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 9425, ont été analysés. Le contenu des traductions en langue vernaculaire du MS BNF, It. 443 et du MS Arsenal, 8526 a ensuite été discuté en détail, en comparaison avec l'antigraphe hébraïque à la base de certains de ces travaux, le MS BNF, Hébr. 776. Ces textes ont été traduits pour le compte de Pier Leone par au moins deux copistes/traducteurs d'origine séfarde (peut-être sicilienne ou espagnole). Les interventions directes dans la copie par le médecin de Spoleto, ainsi qu'une série de retraductions marginales en latin, démontrent l'étude directe de ces textes par Pier Leone. Du point de vue du contenu, outre la présence de matériaux abulafiens intéressants, en ligne avec les préférences déjà relevées parmi les traductions mitridatiques, il convient de signaler des textes tels que *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* ou une série d'ouvrages sur le roman philosophique *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* d'Ibn Tufayl. Ces textes semblent en effet en concurrence apparente avec les traductions latines de l'hébreu préparées par et pour Giovanni Pico. Nous avons donc procédé à une étude approfondie des relations chronologiques et de dépendance possibles entre les deux différents projets de traductions kabbalistiques commandés par Giovanni Pico della Mirandola et Pier Leone da Spoleto. Une attention particulière a été accordée au MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 868. Ce volume, qui appartenait à Mazzingo Mazzinghi, élève de Pier Leone à l'université de Pise, semble dater de 1483. À l'intérieur, outre une anthologie des textes astrologiques et médicaux en accord avec les intérêts bibliographiques de Pier Leone, se trouve une traduction vernaculaire du *Sefer Yetzirah*, qui semblerait donc précéder l'arrivée de Giovanni Pico à Florence en 1484. La présence de différentes écritures à l'intérieur du manuscrit semble toutefois suggérer une composition stratifiée du volume. L'élaboration d'une traduction du *Sefer Yetzirah* est donc conforme aux intérêts et aux contacts déjà établis au sein des cercles médicéens avec les intellectuels juifs toscans, mais elle pourrait ne pas être directement liée à

un projet de traduction kabbalistique plus large conçu par Pier Leone avant l'arrivée du jeune comte de Mirandola à Florence. La présence d'extraits de traductions mitridatiques parmi les manuscrits ayant appartenu à Pier Leone, ainsi que la présence de titres communs au projet de traduction de Pico, semblent en effet faire allusion à un scénario dans lequel les deux intellectuels ont abordé les études kabbalistiques avec des calendriers et des intentions légèrement différents et probablement souvent concurrents. L'analyse comparative de ces manuscrits, là où elle ne semble pas permettre une distinction temporelle nette, a donc permis de contextualiser de manière critique la première phase de développement de l'étude des doctrines kabbalistiques au sein du cercle intellectuel humaniste qui s'est réuni à Florence à la fin du XVe siècle. Cette large contextualisation s'est ensuite conclue par une réflexion plus large sur le rôle de Giovanni Pico dans la diffusion de la connaissance kabbalistique dans le panorama intellectuel humaniste-chrétien. Une importance particulière a en effet été accordée non pas tant à la revendication de Pico de sa primauté en tant que chrétien sur ces études, mais à son attribution explicite au comte de Mirandola par les kabbalistes chrétiens qui ont poursuivi l'approfondissement de ces doctrines. En particulier, les citations concernant la primauté de Pico dans les écrits de Johannes Reuchlin, Egidio da Viterbo, Francesco Zorzi et Pietro Galatino ont été analysées. Dans ce contexte, une importance particulière a été accordée aux conséquences idéologiques de la désignation du comte de Mirandola comme premier kabbaliste chrétien. Cette analyse montre en effet que la primauté de Pico ne se limite pas à une simple constatation chronologique, mais qu'elle implique surtout l'adoption d'une perspective substitutionniste dans l'étude de la Kabbale juive et dans sa réélaboration dans une perspective humaniste-chrétienne.

2. Egidio da Viterbo à Rome

Le deuxième chapitre est consacré au développement du mouvement kabbalistique chrétien à travers la biographie kabbalistique d'Egidio da Viterbo. Prieur général des Augustins entre 1507 et 1517, puis cardinal, Egidio da Viterbo fut une figure de premier plan dans le panorama culturel, politique et religieux de la première moitié du XVIe siècle. Chargé du discours d'ouverture du Concile de Latran V (1512-1517), Egidio s'est distingué dès les premiers pas de sa carrière ecclésiastique par son inspiration réformatrice, sa stricte observance religieuse qui l'a conduit à rejoindre la Congrégation augustinienne de Lecceto et sa solide formation philosophique humaniste. Sa gestion de l'ordre augustinien se distingua par la mise en œuvre d'une réforme laborieuse de la règle et de l'organisation des couvents dans toute l'Europe. Dans ce contexte, sa rencontre avec Martin Luther, venu à Rome pour représenter l'aile la plus extrémiste de l'observance augustinienne allemande, avant de devenir un partisan de la réforme d'Egidio, revêt une importance particulière. Egidio da Viterbo fut nommé cardinal en juillet 1517, à la suite de la conspiration ourdie par le cardinal Petrucci

contre Léon X, quelques mois avant le déclenchement de la crise de la Réforme luthérienne. En tant que cardinal, Egidio se distingua comme un fervent partisan de la faction de Médicis au sein des conclaves qui élurent d’abord Adrien VI, puis Clément VII, dont il devint un conseiller de confiance. Lors des conclaves, Egidio semblait jouir d’un excellent crédit religieux et politique, au point d’être même considéré comme un candidat éligible au trône pontifical. En général, les études biographiques traditionnelles consacrées à Egidio da Viterbo ont tendance à se concentrer sur son activité de réforme interne à l’ordre des Augustins et à mentionner peu d’événements significatifs survenus après sa nomination au rang de cardinal. Parmi les épisodes souvent mentionnés, on note le recrutement d’un contingent dans la région de Viterbe à l’époque du sac de Rome en 1527, qu’Egidio a personnellement conduit jusqu’aux portes de la ville dans une tentative avortée de sauver Clément VII du siège. D’un point de vue culturel, Egidio, considéré comme un humaniste érudit, a promu une série d’initiatives liées à l’étude de l’hébreu et de la Kabbale qui n’ont attiré l’attention des chercheurs que récemment. Dans ce contexte, l’objectif de ce chapitre de thèse était de tracer une biographie kabbalistique d’Egidio da Viterbo qui, à travers la description du parcours de ses études kabbalistiques, démontrait comment la connaissance de ces doctrines a profondément influencé son action religieuse, culturelle et politique au sein des hautes hiérarchies de l’Église catholique. Dans un premier temps, nous avons donc procédé à un examen des études kabbalistiques dans la ville de Rome. Nous avons donc mentionné l’heureuse rencontre demandée en 1279 au pape Nicolas III par le kabbaliste Abraham Abulafia. Nous avons ensuite procédé à un bref examen des manuscrits kabbalistiques produits à Rome dans le cercle intellectuel dirigé par Menaḥem ben Benyamin ‘Anaw. Une importance particulière a finalement été accordée à la figure de l’intellectuel sicilien Antonio Flaminio “Biaxander”, considéré comme le premier orientaliste à avoir étudié et enseigné des langues telles que l’arabe et l’hébreu à Rome entre la fin du XVe siècle et la première décennie du XVIe siècle. Flaminio s’est procuré une très vaste collection de manuscrits en langues orientales, parmi lesquels se distinguent certains volumes kabbalistiques d’une grande importance textuelle, aujourd’hui conservés, après diverses vicissitudes, à la Bibliothèque Casanatense de Rome. À la mort de Biaxander, vers avril 1513, sa très vaste collection de manuscrits a en effet été réquisitionnée et démembrée par le pape Léon X. La plupart de ces volumes devinrent la propriété du pape et sont aujourd’hui conservés dans les rayons de la Bibliothèque apostolique vaticane. Une série de manuscrits, dont une Bible hébraïque et quelques volumes kabbalistiques, furent en revanche offerts au prieur général des Augustins, Egidio da Viterbo, contribuant ainsi à un premier élargissement de la collection de livres en hébreu du futur cardinal. Cet épisode, rapporté dans le colophon de la Bible aujourd’hui conservée à la Bibliothèque Angelica de Rome sous la cote MS Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 72, représente donc un tournant particulièrement intéressant dans le développement des études

hébraïques d'Egidio. Nous avons donc procédé à un examen chronologique des traductions kabbalistiques produites dans l'atelier de copistes dirigé par le prieur général des Augustins. En particulier, nous avons relevé la date du 10 mai 1513 apposée au fol. 118r du MS BNF, Lat. 598, celles de 1515 et 1516 apposées aux fol. 496v et 527v du MS BNF, Lat. 527/2 et enfin celle de 1523 au fol. 348v du MS BNF, Lat. 527/1. Il a donc été décidé d'examiner le processus de composition adopté au cours de cette décennie par Egidio da Viterbo et ses collaborateurs pour réaliser ce travail de traduction très vaste sur le thème de la Kabbale, à travers l'analyse minutieuse de ces traductions, ainsi que des notes et des colophons disséminés dans les pages des manuscrits où elles sont conservées. En particulier, il a été souligné que le processus de traduction de ces textes était le résultat d'une forme particulière de collaboration entre différents intellectuels impliqués à divers titres dans l'étude de ces textes. Une série d'annotations autographes d'Egidio, dont l'écriture revient souvent dans ces traductions, fait référence à un processus de dictée de la traduction en langue vernaculaire par un ou plusieurs maîtres d'hébreu et Kabbale. La traduction dictée était ensuite transcrite et synthétisée en latin par Egidio lui-même ou par ses collaborateurs. Suivait ensuite un processus complexe d'annotation et de synthèse du contenu de ces traductions dans les marges du texte, destiné à guider l'étude et l'interprétation ultérieures des doctrines kabbalistiques exprimées dans les différents traités traduits. Comme le démontre la présence de différentes encres dans les *marginalia*, ainsi que les corrections des annotations précédemment ajoutées au texte de ces traductions, l'étude de ces travaux a été répétée au fil des ans. Un autre aspect qui ressort de l'examen minutieux des *marginalia* et, en particulier, des colophons présents dans les volumes de traductions kabbalistiques d'Egidio est le recours à la perspective substitutionniste dans l'interprétation de ces textes. Conformément à l'approche de Giovanni Pico della Mirandola à la Kabbale, qu'Egidio lui-même admet avoir prise comme exemple, avec les travaux d'autres intellectuels, pour aborder l'étude de la mystique juive, le Prieur Générale des Augustins et futur cardinal estimait également trouver, dans les textes kabbalistiques qu'il étudiait et traduisait, des confirmations des dogmes et des doctrines chrétiennes. Les émotions suscitées par ces découvertes présumées et par l'exploration christianisée des doctrines kabbalistiques ressortent clairement des commentaires disséminés par Egidio lui-même dans les pages et les colophons de ces traductions. L'importance prise par ces doctrines dans la perspective de foi d'Egidio l'a poussé à promouvoir leur étude et leur diffusion dans les hautes sphères de l'Église catholique. À cet égard, la composition, vers 1516-1517, d'un opuscule connu sous le nom de *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*, dédié au cardinal Giulio de' Medici et adressé au pape Léon X, dans lequel il proposait la réforme de l'alphabet latin par l'inclusion des lettres hébraïques ם, ן et ף revêt une importance particulière. Cette réforme visait, selon Egidio, à diffuser et à faire comprendre les mystères kabbalistiques –et donc les réalités christologiques que ces doctrines recelaient– parmi les

intellectuels chrétiens. C'est pourquoi Egidio rédige une introduction dans laquelle il exalte l'importance de l'étude de la Kabbale parmi les chrétiens, citant explicitement l'autorité des écrits kabbalistiques de Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Paolo Ricci et, en particulier, Johannes Reuchlin. L'éloge de Reuchlin et de sa contribution fondamentale à l'étude de la Kabbale est également repris dans la deuxième partie de la brochure consacrée aux mystères kabbalistiques inhérents aux lettres hébraïques sur la base des doctrines du *Sefer ha-Temunah*. La mention de Reuchlin et l'exaltation de ses contributions culturelles, compte tenu du contexte historique et politique particulier dans lequel cette brochure a été composée et initialement diffusée, signifiait une prise de position claire dans le panorama culturel, religieux et politique de l'époque. Johanness Reuchlin était en effet au centre d'une affaire inquisitoriale complexe, née de son opposition à un édit de Maximilien Ier de Habsbourg qui prévoyait la confiscation et la destruction de tous les livres hébraïques, à l'exception de la Bible, sur les territoires de l'Empire. Les événements liés au *Judenbücherstreit* ont donc été analysés, en particulier le transfert du procès inquisitorial contre Reuchlin à Rome à l'été 1516. Une importance particulière a été accordée à la défense publique des positions de Reuchlin et à l'importance de l'étude de la Kabbale juive et du Talmud prononcée par Egidio da Viterbo lors des séances de la commission inquisitoriale chargée par Léon X d'examiner le cas de l'humaniste. La suspension du verdict final de cette commission, décidée par le pape peu avant le vote, fut toutefois considérée comme un résultat satisfaisant par les partisans de Reuchlin, dont Egidio, qui en fit part avec enthousiasme dans ses lettres à Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples et directement à l'humaniste de Pforzheim. Dans le but de promouvoir les études kabbalistiques et dans l'espoir d'obtenir une réhabilitation publique de ses écrits et de son orthodoxie, Johannes Reuchlin publia en avril 1517 le *De Arte Cabalistica* avec une dédicace à Léon X. À peu près à la même époque, et même peu après sa nomination au cardinalat en juillet 1517, Egidio da Viterbo rédigea la section de la *Historia XX Saeculorum* consacrée au pontificat du pape Médicis. Ce texte, qui visait à promouvoir une interprétation prophétique de l'histoire, fut rédigé en plusieurs fois entre 1513 et 1517. On a donc décidé d'analyser avec grande attention la section consacrée à Léon X, précisément en raison des particularités qui la distinguent des chapitres précédents du traité d'Egidio. Dans ces pages, Egidio réfléchit en effet sur des situations et des événements contemporains, illustrant ses ambitions et ses positions religieuses et politiques. La composition de cette partie précise du texte en 1517, attestée par une série de références internes explicites, revêt une importance particulière. 1517 est l'année où Egidio a reçu la pourpre cardinalice, où l'Empire ottoman s'est étendu jusqu'à la conquête de la Syrie et du Caire et où la crise de la Réforme, attisée par l'augustin Martin Luther, a éclaté. Dans ce contexte, il apparaît clairement qu'Egidio considérait comme une priorité absolue pour la chrétienté l'affrontement direct avec l'Empire ottoman et qu'il encourageait, à travers ses écrits, une intervention militaire guidée, au

moins spirituellement, par Léon X. Dans ces pages, Egidio recourt donc fréquemment à des citations et à des arguments d'origine kabbalistique, visant à démontrer l'inspiration divine de cette confrontation aux caractéristiques millénaristes. Cette intégration de matériaux kabbalistiques dans un récit à caractère clairement millénariste, malgré la référence voilée au procès contre Reuchlin et la mention explicite de la méfiance des hiérarchies catholiques à l'égard de la Kabbale juive, démontre la profonde influence exercée par ces études sur l'issue de l'action politique et culturelle d'Egidio da Viterbo. La suspicion supplémentaire à l'égard de l'étude de l'hébreu et de la Kabbale, causée par la crise déclenchée par Luther, conduisit à la réouverture du procès de Reuchlin et à la condamnation de ses écrits par Léon X. Au cours de cette période dramatique de l'histoire du mouvement kabbalistique, Egidio défendit vigoureusement Reuchlin et continua à promouvoir ces études ainsi qu'une série d'arguments politiques, idéologiques et religieux, inspirés par sa perspective spécifique sur la Kabbale, au sein des hautes hiérarchies catholiques. On a donc procédé à l'examen du rôle d'Egidio da Viterbo dans les conclaves de 1521-1522 et de 1523, qui ont élu respectivement Adrien VI et Clément VII au siège pontifical. Une importance particulière a donc été accordée à la relecture du *Sefer ha-Temunah* par Egidio immédiatement après, voire pendant, le conclave de 1523. L'analyse des annotations marginales à la traduction de ce texte dans le MS BNF, Lat. 527/1 a mis en évidence l'importance particulière accordée par Egidio au thème des cycles de rédemption des *shemittot* et à la conclusion de l'un de ces bouleversements sept ans après l'étude de ce texte daté de sa propre main en 1523. Le rôle de médiateur joué par Egidio lors de la première rencontre entre le pape Clément VII et le pseudo-prince d'un royaume juif de la péninsule arabique, David Reuveni, a ensuite été illustré. Reuveni proposa au pape de promouvoir parmi les souverains chrétiens de toute l'Europe le projet d'une action militaire contre l'Empire ottoman en collaboration avec le royaume juif fantomatique dont il se disait l'ambassadeur. L'objectif de la reconquête de Jérusalem envisagé par Reuveni cadrait bien avec les ambitions millénaristes qui circulaient dans les milieux chrétiens dont Egidio se faisait le porte-parole, ainsi qu'avec les espoirs messianiques cultivés à divers titres parmi les communautés juives de la péninsule italienne. Nous avons donc procédé à une brève analyse des études kabbalistiques à la base des contacts intellectuels entre d'importants membres de la communauté juive romaine et Egidio da Viterbo. En particulier, nous avons souligné et examiné le rôle de médiateur joué par Daniel da Pisa, rédacteur des nouveaux chapitres organisationnels de la communauté juive romaine de 1524, dans les négociations entre Reuveni et le pape pour obtenir une recommandation auprès du roi du Portugal, Jean III. Issu de la famille toscane des banquiers da Pisa, Daniel était en effet le fils du plus célèbre élève de Yoḥannan Alemanno, Yitzḥaq ben Yeḥiel. Son cousin Yeḥiel Nissim, qui hébergea Reuveni dans sa résidence avant le départ de ce dernier pour le Portugal, copia et commanda la copie en trois volumes d'un précieux *Sefer ha-Zohar* aujourd'hui

conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Nous avons donc fait une digression consacrée au mouvement d'inspiration mystico-messianique créé par Reuveni et développé par son disciple le plus célèbre, le converti Shlomo Molko. Né sous le nom de Diogo Pires dans une famille de *conversos*, Molko, à l'époque de l'arrivée de Reuveni au Portugal, était secrétaire de la cour d'appel du roi. Sa position publique ne lui permit pas de cacher sa conversion au judaïsme, motivée par les visions inspirées par l'arrivée de Reuveni. Cela contraignit le jeune converti à fuir vers l'Empire ottoman, où il devint un expert du Talmud et de la Kabbale. Une nouvelle série de visions poussa Molko à se rendre en Italie, où il rejoignit Reuveni dans la ville de Venise. Dans la ville lagunaire, Molko se retrouva à servir de médiateur entre le célèbre médecin pontifical, Ya'aqov Mantino, et son disciple le plus célèbre, Eliyyà Menaḥem ben Abba Mari Ḥalfan, qui avait entrepris l'étude de la Kabbale sous l'inspiration du converti. Ḥalfan, considéré comme l'un des plus grands experts en droit juif de la péninsule, avait en effet été impliqué dans le litige relatif au divorce d'Henri VIII d'Angleterre et de Catherine d'Aragon. Dans ce contexte, Ḥalfan avait rédigé un document particulièrement favorable au roi d'Angleterre, signé par un grand nombre d'experts en droit juif. La divulgation de ce document fut perçue comme dangereuse par Mantino, qui connaissait la profonde opposition de Clément VII au divorce royal anglais, afin de ne pas mécontenter l'empereur Charles V, neveu de Catherine d'Aragon. Les contacts établis par Molko entre les communautés juives de la péninsule et les hautes hiérarchies catholiques, parmi lesquelles figurait très probablement Egidio da Viterbo, ont donc été examinés en profondeur, en particulier lors des voyages répétés à Rome du converti entre 1530 et 1531. À ces occasions, Molko bénéficia en effet de la protection directe de Clément VII, qui intervint même pour le sauver d'une condamnation au bûcher en raison de son apostasie. Les vicissitudes de Molko prirent fin en 1532, année du décès d'Egidio da Viterbo. Le converti et son maître David Reuveni se rendirent en effet à Ratisbonne pour rencontrer Charles V et lui proposer de mener une expédition contre l'Empire ottoman. Mais l'empereur, après avoir accordé une audience aux deux hommes, les fit arrêter et condamna Molko à mort pour son apostasie. L'exécution de Molko eut donc lieu à Mantoue la même année et marqua la fin du mouvement mystico-messianique que lui et Reuveni avaient inspiré dans la péninsule italienne. Le dernier acte de l'histoire du converti est particulièrement intéressant car, au cours des années où il effectua ses voyages à Rome, Egidio da Viterbo écrivait son dernier traité inspiré de ses études kabbalistiques, *Scechina*. À travers la personnification de la dixième *sefirah* et une série d'arguments basés sur les mystères kabbalistiques, Egidio da Viterbo proposait en effet à Charles V d'assumer le rôle de leader de la chrétienté et de mener la lutte, y compris militaire, contre l'Empire ottoman. L'analyse de ce texte menée dans cet ouvrage a donc permis de reconstituer la trajectoire de la vision kabbalistique et millénariste d'Egidio da Viterbo, ainsi que le contexte historique dans lequel ce traité a été conçu et rédigé. En particulier,

nous avons cherché à mettre en évidence les événements traumatisants du sac de Rome en 1527 et la tentative avortée d'Egidio de diriger un contingent militaire destiné à sauver Clément VII. Nous avons examiné l'implication d'Egidio da Viterbo lui-même dans la dispute sur le divorce d'Henri VIII et de Catherine d'Aragon. Enfin, nous avons analysé la ferme opposition idéologique à l'Empire ottoman qui se répète dans les pages des écrits d'Egidio, et qui a coûté au cardinal sa nomination comme nonce apostolique dans la ville de Venise, probablement aussi grâce à l'opposition à cette nomination du kabbaliste chrétien Francesco Zorzi. D'une manière générale, nous avons cherché à démontrer comment, en raison notamment de contingences historiques telles que le début de la Réforme, les instances culturelles et politiques défendues par Egidio et inspirées par ses vastes connaissances kabbalistiques ont été largement ignorées au sein de l'Église catholique. Par conséquent, une fois démontré le rôle fondamental des études kabbalistiques dans l'orientation de l'action politique et religieuse d'Egidio da Viterbo, il a été décidé d'inclure dans le chapitre une annexe consacrée à la bibliothèque kabbalistique du cardinal. Après un examen de l'étendue et de l'on de cette collection et une réflexion sur son démembrement au cours des siècles entre différentes bibliothèques européennes, nous avons procédé à une description détaillée du contenu des manuscrits de traductions mystico-kabbalistiques composées dans l'atelier d'écriture d'Egidio. Les premiers volumes décrits dans l'annexe contiennent des traductions latines de traités kabbalistiques, suivies des codes contenant les traductions mystico-kabbalistiques composées en italien vernaculaire. En outre, lorsqu'il a été possible de reconnaître parmi les volumes hébraïques ayant appartenu à Egidio da Viterbo le manuscrit à l'origine de certaines de ses traductions kabbalistiques, une description de ces codes a également été incluse dans cette annexe. En suivant la succession chronologique des datations présentes dans les codes des traductions latines, nous avons procédé à la description du MS BNF, Lat. 598. La mention de 1513 parmi les pages de la traduction de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* en fait en effet le volume contenant les premiers travaux de traduction relatifs à l'étude de la Kabbale composés par Egidio et ses collaborateurs. Nous avons ensuite procédé à la description du MS Biblioteca Casanatense, 3154. Ce précieux volume contient une version complète en hébreu du *Sefer ha-Peliah*, abondamment annotée par Egidio da Viterbo. Dans son colophon, cependant, le scribe Yitzḥaq ben Moshe ibn Zerah de Ségovie écrit avoir terminé la copie de ce texte à Venise en 1534, deux ans après la mort du cardinal. En comparant minutieusement deux autres copies du même texte transcrites par le même copiste, on a tenté de démontrer la plausibilité de l'hypothèse de Saverio Campanini, qui avait anticipé la copie de ce volume à 1514. De plus, la comparaison avec les deux traductions latines du *Sefer ha-Peliah* composées par Egidio et ses collaborateurs a révélé que ce volume a certainement été utilisé comme source pour les deux versions latines de ce texte conservées dans les manuscrits BNF, Lat. 527/2 et Lat. 3667. La datation de la traduction de ce livre, qui figure parmi les nombreux

documents du MS BNF, Lat. 527/2, entre 1515 et 1516, confirme donc l'hypothèse élaborée par Campanini. Nous avons donc procédé à la description du contenu et des traductions présentes dans le MS BNF, Lat. 527/2, parmi lesquelles, outre celle du *Sefer ha-Peliah*, se distingue également la version latine du *Sefer ha-Bahir*. Vient ensuite la description précise de la deuxième traduction du *Sefer ha-Peliah* conservée dans le MS BNF, Lat. 3667, dans le but de corroborer l'hypothèse selon laquelle cette version latine a été composée vers les années de rédaction du traité *Scechina*. J'ai ensuite procédé à la description précise de trois manuscrits hébraïques contenant les textes utilisés comme sources de certaines traductions latines du MS BNF, Lat. 527/1 et du MS BAV, Lat. 5198. Tout d'abord, j'ai examiné le MS Biblioteca Casanatense, 2971, contenant une copie du *Sefer ha-Zohar*, utilisée par Egidio da Viterbo et ses collaborateurs, selon la reconstitution de François Secret, comme source pour la traduction latine du même texte qui ouvre le MS BNF, 527/1. Le colophon emphatique de cette version latine témoigne du fait qu'Egidio considérait le texte hébreu du volume conservé à la Bibliothèque Casanatense comme incomplet et incorrect. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que l'augustin vénitien Gabriele della Volta ait été chargé de trouver à Damas un autre exemplaire de ce texte, ni que la collection d'Egidio contienne un petit volume contenant d'autres passages du *Zohar*. La première unité codicologique qui ouvre le MS BML, Plut. II 48 contient en effet aux foll. 1r-68r quelques extraits du *Zohar*. Dans les marges de ces pages, les annotations autographes d'Egidio da Viterbo sont récurrentes et témoignent d'une étude attentive de leur contenu. L'intérêt pour les passages zohariques contenus dans ce petit volume est confirmé par la présence d'une traduction latine de ceux-ci aux foll. 259v-286v du MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198 intitulé «Zohar Parvus». Le volume du Vatican contient également, aux foll. 229r-246v, une section de la traduction latine du «Raziel». Une autre partie de cette traduction latine est conservée aux foll. 489r-566v du MS BNF, 527/1. Ces versions latines, ainsi que d'importants extraits en langue vernaculaire du centre de l'Italie conservés dans les MSS Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44 ; BL, Add. 16390, pt. 2, sont basées sur le texte intitulé *Sode Rezayya* copié par Eliyyahu Baḥur Levita en 1515, conservé dans le MS BL, Add. 27199. Après avoir décrit le contenu de ces manuscrits hébraïques, nous avons donc procédé à une analyse des volumes dans lesquels figurent les versions latines de ces textes, en commençant par le MS BNF, Lat. 527/1. Ce volume, outre les traductions susmentionnées du *Sefer ha-Zohar* et du *Raziel*, contient, parmi les différentes versions latines de textes kabbalistiques conservées dans ses pages, la traduction latine du *Sefer ha-Temunah* lue par Egidio pendant le conclave de 1523. Le dernier volume contenant des traductions kabbalistiques latines décrit dans cet ouvrage est le MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198. Ce codex est particulièrement précieux non seulement en raison de la présence des versions latines du *Zohar parvus*, du *Raziel* et des secrets de Naḥmanide, mais aussi en raison de l'insertion parallèle à ces textes d'une série de traductions en langue vernaculaire centre-italienne sur des sujets midrashiques.

Nous avons donc procédé à une description du contenu des manuscrits de traductions vernaculaires de textes mystiques, kabbalistiques et midrashique. Compte tenu des conditions codicologiques particulières du MS Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44, il a été décidé de procéder à une première description de son contenu en attendant une étude plus approfondie qui attribuera un titre aux sections de texte non encore reconnues. La section des manuscrits de traductions vernaculaires se poursuit avec le MS BL, Add. 16390 et enfin avec le MS BNF, It. 612. Ce dernier manuscrit témoigne de l'intérêt du cercle d'Égide pour l'étude du *Talmud*, avec une section consacrée à certaines traductions tirées du *Talmud Yerushalmi* imprimé par Daniel Bomberg en 1523. Cet intérêt semble motivé principalement par la présence de récits tels que les *aggadot*, considérés comme porteurs de secrets mystiques très anciens. Enfin, l'exposé s'est concentré sur les traductions latines et vernaculaires de dictionnaires et de lexiques de l'hébreu et de l'araméen. En particulier, ont été citées la traduction latine du *Sefer ha-Shorashim* de David Qimḥi, qui a fait l'objet d'une édition récente et complexe, et celle en italien vernaculaire du *Sefer he-'Arukh* de Natan ben Yehiel 'Anaw de Rome, découverte par moi-même dans le MS BNF, Hébr. 1220. Nous avons donc réfléchi au rôle d'Eliyahu Baḥur Levita au sein de l'atelier kabbalistique et scribal dirigé par Egidio da Viterbo. Sous l'égide du cardinal, Levita a en effet composé une série d'ouvrages grammaticaux et lexicologiques en hébreu et en araméen d'une grande valeur philologique et culturelle. Les grammaires hébraïques en latin et les études du *Mikhlol* de David Qimḥi parmi les hébraïstes chrétiens du début du XVI^e siècle ont ensuite été examinées, avec une attention particulière pour les travaux d'Agazio Guidacerio et de Sante Pagnini. En effet, tous deux, en plus d'avoir passé plusieurs périodes d'études et d'enseignement à Rome, étaient probablement ou certainement en contact avec le cercle intellectuel d'Egidio.

3. *Les traductions latines de Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*

Après avoir replacé dans leur contexte historique et culturel les cercles intellectuels dans lesquels ont été préparées les traductions latines de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, dont l'édition est présentée dans le deuxième volume de la thèse, le troisième chapitre de ce travail a été consacré à l'analyse et à l'étude comparative de ces textes. Les traductions de textes kabbalistiques avaient pour fonction de transmettre des contenus jusqu'alors inaccessibles aux intellectuels chrétiens, ce qui a eu des conséquences importantes sur le plan historique et culturel. C'est pourquoi il a été décidé de concentrer cette étude sur un texte kabbalistique spécifique, dont les nombreuses traductions permettent d'analyser de manière diachronique la continuité et les transformations des méthodologies et des approches traductionnelles au sein des cercles intellectuels chrétiens au fil des décennies. La partie introductive du chapitre a donc été consacrée à établir l'importance du traité *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* pour la systématisation de la pensée kabbalistique médiévale, à la lumière de sa réception et

de son interprétation dans les cercles kabbalistiques italiens. Tout d'abord, nous avons discuté de la structure argumentative de ce texte qui présente la doctrine kabbalistique séfirotique à travers une approche synthétique comparable à la méthodologie philosophique des commentaires médiévaux. Après l'examen du traité, l'analyse s'est ensuite portée sur les sources utilisées par l'auteur de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, sur la relation entre ce traité et d'autres textes fondamentaux pour le développement de la pensée kabbalistique médiévale tels que le *Sefer ha-Bahir* ou le *Sefer ha-Zohar*, et sur les reconstructions chronologiques possibles de la date de composition de ce texte. La discussion s'est donc concentrée sur la présence de ce traité dans le *curriculum studiorum* élaboré par le kabbaliste Yoḥannan Alemanno au fol. 64v du MS Bodleian Library, Reggio 23. Ensuite, l'importance de Reuven Tzarfati et de son *Perush Zulati*, ainsi que d'une série de commentaires sur *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* attribuables à son école, pour la réception de ce texte dans la péninsule italienne, a été soulignée et discutée. La composition du deuxième commentaire le plus célèbre sur *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, *Minḥat Yehudah* du kabbaliste séfarde Yehudah Ḥayyat, a ensuite été contextualisée. Ḥayyat était en effet arrivé en Italie avec d'autres kabbalistes séfarades après le *gerush* de 1492. Sa spéculation sur *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* s'inscrit donc dans le cadre plus large de la controverse entre les kabbalistes orientés vers une interprétation philosophico-théurgique de la doctrine séfirotique et les kabbalistes d'inspiration zoharique, qui prônaient une approche plus strictement visionnaire ou mystique de la Kabbale. Le texte et l'interprétation de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* sont donc devenus un terrain d'affrontement et de rencontre spéculative fondamentale dans l'histoire culturelle des cercles kabbalistiques italiens à la fin du XVe siècle et au début du XVIe siècle. Le fait que, dans ce contexte historique particulier, les traductions latines et vernaculaires de ce traité aient également trouvé leur place dans les cercles intellectuels humanistes et chrétiens ne fait que confirmer l'importance cruciale de ce texte dans le panorama culturel de la péninsule italienne. L'introduction à *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* s'achève par la mention de ses éditions concurrentes imprimées à Ferrare et à Mantoue entre 1557 et 1558. Le chapitre se poursuit donc avec la description et l'étude de la traduction latine de ce texte préparée par Flavius Mithridate pour Giovanni Pico aux foll. 132r-150v et 212r-221v du MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, en commençant par une analyse des caractéristiques codicologiques présentées par ce texte. L'ordre des pages entre 212r-221v doit en effet être corrigé dans l'édition et la lecture de la traduction, en passant des foll. 218r-221v aux foll. 212r-217v. Le fait que les cahiers qui composent cette traduction aient été assemblés de manière essentiellement désordonnée semble dû à l'habitude de Flavius Mithridate de travailler sur ses versions latines pour Giovanni Pico sous forme de fascicules, qui étaient ensuite diffusés au sein du cercle des Médicis. Ce type de procédure dans le travail de traduction semble être confirmé dans le cas du texte en question par certains détails des différentes listes des volumes de la bibliothèque de

Pico, dans lesquelles le titre *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* est associé à la mention “pars”. Le MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190 semble donc être le résultat de l’assemblage de matériaux de traduction épars en possession de Mithridate au moment de son arrestation à Viterbe, qui ont ensuite été intégrés dans les collections vaticanes et réunis ici en un seul volume. Le fait que les textes des traductions du MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190 aient été composés à un stade assez tardif des travaux que le convers a composés pour le Comte de Mirandola semble être confirmé par les arguments des fréquentes annotations disséminées par Mithridate dans ces écrits. Il s’agit en effet d’allusions plus ou moins ironiques à des défauts de paiement qui aboutissent finalement à une violente invective contre le jeune mécène au fol. 200v. Pour en revenir aux caractéristiques de la traduction de Mithridate de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, l’habitude de travailler avec des documents épars pourrait être à l’origine de la perte d’un ou plusieurs cahiers de texte qui devaient la composer. La version latine de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* composée par Flavius Mithridate s’arrête en effet brusquement au fol. 217v, au milieu de la liste des noms opposés dans le sixième chapitre du traité intitulé *Ma'arekhet Nagdut ha-Po'alim*. La présence d’une *réclame* dans le coin inférieur droit de la page semble toutefois suggérer l’existence d’autres pages de traduction aujourd’hui perdues. La traduction de Mithridate de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* comporte un index complet des titres des chapitres de ce traité qui précède la phrase d’introduction traditionnelle. La présence de cette table des matières et son emplacement avant le texte même de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* semblent être une caractéristique particulièrement rare parmi les manuscrits médiévaux de ce traité, démontrant que les travaux du converti peuvent parfois constituer des témoignages d’une importance discrète, voire importante, sur le plan stemmatique. Les volumes comportant une telle table des matières sont en effet : MS JTS, 2367 ; MS Bodleian Libraries, Opp. 486 ; et MS Biblioteca Palatina di Parma, 3015. Seul le MS JTS, 2367, daté entre 1392 et 1394, présente ce sommaire au même endroit que la traduction de Mithridate. Cependant, les différences substantielles entre ces index permettent d’exclure toute dépendance entre les deux exemplaires. Le contenu de ce volume présente toutefois un intérêt particulier, car il contient une série de textes, outre *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, tels que *Sitre Torah* d’Abraham Abulafia ou une partie du *Sefer ha-Shorashim* de Yosef ben Abraham Ibn Waqar, qui ont été traduits par Mithridate pour Giovanni Pico. Cette comparaison semble donc contextualiser plus précisément, dans le panorama kabbalistique italien, le contenu spécifique des traductions commandées par le Comte de Mirandola. En ce qui concerne la traduction de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* élaborée par Flavius Mithridate, la traduction du résumé qui devait précéder la copie de ce traité dans le manuscrit hébreu utilisé comme source pour cette version latine, est l’une des caractéristiques fréquentes du travail de Mithridate sur ce texte qui permet de reconstituer les caractéristiques codicologiques de ce volume. Cette adhésion au texte hébraïque, au point de rapporter ponctuellement même des passages difficiles à interpréter grammaticalement, est l’adaptation au cas

de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* de l'approche littérale rigide de la traduction que Giovanni Pico semble avoir indiquée à son traducteur. La nécessité de procéder à la traduction de ce texte avec un littéralisme rigoureux est également perceptible dans la note de traduction qui précède le début de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ainsi que dans le recours fréquent à des paires endiaques pour exprimer en latin les nuances de sens de certains termes hébraïques particulièrement importants. Ces mots sont souvent accompagnés de la translittération en caractères latins du référent hébreu original et de la transcription de l'hébreu. Ces variations dans l'interprétation et la présentation de certains concepts particulièrement importants, même si elles alourdissent souvent et remanient considérablement le texte final résultant de la traduction, sont un exemple de l'intention pédagogique de Mithridate de guider le jeune comte de Mirandola dans l'étude de ces doctrines complexes. La présence de transcriptions de particules grammaticales hébraïques intraduisibles en latin peut également être attribuée à cette nécessité spécifique d'une approche à la fois littérale et pédagogique de la traduction. Ce littéralisme visant à reproduire fidèlement les caractéristiques textuelles les plus infimes de l'hébreu dans le résultat final de la traduction permet d'identifier plus facilement et de réfléchir aux erreurs d'interprétation commises par le converti dans son travail sur ce texte. On a notamment remarqué la difficulté de Mithridate à interpréter une série d'acronymes fréquents dans les versions manuscrites en hébreu chronologiquement postérieures de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Nous avons donc examiné attentivement le cas de la dissolution erronée des acronymes צ"ז et צ"ן avec le mot צדק au lieu de צורה et les occurrences internes au texte du traité qui auraient pu conduire à cette interprétation. Une autre occurrence dans laquelle la dissolution erronée de certains acronymes a donné des résultats particulièrement évidents du point de vue de la traduction latine de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* concerne les abréviations des noms des *Sefirot*. Par souci de concision dans la copie du texte hébreu utilisé comme source par Mithridate, chaque *sefirah* avait été associée à une abréviation correspondant généralement aux initiales des noms les plus courants attribués aux émanations divines. Cependant, Mithridate, déformant l'ambiguïté du fait que les lettres hébraïques correspondent à des valeurs numériques, traite ces abréviations comme des nombres correspondant aux *sefirot* et les traduit comme telles, créant ainsi d'intéressants courts-circuits interprétatifs. Dans l'édition de cette traduction, nous avons donc cherché à clarifier précisément l'équivalence entre les abréviations, les valeurs numériques et les *sefirot* afin de guider la lecture et l'interprétation de cet ouvrage. La dernière partie de l'étude consacrée à ce texte s'est concentrée sur l'hypothèse peu plausible de la réception de cette traduction dans les *Conclusiones Nongentae*, ainsi que sur la traduction d'un *commentaire sur Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* aux foll. 43v-60r du MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191. Les preuves recueillies jusqu'à présent par les chercheurs confirment en effet que les textes contenus dans ce volume ont été consultés avec certitude par Giovanni Pico lors de la rédaction des *Conclusiones Nongentae*. L'exposé a donc

poursuivi avec la description des caractéristiques de la traduction latine de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* aux foll. 69r-141v du MS BNF, Lat. 598, élaborée, selon l'attestation du colophon à la fin du fol. 118r, par Egidio da Viterbo et ses collaborateurs au cours des premiers mois de 1513. Nous avons donc présenté les éléments qui, dans cette traduction spécifique, prouvent que son texte est le fruit d'une collaboration entre un traducteur qui rendait et dictait l'original en langue vernaculaire du centre de l'Italie et une série de copistes, dont Egidio lui-même, qui transcrivaient et synthétisaient ce dicté en latin. Les nombreuses ratures et corrections du texte latin ont donc été discutées, ainsi que les anticipations de certains mots ou concepts par rapport au texte hébreu qui semblent prouver le processus de dictée. L'attention s'est ensuite portée sur les translittérations en caractères latins des mots hébreux présents dans le texte, qui laissent transparaître une coloration linguistique comparable aux dialectes du centre de l'Italie. Le processus de traduction de ces textes, dans son résultat final, semble donc comparable au résumé raisonné de la dictée, ainsi qu'aux notes et réflexions qui accompagnaient l'étude collaborative de ce traité. Nous avons donc pris en considération les informations supplémentaires incluses dans le texte de la traduction, les références à d'autres ouvrages non cités dans l'original hébreu de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, tels que *Ginnat Egoz* ou *Sha'are Orah* de Yosef Gikatilla, ainsi que les exclamations et les nombreuses annotations marginales qui accompagnent et interagissent avec le texte de cette version latine. Ces dernières sont fondamentales pour attester le processus d'étude, de réception et de réélaboration de ces contenus précis entrepris au fil des ans par Egidio da Viterbo. Grâce à une analyse minutieuse du texte de la traduction, les principales caractéristiques codicologiques et textuelles de la version hébraïque de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* à la base de ce travail ont été établies. En effet, en marge de la traduction latine, on trouve une numérotation de 211 à 281, souvent précédée de la mention "Carta". Comme le montre la comparaison avec les traductions latines dont les antigraphes hébraïques ont été retrouvés, cette numérotation servait à permettre la lecture et l'étude du texte latin, en l'intégrant à son équivalent original en hébreu. Il en ressort donc que le texte hébreu de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* utilisé comme source par Egidio da Viterbo et ses collaborateurs était inclus dans un volume plus vaste de textes kabbalistiques, dont il couvrait environ 70 pages. Les variantes textuelles de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* présentes dans cette traduction ont ensuite été examinées. Nous avons commencé par signaler l'absence de la note incluse dans la plupart des témoins hébraïques : « וחסר כאן מה שחלק עליו ר' יצחק ». L'absence singulière de cette traduction pourrait toutefois être due à la rapidité de la dictée et de la transcription de cette traduction, ainsi qu'à son contenu particulier. Nous avons ensuite examiné la structure du chapitre *Ma'arekhet ha-Seder*. Dans la tradition textuelle de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* reconstituée par Levana Chajes, ce chapitre présente deux variantes particulièrement significatives : la présence ou l'absence d'une représentation graphique du plérôme séfirotique et une divergence concernant l'orientation de

la neuvième *séfirah*, *Yesod*, vers la sixième et centrale *Tiferet*, ou tournée vers la gauche sous la cinquième *séfirah*, *Paḥad*. La traduction d'Egidio présente deux ébauches avortées d'*ilan* qui semblent correspondre à un schéma séfirotique présent dans l'original hébreu, ainsi que l'orientation de *Yesod* vers la *séfirah* centrale, *Tiferet*. La variante la plus significative du texte présenté par la traduction latine de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* élaborée par Egidio da Viterbo et ses collaborateurs est le titre du chapitre traditionnellement rapporté comme *Ma'arekhet ha-Ta'am* rendu comme *Sha'ar ha-Ta'am*. Cette caractéristique est en effet présente dans un nombre particulièrement limité de manuscrits hébraïques. Enfin, la traduction d'Egidio rapporte les deux ajouts au chapitre intitulé *Sha'ar ha-Shem*. La caractéristique la plus intéressante qui ressort de l'analyse minutieuse du texte de cette traduction est toutefois la présence de portions de texte tirées du commentaire de Reuven Tzarfati sur *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, connu sous le titre de *Perush Zulati*. Dans la plupart des cas, ces sections de commentaire sont incluses dans le texte principal de la traduction de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* sans interruption, voire en remplacement du traité lui-même dans la version latine. D'autres fois, en revanche, la présence d'une traduction tirée du commentaire de Tzarfati est clairement explicitée. La comparaison entre la numérotation qui accompagne ces passages et celle qui concerne directement *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* permet de conclure que, dans le manuscrit à la base de cette traduction, *Perush Zulati* entourait et parcourait les marges du texte hébreu du traité. La description des principales caractéristiques de la traduction d'Egidio de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* a facilité la comparaison de ce texte avec les copies du traité présentes dans les manuscrits attribuables à la collection d'Egidio da Viterbo dans diverses bibliothèques européennes. L'étude consacrée aux MSS Biblioteca Casanatense, 3087 et 3098 a été rapidement épuisée, car ces volumes présentent des caractéristiques qui les distinguent fortement de la traduction. La copie du traité entourée par *Perush Zulati* aux foll. 133r-157r du MS BSB, Cod. Hebr. 92 présente une *mise en page* comparable à celle supposée pour l'original hébreu de la traduction d'Egidio de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Cependant, le texte du manuscrit de Munich est incomplet et ne semble pas correspondre entièrement aux caractéristiques textuelles de la version latine composée par Egidio da Viterbo et ses collaborateurs. La dernière copie de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* conservée parmi les volumes attribuables à la collection d'Egidio se trouve dans le MS BL, Harley 5510. Ce manuscrit a été copié à Carpentras spécialement pour Egidio. La comparaison de la version hébraïque conservée dans ce codex avec la traduction d'Egidio permet d'exclure toute relation de dépendance réciproque. Cependant, la présence de nombreuses annotations autographes de la main d'Egidio dans les marges du texte hébraïque de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* témoigne d'une étude approfondie de cette version spécifique du traité. L'examen minutieux de ces annotations permet donc de retracer la trajectoire de la réception de ce texte par Egidio, qui mériterait d'être approfondie d'un point de vue critique. La présence de

nombreuses copies de ce traité dans la bibliothèque dispersée d'Egidio démontre une fois de plus l'étendue de la collection détenue par le cardinal et son souci de se procurer des versions toujours plus précises des textes kabbalistiques qui l'intéressaient. À la fin de la discussion consacrée à la description de ce texte d'Egidio, nous avons procédé à l'analyse des passages de la traduction de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* dans lesquels le prieur général augustinien croyait voir des confirmations de la vérité de la foi chrétienne. L'objectif de cet examen était donc d'expliquer les références textuelles et les structures de pensée qui ont conduit à la superposition des doctrines chrétiennes sur les contenus ésotériques juifs. En particulier, nous avons donc cherché à tracer l'image kabbalistique du Christ qui émerge de cette traduction spécifique d'Egidio. Enfin, le chapitre s'est conclu par une série de considérations sur les transformations de l'approche à la traduction des textes kabbalistiques depuis l'origine du mouvement kabbalistique chrétien avec Giovanni Pico et Mithridate jusqu'à Egidio da Viterbo et ses collaborateurs. Il ressort en effet clairement de cette analyse que la continuité idéologique expressément soulignée entre les promoteurs de ces deux projets de traduction ne correspondait pas à une approche similaire dans la pratique de la traduction des différents textes kabbalistiques, tels que *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Cependant, malgré des résultats de traduction particulièrement éloignés d'un point de vue textuel, on peut certainement relever une perspective interprétative commune dans la recherche de confirmations des doctrines chrétiennes à travers les textes kabbalistiques qui orientaient et guidaient l'étude et la réélaboration conceptuelle de ces textes. La présentation des éditions des deux traductions latines de *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* conclut cet ouvrage consacré à l'étude de certains aspects et événements fondamentaux du mouvement kabbalistique chrétien, à travers l'exploration des versions latines des textes kabbalistiques en tant que médiateurs fondamentaux des doctrines et de l'imaginaire kabbalistiques dans le panorama intellectuel chrétien. Le travail consacré à *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* et à sa réception dans le domaine kabbalistique chrétien s'est en effet révélé être une réflexion complexe sur le contexte historique et culturel dans lequel ce texte a été traduit en latin. Plus encore, la transcription et l'édition de ces textes ont présenté d'importants défis méthodologiques et conceptuels qui conduisent à des considérations plus larges d'un point de vue philologique. Les développements possibles de cette étude couvrent donc différents domaines. Du point de vue de l'histoire culturelle, il semble en effet nécessaire de procéder à une réévaluation approfondie de l'histoire de la Kabbale dans la péninsule italienne dans une perspective qui tienne compte des contacts étroits entre les intellectuels juifs et chrétiens à la fin du XVe et au début du XVIe siècle. D'un point de vue méthodologique, l'étude des traductions présentées dans ces volumes souligne l'importance de développer des techniques plus efficaces ou plus ciblées pour l'édition de ces textes, ainsi que des nombreuses *marginalia* qui accompagnent les copies en hébreu de certains des traités étudiés. Plus généralement, il convient de souligner que l'absence d'éditions et

d'études précises de ces travaux de traduction ne permet pas à ce jour d'aboutir à une interprétation aussi complète que possible du développement des études et des intérêts kabbalistiques dans le panorama intellectuel chrétien. Cette thèse, grâce à son approche multidisciplinaire, s'est donc fixé pour objectif de commencer à combler, au moins en partie, cette lacune.

Italian extended abstract

Questa ricerca è dedicata alle due traduzioni latine del trattato cabbalistico *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. La prima di queste traduzioni è stata prodotta verso la fine del XV secolo a Firenze dal converso Flavio Mitridate per conto di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Questo testo si presenta in forma mutila ai foll. 132r-150v; 212r-221v del MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190. La seconda traduzione latina di questo testo discussa in questa tesi è stata invece prodotta a Roma nei primi decenni del XVI secolo dal Priore Generale degli Agostiniani e più tardi Cardinale, Egidio da Viterbo. Il testo di questa traduzione, preservato ai foll. 69r-141v del MS BNF, Lat. 598, è completo. La sua datazione al 1513, riportata in un breve colofone al fol. 118r, ha causato alcuni errori nelle precedenti catalogazioni di questo manoscritto che spezzavano il testo della traduzione fra i foll. 69r-118r del volume e un imprecisato *Liber de Nomine* alle carte 118v-141v. Lo studio della presente traduzione ha perciò condotto a ristabilire la precisa estensione di questo testo. Le edizioni di queste traduzioni, presentate nel secondo volume di questa tesi, adottano, con precisi adattamenti, le convenzioni editoriali sperimentate nel progetto “The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola”. Le pubblicazioni di alcune delle traduzioni prodotte da Flavio Mitridate per conto di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nel contesto di questo progetto hanno prodotto infatti risultati imprescindibili per l’edizione e la contestualizzazione storico-testuale di questi lavori. L’approccio semi-diplomatico adottato per le precedenti edizioni ha infatti avuto il pregio di rendere fruibile questo complesso materiale scrittoria e, allo stesso tempo, di far trasparire con estrema chiarezza dal testo stesso delle traduzioni le caratteristiche principali delle modalità di lavoro utilizzate nella loro composizione. Per questo motivo, alla luce delle sfide metodologiche e critiche presentate dall’edizione di traduzioni latine di testi cabbalistici, nonché dalla necessità di rendere conto degli aspetti materiali del lavoro traduttorio a partire dal testo stesso delle traduzioni, si è deciso di applicare tali convenzioni sia alla traduzione mitridatica di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, sia a quella egidiana. Nonostante la grande quantità di traduzioni dall’ebraico prodotte nell’atelier scrittoria e cabbalistico diretto da Egidio da Viterbo infatti, l’edizione della traduzione di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* presentata in questa tesi risulta il primo tentativo editoriale diretto all’esplorazione sistematica di un testo di questo estesissimo *corpus*. Il primo volume della tesi invece è dedicato a un’esplorazione dei contesti culturali e storici in cui queste traduzioni sono state concepite e prodotte, con una particolare attenzione all’esame dei manoscritti contenenti questi peculiari lavori. Le traduzioni dall’ebraico, in particolare di testi cabbalistici, figurano come la principale forma di mediazione e diffusione di questi contenuti fra gli intellettuali del movimento cabbalistico cristiano. Attraverso lo studio comparativo delle due traduzioni latine di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, si è perciò cercato di tracciare un quadro esaustivo dello

sviluppo pratico e ideologico dei differenti approcci traduttivi adottati da importanti intellettuali cristiani per avvicinarsi allo studio della Qabbalah ebraica. Scopo di questa indagine era infatti inserire lo studio delle traduzioni cabbalistiche all'interno di una narrazione centrata sullo sviluppo della Cabbalà cristiana dalle sue origini nella Firenze umanistica di tardo XV secolo fino alla Roma papale del XVI secolo, sconvolta dalla crisi della Riforma e poi dal Sacco del 1527. In questo modo, la complessiva contestualizzazione storica e culturale di questo movimento intellettuale e delle sue attività mirava a presentare un'indagine sull'evoluzione dello studio della Qabbalah nella Penisola Italiana fra XV e XVI secolo in cui emergessero i profondi contatti culturali e persino politici fra intellettuali ebrei e cristiani. La Cabbalà cristiana e il suo sviluppo in Italia risultano perciò un peculiare sviluppo di istanze culturali, dottrinali e interpretative che, almeno alle origini di questo movimento culturale e nei primi decenni del suo sviluppo, non poté prescindere dal confronto sistematico con i testi e le idee che circolavano nelle contemporanee cerchie cabbalistiche ebraiche. Tali contatti, che inclusero anche una serie di rapporti interpersonali e inter-comunitari di particolare rilevanza storica, non furono scevri di contraddizioni e pregiudizi, di cui si è tentato di rendere conto anche all'interno di questa trattazione dei primi decenni di sviluppo del movimento cabbalistico cristiano.

1. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola a Firenze

Il primo capitolo di questo elaborato è incentrato sull'origine dell'interesse cristiano verso le dottrine cabbalistiche nelle cerchie intellettuali umanistiche di tardo Quattrocento. In primo luogo, sono state analizzate le posizioni sullo studio e la conoscenza della Qabbalah ebraica espresse da Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nella sua mai pronunciata *Oratio de Hominis Dignitate*. Questo testo era stato infatti concepito per introdurre i dibattiti pubblici scaturiti dalla pubblicazione da parte di Giovanni Pico delle *Conclusiones Nongentae* nel dicembre del 1486. Le tesi espresse in questo volumetto miravano a promuovere attraverso la discussione pubblica di queste proposizioni un ampio progetto culturale di concordia filosofica fra le varie dottrine filosofiche e religiose. In questo contesto, le rielaborazioni sulla dottrina cabbalistica inserite da Giovanni Pico all'interno della trattazione figuravano come una novità culturale e religiosa imprescindibile. Il giovane conte della Mirandola infatti riteneva che attraverso lo studio della Qabbalah ebraica si potessero rintracciare all'interno di antichissimi testi della tradizione giudaica conferme e anticipazioni dei dogmi cattolici e delle verità di fede cristiane. Si elaborava perciò una storia dell'origine di questa forma di sapere come vera Legge orale trasmessa a Mosè sul Sinai, quindi a Giosuè e ai sapienti di Israele, fino a trovare la sua prima espressione scritta nei 70 libri di Esdra, i quali dovevano rimanere inaccessibili agli ebrei prima del compimento dei 40 anni. Si attribuiva poi la prima esperienza di traduzione in

latino di questi testi e dunque un primo progetto per la loro diffusione a Sisto IV, ricorrendo apparentemente all'autorità papale per rendere più accettabile la portata dirompente della novità culturale delle conclusioni cabbalistiche elaborate dal Mirandolano. Come sottolineato nella contestualizzazione storica fornita all'interno del capitolo, anche altri intellettuali come il converso e vescovo di Burgos Paolo di Santa Maria avevano utilizzato citazioni cabbalistiche all'interno degli scritti di polemica anti-ebraica volta alla conversione di questa minoranza. Di conseguenza, altri intellettuali cristiani come lo stesso Marsilio Ficino avevano inserito brevi citazioni cabbalistiche (spesso mediate da scritti polemici) all'interno dei loro scritti. Tuttavia, la novità della proposta culturale di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola sulla Qabbalah risultava nell'inclusione delle dottrine ebraiche nel panorama di studio cristiano non solamente con un intento polemico, ma come una fonte di sapienza mistico-filosofica in grado di fornire ulteriori rivelazioni sulla corretta interpretazione di specifici punti della dottrina cattolica. Questo innovativo rovesciamento della prospettiva di interazione con gli studi cabbalistici, fu accolta, assieme ad altre proposizioni incluse nell'opera pichiana, con estremo sospetto da parte delle alte sfere intellettuali cattoliche. I dibattiti pubblici inerenti alle 900 tesi proposte dal Conte della Mirandola furono impediti e il testo delle *Conclusiones Nongentae* venne sottoposto al vaglio di una commissione inquisitoriale, istituita da Papa Innocenzo VIII. La vicenda si concluse dopo accese discussioni con gli inquisitori, la pubblicazione dell'*Apologia* e una rocambolesca fuga in Francia, con la scomunica di Giovanni Pico, la quale venne revocata solo intorno al 1493 da Papa Alessandro VI. La perseveranza del Conte della Mirandola sugli studi ebraici e cabbalistici, unita alla ricchezza della produzione letteraria e traduttoria legata al turbolento episodio fondativo del movimento cabbalistico cristiano, ha perciò condotto a uno studio del contesto storico-culturale in cui si situarono questi avvenimenti. In primo luogo, si è proceduto alla ricostruzione biografica e storica del rapporto fra Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e il suo più stretto collaboratore in materia cabbalistica, il converso Flavio Mitridate. Nato in Sicilia con il nome ebraico di Shmuel ben Nissim Abu al-Farag e battezzato con il nome del suo padrino, Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada, prima di lavorare per il Conte della Mirandola, Flavio Mitridate aveva già ottenuto importanti commissioni intellettuali legate alla sua conoscenza dell'ebraico e dell'arabo. In particolare, attraverso la protezione del Cardinale Giovanni Battista Cybo, il converso aveva ottenuto il privilegio di pronunciare di fronte a papa Sisto IV l'omelia del Venerdì Santo del 1481. Questo sermone univa una rielaborazione del *Pugio Fidei* di Ramon Martí a una serie di citazioni in ebraico, arabo e caldeo (aramaico celato da caratteri etiopici), che dimostrano la sostanziale spregiudicatezza di Mitridate nell'adattare le sue competenze linguistiche e culturali alle esigenze ideologiche del suo uditorio. L'impressione generata da questa omelia infatti gli fruttò la commissione di una serie di traduzioni dall'ebraico e dall'arabo sia per conto di Federico da Montefeltro che, soprattutto, per

conto di Papa Sisto IV in persona. Nella sua omelia infatti, Mitridate aveva trattato di un'antichissima tradizione ebraica che prefigurava e riconosceva Gesù come Messia e alla quale gli ebrei non potevano accedere prima dei 40 anni, denominata *Vetus Talmud*. Sotto la spinta ideologica del programma culturale promosso da Sisto IV, Mitridate tradusse dunque una serie di testi, fra cui il *Seder 'Olam Rabba* citato già nel 1484 da Marsilio Ficino, afferenti al cosiddetto *Vetus Talmud*, definito più tardi, secondo alcune fonti, "cabala". Queste ultime fonti afferiscono precipuamente al periodo trascorso da Mitridate in varie città germanofone, a seguito della sua fuga da Roma per un grave delitto che gli costò la protezione di Giovanni Battista Cybo. Le informazioni riguardanti i primi accenni mitridatici alla "cabala" durante il soggiorno del converso in Germania fra il 1482-1484 sono però piuttosto tarde e tendenzialmente già mediate dalla lettura, da parte dei loro rispettivi autori, degli scritti di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Non si può infatti non notare come la descrizione mitridatica del *Vetus Talmud* collimi in gran parte con quella di Cabbalà proposta da Giovanni Pico nell'*Oratio* e poi, sulla base di questi materiali, nell'*Apologia* pubblicata nel 1487. Si è perciò cercato di approfondire il sostrato ideologico caratterizzante l'approccio picchiano allo studio della Qabbalah ebraica e la sua divulgazione. Particolare risalto è stato perciò attribuito al tema del sostituzionismo cristiano in rapporto all'ebraismo e al suo adattamento dalle Sacre Scritture alle dottrine cabbalistiche. Si è sottolineato l'apporto ideologico del concetto umanistico di *prisca theologia* promosso negli scritti di Marsilio Ficino e condiviso all'interno delle cerchie umanistiche fiorentine. A partire da questo specifico sostrato, si è poi preso in esame l'adattamento del concetto di *Vetus Talmud* agli scritti cabbalistici da parte di Mitridate e Giovanni Pico. In questo contesto infatti, si è cercato di sottolineare come questa rielaborazione concettuale non risulti solamente una falsificazione storica da parte di Mitridate per assicurarsi la protezione del suo giovane e ricco patrono, ma il prodotto di una peculiare collaborazione intellettuale. Dall'analisi delle fonti storiche e documentarie relative al periodo in cui Flavio Mitridate agì come principale traduttore dall'ebraico per conto del Conte della Mirandola, emerge costantemente il tentativo di Mitridate di elaborare e plasmare le sue conoscenze per adattarsi alle esigenze culturali e ideologiche del suo mecenate. Questa capacità di rielaborazione culturale e la sostanziale spregiudicatezza del personaggio hanno generato una sorta di stereotipo frequente nella letteratura scientifica per il quale Mitridate non sarebbe che un falsario capace di manipolare e sostanzialmente causare il fraintendimento ideologico della Qabbalah ebraica da parte del suo patrono, attraverso l'inclusione di interpolazioni cristologiche all'interno dei testi cabbalistici tradotti. Tuttavia, l'esame più approfondito delle caratteristiche delle traduzioni prodotte dal converso, del contenuto di questi testi e delle idee circolanti nelle cerchie intellettuali di tardo Quattrocento esaminate finora, problematizza fortemente questi assunti. La grande mole di note di argomento privato, e dunque di grande rilevanza storica, disseminate fra le

pagine delle traduzioni cabbalistiche che Mitridate compose per Giovanni Pico, dimostrano un costante tentativo di richiamare l'attenzione del giovane protettore, all'interno di un rapporto di potere sicuramente sbilanciato a favore del Mirandolano. Mitridate sottolinea costantemente la sua bravura come interprete e pedagogo, aggiunge considerazioni – spesso oscene o, quanto meno, particolarmente sarcastiche – su importanti intellettuali della cerchia medicea e membri della corte papale romana. Più in generale, il converso siciliano pare ricercare una profonda complicità intellettuale con il suo studente, il quale detiene allo stesso tempo il potere e la capacità di agire come patrono risoluto, capace di dilazionare fortemente compensi e gratifiche e di indirizzare concretamente il lavoro traduttorio del suo collaboratore. Da queste annotazioni infatti emerge come il lavoro traduttorio di Mitridate e l'attività di studio delle traduzioni cabbalistiche risultanti fossero condotte in fasi nettamente separate, in cui spesso, a causa della distanza geografica fra i due collaboratori, il converso si ritrovava a inviare al suo patrono fascicoli e quaderni di traduzioni più ampie che poi venivano fatti circolare all'interno della cerchia medicea. Alla luce di queste contingenze spaziali e temporali, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola apparentemente impose o quanto meno indicò precisamente al suo traduttore le principali caratteristiche ricercate nei lavori di traduzione commissionati. In questo contesto, spicca con particolare evidenza l'estremo letteralismo delle traduzioni cabbalistiche mitridatiche. La stretta aderenza al testo ebraico, che potrebbe essere facilmente accostata alla definizione di Saverio Campanini di “traduzione interlineare *in absentia*”, spesso sacrifica la compiutezza sintattica, grammaticale e dunque di senso del risultante testo latino. Tuttavia, questa specifica modalità di traduzione permette di ricostruire con estrema esattezza le caratteristiche testuali e persino codicologiche dei manoscritti ebraici alla base delle traduzioni cabbalistiche di Flavio Mitridate. Tale assunto, è stato ulteriormente comprovato dal confronto fra alcune traduzioni cabbalistiche dal titolo “Fragmenta libri Bahir”, contenute ai foll. 288r-335v del MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191, e il testo dell'ebraico alla base della loro traduzione ai foll. 1r-38r del MS BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209. Nonostante numerosi studi e ricognizioni sull'estesa collezione libraria pichiana infatti, questo volume cabbalistico datato al 1298 è l'unico manoscritto ad oggi preservato per cui si sia potuto comprovare con certezza un uso da parte di Mitridate come antigrafo ebraico per le traduzioni cabbalistiche commissionate da Giovanni Pico. Il fatto che questo volume appartenesse al Mirandolano e che solo alcune sezioni di questo manoscritto siano state tradotte sembra dimostrare che il programma culturale e le esigenze pratiche e materiali cui queste traduzioni aderivano fosse in ultimo luogo stabilito da Giovanni Pico. Dall'esame puntuale del contenuto e delle caratteristiche codicologiche dei MSS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189; 190; 191 e Chigi A VI 190, oltre che di alcuni lavori traduttori elaborati da Mitridate per Giovanni Pico contenuti nei MSS BAV, Vat. Lat. 4273; Vat. Ebr. 357 e Ottob. Lat. 607, è perciò possibile ricostruire con un buon grado di accuratezza la traiettoria del

rapporto e della collaborazione fra i due intellettuali, la cui attività è certamente all'origine del movimento cabbalistico cristiano. In particolare, è possibile rilevare come Giovanni Pico affidò al converso siciliano la traduzione dall'ebraico di un estesissimo programma di testi cabbalistici solo dopo un iniziale periodo in cui Mitridate si dedicò per conto del Mirandolano alla traduzione di testi biblico-esegetici o persino a qualche incursione nella trattatistica filosofica. Le circa 3500 pagine di testi cabbalistici che permangono nella collezione vaticana non comprendono il fondamentale volume della traduzione latina del *Commento al Pentateuco* di Menaḥem da Recanati, acquistato e descritto nel 1651 dal francese Jacques Gaffarel, ad oggi perduto. Vi è infatti consenso accademico sul fatto che la traduzione latina di questo testo sia stata estesamente consultata dal Conte della Mirandola e usata come fonte principale per un grande numero di tesi cabbalistiche all'interno delle *Conclusiones Nongentae* pichiane. La perdita completa di questo testo, fatta eccezione per una piccola porzione di testo trascritta ai foll. 117r-124r del MS Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX.29 risulta dunque particolarmente pesante. Inoltre, come avvenne anche all'interno delle cerchie cabbalistiche ebraiche italiane, il *Commento* di Recanati – in questo caso nella sua versione latina – fu il principale mediatore di citazioni zohariche divulgate dal Mirandolano, in un'epoca in cui il reperimento del *Sefer ha-Zohar* nella Penisola Italiana risultava particolarmente difficoltoso, anche a prescindere da eventuali resistenze delle comunità locali nel prestare o vendere manoscritti esoterici a un acquirente cristiano. Giovanni Pico infatti, all'interno dei suoi scritti, lamenta non solo il costo ingente dei manoscritti cabbalistici, ma anche la loro difficoltà di reperimento dovuta alla reticenza dei cabbalisti ebrei nel divulgare questi testi al di fuori di una ristretta cerchia esoterica e, in particolare, a un intellettuale cristiano. Queste affermazioni paiono confermate dall'analisi e descrizione del contenuto dei manoscritti di traduzioni mitridatiche, soprattutto se comparate ai suggerimenti di letture cabbalistiche che Giovanni Pico della Mirandola ricevette intorno al 1485 dal suo collaboratore Elia Del Medigo. Traduttore di opere filosofiche e averroistiche che mediò dall'ebraico per conto di Giovanni Pico, in una lettera indirizzata al suo potente mecenate, il filosofo candiota trascrisse una serie di titoli cabbalistici che il Conte avrebbe potuto trovare interessanti, dato che si trovava tanto indaffarato “in isto benedicto Cabala”. Fra le letture – e dunque traduzioni – suggerite figuravano: il *Sefer ha-Zohar*, *Me'irat 'Enayim* di Yitzḥaq di Aqko, *Sha'are Orach* di Yosef Gikatilla, il Recanati, *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* e un generico *Perush Sefer Yetzirah* seguito dalla chiosa “et multa alia quorum nomina non occurrunt mihi quia multas habeo occupationes”. Dalla comparazione di questa lista con le traduzioni mitridatiche, si scopre che il converso tradusse solamente “il Recanati”, probabilmente, secondo il contenuto di una missiva del filosofo candiota, proprio da una copia di questo testo di proprietà di Elia Del Medigo, e *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, preservata in forma mutila all'interno del MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190. Come verrà approfondito in seguito, questo manoscritto, nello specifico,

sembra essere il risultato dell'assemblaggio di quaderni sciolti e testi, probabilmente tradotti in una fase particolarmente tardiva e controversa della collaborazione fra Giovanni Pico e Mitridate. Ciò pare dimostrare che Giovanni Pico potrebbe aver faticato ad ottenere una copia di questo testo, così come di buona parte dei lavori indicati da Del Medigo, e che nel caso di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* il giovane conte non abbia nemmeno potuto leggere la traduzione commissionata al converso. Questa ricostruzione pare supportata anche dall'assenza di annotazioni autografe del Mirandolano nei margini dei testi del MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, così come del MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189. Si è perciò cercato di dimostrare come l'attenta analisi delle traduzioni mitridatiche possa fornire dati importanti per ricostruire il peculiare contesto storico in cui questi testi furono concepiti e prodotti. In particolare, attraverso la descrizione puntuale del contenuto di questi volumi si è cercato di proporre un quadro dei testi selezionati per necessità pratica, ma anche precisa intenzionalità culturale e intellettuale da Giovanni Pico per la traduzione. Si è dunque segnalata la presenza di ben due testi cabbalistici di Yosef Gikatilla in alternativa a *Sha'are Orah*, in particolare *Sha'are Tzedeq* e *Sefer ha-Niqqud*. All'incirca 191 carte di traduzione presentano la versione latina di testi composti da Abraham Abulafia, fra i quali *Sitre Torah*, corredato da entusiastici commenti da parte di Mitridate, e un *Commento al Sefer Yetzirah*. L'interesse verso il *Sefer Yetzirah* e alla spiegazione della dottrina sefirotica sono rappresentati dall'estesa presenza di traduzioni di commentari e opuscoli come *Keter Shem Tov* di Abraham ben Axelrad di Colonia. All'incirca 700 carte presentano inoltre la traduzione di materiali afferenti alla cerchia dei pietisti renani degli *Haside Ashkenaz*. La riflessione sui testi cabbalistici tradotti da Mitridate ha perciò condotto a un inquadramento generale dello studio della Qabbalah fra le cerchie intellettuali ebraiche toscane all'epoca dei primi approcci pichiani a questi studi. Tale analisi non poteva prescindere da un'indagine sul rapporto fra le élite intellettuali ebraiche locali e Lorenzo il Magnifico, nonché degli interventi diretti da parte di quest'ultimo a protezione dei membri della comunità ebraica fiorentina. Si è perciò proceduto ad analizzare il caso della censura di libri ebraici a Firenze nel 1472, certificata dalle firme del notaio preposto agli affari riguardanti la comunità ebraica locale, Marchione. Accaduto proprio all'inizio della cripto-reggenza di Lorenzo infatti, questo episodio pare collegato a un più generale tentativo di espulsione degli ebrei dalla città. Tuttavia, l'assenza di cronache documentarie legate al periodo impedisce di chiarire i contorni giuridici di questo drammatico episodio, nonché l'estensione dell'azione del Magnifico per scongiurare questo pericolo, contrariamente all'episodio dell'assalto del Banco della Vacca gestito da Immanuel da Camerino del 1488. L'assalto infatti si concluse con l'intervento degli Otto di Guardia e di Balìa della città di Firenze e con l'espulsione, per volere di Lorenzo stesso, del predicatore Bernardino da Feltre. Si è poi cercato di illustrare il ruolo politico e culturale giocato dai diversi membri delle famiglie da Pisa, da San Miniato e da Montalcino, tutte afferenti all'originale ceppo

della famiglia emigrata da Roma dei Mi-Beit-El. Ne emerge un quadro storico e culturale variegato in cui lo studio cabbalistico poteva o meno venire integrato con lo studio della filosofia e dei classici, in confronto attivo con la circostante cultura umanistica. La divulgazione di contenuti cabbalistici e l'opportunità di un confronto attivo le cerchie intellettuali cristiane e con lo studio della filosofia si staglia come peculiare argomento di contesa in seno alle cerchie intellettuali e cabbalistiche ebraiche che nel tardo Quattrocento si confrontarono nella Penisola Italiana e, in particolare, nelle zone della Toscana e del Centro Italia. In particolare, in questo contesto si colloca la figura di Yoḥannan Alemanno, maestro di Qabbalah dei membri della famiglia Da Pisa su esplicita richiesta del patriarca Yehiel ben Yitzḥaq e membro a tutti gli effetti della cerchia intellettuale di Marsilio Ficino e Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, dopo il ritorno di quest'ultimo dalla Francia e la fine del rapporto con Flavio Mitridate. In linea con gli orientamenti dell'umanesimo fiorentino, l'approccio magico-teurgico alla Qabbalah proposto da Alemanno prevedeva un rigoroso studio sia dei tradizionali testi cabbalistici autoritativi, nonché della filosofia. L'integrazione di Qabbalah e filosofia, tipica della speculazione intellettuale delle cerchie cabbalistiche italiane, venne messa in discussione con l'arrivo dei cabbalisti sefarditi, prima e dopo l'epulsione dalla Penisola iberica, e la maggiore diffusione locale del *Sefer ha-Zohar*. Il contesto storico e culturale in cui la discussione sulla legittimità dell'interpretazione filosofica della Qabbalah e dell'arrivo degli scritti e dei cabbalisti sefarditi si sia intrecciato con la nascita della Cabbalà cristiana dovrebbe essere l'oggetto di uno studio più approfondito. Nei limiti di questa tesi, si è perciò deciso di limitarsi a un inquadramento di questo contesto che permettesse di includerlo nella descrizione dell'Umanesimo fiorentino e dei suoi sviluppi. Nell'intento di ricostruire più precisamente l'ambiente culturale in cui Giovanni Pico e Flavio Mitridate collaborarono, si è proceduto a un riesame delle ipotesi ad oggi formulate sull'identità di un certo Abraam. Questo personaggio viene menzionato da Mitridate all'interno di alcune note alle traduzioni in cui si segnala l'intervento di cancellatura del testo ebraico copiato da questo scriba. Un resoconto da parte di Marsilio Ficino di un dibattito avvenuto in casa del conte della Mirandola menziona inoltre lo scontro polemico fra Mitridate e Elia Del Medigo, coadiuvato nella polemica da un intellettuale di nome Abraam. Nell'appoggiare l'ipotesi che i due personaggi menzionati fossero la stessa persona, si sono cercati di fornire alcuni ulteriori elementi a favore dell'identificazione di questo Abraam con il cantore della comunità di Ferrara e copista Abraham ben Mordekhai Farissol. La sua presenza a Firenze in diverse occasioni e i suoi contatti con le élite locali, uniti alla partecipazione a un dibattito alla corte estense, nonché le caratteristiche delle sue collaborazioni con gli umanisti ferraresi, sembrano infatti dare corpo a questa ricostruzione. Si è poi proceduto ad analizzare e descrivere il contenuto dei manoscritti di traduzioni dall'ebraico al vernacolare commissionate dal medico di Lorenzo de' Medici, professore universitario e membro illustre della cerchia intellettuale umanistica

di Firenze, Pier Leone da Spoleto. Dopo aver discusso della *damnatio memoriae* che colpì lo spoletino a seguito della dipartita del suo paziente più illustre e della sua conseguente morte violenta, sono stati passati in rassegna i recenti studi che hanno approfondito il contenuto della biblioteca di Pier Leone e hanno ricostruito i suoi notevoli interessi cabbalistici. Sono stati perciò passati in rassegna i manoscritti relativi agli studi cabbalistici del medico spoletino. In primo luogo, sono stati analizzati i volumi in cui Pier Leone copiò estratti di traduzioni composte da Flavio Mitridate, come il già citato MS BUG, A.IX.29 o il MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 9425. Si è poi discusso dettagliatamente il contenuto delle traduzioni in vernacolare del MS BNF, It. 443 e del MS Arsenal, 8526, in comparazione con l'antigrafo ebraico alla base di alcuni di questi lavori, il MS BNF, Hébr. 776. Questi testi vennero tradotti per conto di Pier Leone da almeno due copisti/traduttori di origine sefardita (forse siciliana o spagnola). Interventi diretti nella copiatura da parte del medico spoletino, nonché una serie di ritraduzioni marginali in latino, dimostrano lo studio diretto di questi testi da parte di Pier Leone. Dal punto di vista contenutistico, oltre alla presenza di interessanti materiali abulafiani, in linea con le preferenze già rilevate fra le traduzioni mitridatico-pichiane, si segnalano testi come *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* o una serie di lavori sul romanzo filosofico *Hayy ibn Yaqzān* di Ibn Tufayl, in apparente competizione con le traduzioni latine dall'ebraico approntate da e per il Mirandolano. Si è dunque proceduto a un approfondimento dei possibili rapporti di cronologia e dipendenza fra i due differenti progetti di traduzioni cabbalistiche commissionati da Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e da Pier Leone da Spoleto. Particolare risalto è stato attribuito al MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 868. Questo volume appartenuto a Mazzingo Mazzinghi, allievo di Pier Leone all'università di Pisa, pare datato al 1483. Al suo interno, insieme a un'antologia astrologica e medica in linea con gli interessi librari del maestro spoletino, vi è una traduzione vernacolare del *Sefer Yetzirah*, che dunque parrebbe precedere l'arrivo di Giovanni Pico a Firenze. La presenza di diverse scritture all'interno del manoscritto, tuttavia, pare suggerire una composizione stratificata del volume. L'elaborazione di una traduzione del *Sefer Yetzirah* è perciò in linea con gli interessi e i contatti già stabiliti all'interno delle cerchie mediche con gli intellettuali ebrei toscani, ma potrebbe non essere direttamente legata a un più ampio progetto traduttorio cabbalistico concepito da Pier Leone prima dell'arrivo del giovane Mirandolano a Firenze. La presenza di estratti di traduzioni mitridatiche fra i manoscritti appartenuti a Pier Leone, nonché la presenza di titoli comuni al progetto traduttorio pichiano, pare infatti alludere a uno scenario in cui i due intellettuali approcciarono con tempistiche e intenti di poco differenti e probabilmente spesso concorrenti gli studi cabbalistici. L'analisi comparativa di questi manoscritti, laddove non pare permettere una scriminatura temporale netta, ha perciò permesso di contestualizzare criticamente la prima fase di sviluppo dello studio delle dottrine cabbalistiche all'interno della cerchia intellettuale umanistica che si riunì a Firenze nel tardo Quattrocento. Questa ampia

contestualizzazione si è poi conclusa con una più ampia riflessione sul ruolo di Giovanni Pico nel divulgare la conoscenza cabbalistica nel panorama intellettuale umanistico-cristiano. Particolare rilevanza è stata infatti attribuita non tanto alla rivendicazione pichiana del primato cristiano su questi studi, ma alla sua esplicita attribuzione al Mirandolano da parte dei cabbalisti cristiani che proseguirono nell'approfondimento di queste dottrine. In particolare, sono state analizzate le citazioni riguardanti il primato pichiano negli scritti di Johannes Reuchlin, Egidio da Viterbo, Francesco Zorzi e Pietro Galatino. In questo contesto, importante rilievo è stato attribuito alle conseguenze ideologiche della designazione del Conte della Mirandola come primo cabbalista cristiano. Da questa analisi emerge infatti quanto il primato pichiano non comporti solamente una presunta constatazione cronologica, ma ancor di più l'adozione di una simile prospettiva sostituzionista nello studio della Qabbalah ebraica e nella sua rielaborazione in ottica umanistico-cristiana.

2. Egidio da Viterbo a Roma

Il secondo capitolo è dedicato allo sviluppo del movimento cabbalistico cristiano attraverso il delineamento della biografia cabbalistica di Egidio da Viterbo. Priore Generale degli Agostiniani nel decennio fra il 1507 e il 1517 e poi Cardinale, Egidio da Viterbo fu un personaggio di assoluto spicco nel panorama culturale, politico e religioso della prima metà del '500. Incaricato della prolusione iniziale al Concilio Laterano V (1512-1517), Egidio si distinse fin dai primi passi della sua carriera ecclesiastica per il suo afflato riformistico, la stretta osservanza religiosa che lo portò a unirsi alla Congregazione agostiniana di Lecceto e la sua solida preparazione filosofica umanistica. La sua gestione dell'Ordine agostiniano si distinse per l'implementazione di una faticosa riforma della regola e dell'organizzazione dei conventi di tutta Europa. In questo contesto, spicca per rilevanza il suo incontro con Martin Lutero, giunto a Roma per rappresentare l'ala più oltranzista dell'osservanza agostiniana tedesca, per poi divenire un sostenitore della riforma egidiana. Egidio da Viterbo venne nominato Cardinale nel luglio del 1517, a seguito della presunta congiura ordita dal Cardinale Petrucci contro Leone X, pochi mesi prima dello scoppio della crisi della Riforma luterana. Nel ruolo di Cardinale, Egidio si distinse come strenuo sostenitore della fazione medicea interna al conclave che elesse prima Adriano VI e poi Clemente VII, di cui divenne un fidato consigliere. In occasione dei conclavi, pare che Egidio disponesse di un ottimo credito religioso e politico, tale da essere considerato persino un candidato eligibile al soglio pontificio. In generale, i tradizionali studi biografici dedicati a Egidio tendono a focalizzarsi sulla sua attività di riforma interna all'Ordine agostiniano e a menzionare pochi eventi significativi accaduti dopo la sua nomina a Cardinale. Fra gli episodi spesso menzionati, si rileva il reclutamento di un contingente nella zona di Viterbo al tempo del Sacco di Roma del 1527 che Egidio guidò personalmente fino alle porte dell'Urbe nel

tentativo abortito di salvare Clemente VII dall'assedio. Dal punto di vista culturale, Egidio, considerato un preparato umanista, promosse una serie di iniziative legate allo studio dell'ebraico e della Qabbalah che solo più di recente hanno attirato l'attenzione degli studiosi. In questo contesto, l'obiettivo di questo capitolo di tesi figurava nel tracciare una biografia cabbalistica di Egidio da Viterbo che, attraverso la descrizione della traiettoria degli studi cabbalistici egidiani, dimostrasse come la conoscenza di queste dottrine abbia profondamente influenzato la sua azione religiosa, culturale e politica fra le alte gerarchie della Chiesa cattolica. In primo luogo, si è dunque proceduto a una disamina degli studi cabbalistici nella città di Roma. Si è perciò menzionata la fortunosa vicenda dell'incontro richiesto nel 1279 a papa Niccolò III dal cabbalista Abraham Abulafia. Dopodiché si è proceduto a una breve disamina sui manoscritti cabbalistici prodotti a Roma nella cerchia intellettuale guidata da Menahem ben Benjamin 'Anaw. Particolare rilievo è stato infine attribuito alla figura dell'intellettuale siciliano Antonio Flaminio "Biaxander", considerato il primo orientalista ad aver studiato e insegnato lingue come l'arabo e l'ebraico nell'Urbe fra il tardo Quattrocento e il primo decennio del Cinquecento. Flaminio si procurò un'estesissima collezione di manoscritti in lingue orientali, fra cui spiccano alcuni volumi cabbalistici di elevata rilevanza testuale, oggi preservati, dopo varie vicissitudini, presso la Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma. Alla morte di Biaxter intorno all'aprile del 1513 infatti, la sua estesissima collezione di manoscritti fu requisita e smembrata da papa Leone X. La maggior parte di questi volumi divenne proprietà papale ed è oggi preservata fra gli scaffali della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Una serie di manoscritti invece, fra cui una Bibbia ebraica e alcuni volumi cabbalistici, vennero regalati al Priore Generale degli Agostiniani, Egidio da Viterbo, contribuendo a una prima estensione della collezione libraria in ebraico del futuro cardinale. L'episodio di questa donazione, riportato nel colofone della Bibbia oggi preservata presso la Biblioteca Angelica di Roma con la segnatura di MS Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 72, rappresenta perciò uno snodo particolarmente interessante nel delineamento degli studi ebraici di Egidio. Si è perciò proceduto a una disamina cronologica delle traduzioni cabbalistiche prodotte nell'atelier scribale diretto dal Priore Generale Agostiniano. In particolare, sono state segnalate la data del 10 maggio 1513 apposta al fol. 118r del MS BNF, Lat. 598, quelle del 1515 e 1516 apposte ai foll. 496v e 527v del MS BNF, Lat. 527/2 e infine quella del 1523 nel fol. 348v del MS BNF, Lat. 527/1. Si è perciò deciso di esaminare il processo compositivo adottato nell'arco di questo decennio da Egidio da Viterbo e i suoi collaboratori per approntare questo estesissimo lavoro traduttorio di argomento cabbalistico, attraverso l'analisi accurata di queste traduzioni, nonché delle note e dei colofoni sparsi fra le pagine dei manoscritti in cui sono preservate. In particolare, si è segnalato come il processo di traduzione di questi testi fosse il risultato di una peculiare forma di collaborazione fra diversi intellettuali coinvolti a vario titolo nello studio di questi testi. Una serie di annotazioni autografe da

parte di Egidio, la cui grafia ricorre spesso all'interno di queste traduzioni, fa riferimento a un processo di dettatura della traduzione in vernacolare da parte di uno o più maestri di ebraico e Qabbalah. La traduzione dettata veniva perciò trascritta e sintetizzata in latino da Egidio stesso o dai suoi collaboratori. Seguiva poi un complesso processo di annotazione e sintesi del contenuto di queste traduzioni nei margini del testo, volto a guidare il successivo studio e l'interpretazione delle dottrine cabbalistiche espresse nei diversi trattati mistico-cabbalistici tradotti. Come infatti dimostrato dalla presenza di diversi inchiostri nei marginalia, nonché di correzioni delle annotazioni precedentemente accostate al testo di queste traduzioni, lo studio di questi lavori fu reiterato negli anni. Un ulteriore aspetto che emerge dal puntuale esame dei *marginalia* e, in particolare dei colofoni, presenti nei volumi di traduzioni cabbalistiche egidiane è il ricorso alla prospettiva sostituzionista nell'interpretazione di questi testi. In linea con l'approccio pichiano alla Qabbalah che Egidio stesso ammette di aver preso ad esempio, assieme al lavoro di altri intellettuali, per accostarsi allo studio della mistica ebraica, anche l'agostiniano e futuro cardinale riteneva di trovare, all'interno dei testi cabbalistici da lui studiati e tradotti, conferme dei dogmi e delle dottrine cristiane. Le emozioni suscitate da queste presunte scoperte e dall'esplorazione cristianizzata delle dottrine cabbalistiche emergono chiaramente dai commenti disseminati da Egidio stesso fra le pagine e i colofoni di queste traduzioni. L'importanza assunta da queste dottrine nella prospettiva di fede di Egidio, lo spinsero a promuovere il loro studio e la loro divulgazione fra le alte sfere della Chiesa cattolica. Particolare rilievo assume in questo senso la composizione intorno al 1516-1517 di un opuscolo, conosciuto come *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*, dedicato al cardinale Giulio de' Medici e indirizzato a Papa Leone X, in cui si proponeva la riforma dell'alfabeto latino attraverso l'inclusione delle lettere ebraiche ך, ם e ן. Questa riforma risultava finalizzata nella prospettiva di Egidio alla divulgazione e comprensione dei misteri cabbalistici e dunque delle realtà cristologiche in essi custodite fra gli intellettuali cristiani. Per questo motivo, Egidio compone un'introduzione in cui esalta l'importanza dello studio della Qabbalah fra i cristiani in cui cita esplicitamente l'autorevolezza degli scritti cabbalistici di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Paolo Ricci e, in particolare, Johannes Reuchlin. L'elogio di Reuchlin e del suo fondamentale contributo allo studio della Qabbalah viene ripreso anche nella seconda parte dell'opuscolo dedicata ai misteri cabbalistici inerenti le lettere ebraiche sulla base delle dottrine del *Sefer ha-Temunah*. La menzione di Reuchlin e l'esaltazione dei suoi contributi culturali, visto il peculiare contesto storico e politico in cui questo opuscolo fu composto e inizialmente divulgato, significava una presa di posizione netta nel panorama culturale, religioso e politico dell'epoca. Johanness Reuchlin era infatti al centro di una complessa vicenda inquisitoriale, scaturita dalla sua opposizione a un editto di Massimiliano I d'Asburgo che prevedeva la confisca e la distruzione di tutti i libri ebraici, fatta eccezione per la Bibbia, all'interno dei territori dell'Impero. Si sono dunque

analizzate le vicende legate al *Judenbücherstreit* e, in particolare, al trasferimento del processo inquisitorio nei confronti di Reuchlin a Roma nell'estate del 1516. Particolare risalto è stato attribuito alla difesa pubblica delle posizioni di Reuchlin e dell'importanza dello studio di Qabbalah ebraica e Talmud pronunciata da Egidio da Viterbo durante le sedute della commissione inquisitoriale incaricata da Leone X per esaminare il caso dell'umanista. La sospensione del verdetto finale di questa commissione stabilita dal papa poco prima della sua votazione, venne comunque ritenuta un risultato soddisfacente da parte dei sostenitori di Reuchlin, fra cui Egidio, che ne scrive in maniera piuttosto entusiasta sia al francese Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, sia direttamente all'umanista di Pforzheim. In un'ottica di promozione degli studi cabbalistici e nella speranza di ottenere una riabilitazione pubblica dei suoi scritti e della sua ortodossia, Johannes Reuchlin pubblicò nell'aprile 1517 il *De Arte Cabalistica* con una dedica a Leone X. Intorno allo stesso periodo e persino poco dopo la nomina a cardinale avvenuta nel luglio del 1517, Egidio da Viterbo componeva la sezione della *Historia XX Saeculorum* dedicata al pontificato del papa mediceo. Questo testo finalizzato a promuovere un'interpretazione profetica della Storia fu composto a più riprese fra il 1513 e il 1517. Si è perciò deciso di analizzare con particolare attenzione la sezione dedicata a Leone X proprio alla luce delle peculiarità che la distaccano dai capitoli precedenti del trattato egidiano. In queste pagine infatti Egidio riflette su situazioni ed eventi a lui contemporanei, illustrando le sue ambizioni e le sue posizioni religiose e politiche. La composizione di questa precisa porzione di testo nel 1517, comprovata da una serie di espliciti riferimenti interni, risulta di particolare rilevanza. Il 1517 fu l'anno in cui Egidio ricevette la porpora cardinalizia, in cui l'Impero Ottomano si espanse fino alla conquista di Siria e Cairo e in cui scoppiò la crisi della Riforma, aizzata dall'agostiniano Martin Lutero. In questo contesto, emerge chiaramente come Egidio considerasse una priorità assoluta della cristianità lo scontro diretto con l'Impero Ottomano e promuovesse, attraverso i suoi scritti un intervento militare guidato, quanto meno spiritualmente, da Leone X. All'interno di queste pagine, perciò Egidio fa ricorso frequentemente a citazioni e argomentazioni di matrice cabbalistica, volte a dimostrare l'ispirazione divina di tale scontro dai caratteri millenaristici. Tale integrazione di materiali cabbalistici in una narrazione dalla chiara impostazione millenaristica, nonostante il velato riferimento al processo contro Reuchlin e l'esplicita menzione della diffidenza delle gerarchie cattoliche nei confronti della Qabbalah ebraica, dimostra la profonda influenza esercitata da questi studi nell'esito dell'azione politica e culturale di Egidio da Viterbo. L'ulteriore sospetto sullo studio dell'ebraico e della Qabbalah causato dalla crisi innescata da Lutero determinò la riapertura del caso Reuchlin e la condanna dei suoi scritti da parte di Leone X. In questo drammatico passaggio nella storia del movimento cabbalistico, Egidio difese strenuamente Reuchlin e continuò a promuovere questi studi e una serie di argomentazioni politiche, ideologiche e religiose ispirate dalla sua specifica

prospettiva sulla Qabbalah all'interno delle alte gerarchie cattoliche. Si è perciò proceduto alla disamina del ruolo di Egidio da Viterbo nei conclavi del 1521-1522 e del 1523, che elessero al soglio pontificio rispettivamente Adriano VI e Clemente VII. Particolare rilievo è stato dunque attribuito alla rilettura del *Sefer ha-Temunah* da parte di Egidio immediatamente a ridosso o persino durante il conclave del 1523. L'analisi delle annotazioni marginali alla traduzione di questo testo nel MS BNF, Lat. 527/1 ha fatto emergere la particolare rilevanza attribuita da Egidio al tema dei cicli di redenzione delle *shemittot* e alla conclusione di uno di questi rivolgimenti a sette anni dal momento dello studio di quel testo datato in maniera autografa al 1523. Si è poi illustrato il ruolo di mediatore assunto da Egidio nel primo incontro fra papa Clemente VII e lo pseudo-principe di un regno ebraico nella Penisola Arabica, David Reuveni. Reuveni propose al papa di promuovere fra i regnanti cristiani di tutta Europa il progetto di un'azione militare contro l'Impero Ottomano in collaborazione con il fantomatico regno ebraico di cui si diceva ambasciatore. L'obiettivo della riconquista di Gerusalemme prospettato da Reuveni ben si sposava con le ambizioni millenaristiche circolanti negli ambienti cristiani di cui Egidio si fece portavoce, nonché con le speranze messianiche coltivate a vario titolo fra le comunità ebraiche della Penisola Italiana. Si è dunque proceduto a una breve analisi degli studi cabbalistici alla base del contatto intellettuale fra importanti membri della comunità ebraica romana ed Egidio da Viterbo. In particolar modo, si è sottolineato e indagato il ruolo di mediatore assunto da Daniel da Pisa, estensore dei nuovi capitoli organizzativi della comunità ebraica romana del 1524, nella trattativa fra Reuveni e il papa per l'ottenimento di una raccomandazione al re di Portogallo, Giovanni III. Proveniente dalla famiglia toscana dei banchieri da Pisa, Daniel infatti era figlio del più celebre allievo di Yoḥannan Alemanno, Yitzḥaq ben Yeḥiel. Anche suo cugino Yeḥiel Nissim, che ospitò nella sua residenza Reuveni prima della partenza di quest'ultimo per il Portogallo, copiò e commissionò la copia in tre volumi di un preziosissimo *Sefer ha-Zohar* oggi preservato alla Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Si è perciò proceduto a una digressione dedicata al movimento di ispirazione mistico-messianica creato da Reuveni e sviluppato dal suo più celebre seguace, il convertito Shlomo Molko. Nato come Diogo Pires in una famiglia di *conversos*, Molko, all'epoca dell'arrivo di Reuveni in Portogallo, figurava come segretario della corte d'appello del re. La sua posizione pubblica non permise di nascondere l'auto-conversione all'ebraismo compiuta da Molko, su spinta delle visioni ispirate dall'arrivo di Reuveni. Ciò costrinse il giovane convertito a fuggire nell'Impero Ottomano, dove divenne esperto di Talmud e Qabbalah. Un'ulteriore serie di visioni, mise in moto Molko verso l'Italia, il quale si riunì a Reuveni nella città di Venezia. Nella città lagunare, Molko si trovò a mediare fra il celebre medico pontificio, Ya'aqov Mantino, e il suo seguace più celebre, Eliyyà Menahem ben Abba Mari Ḥalfan, che aveva intrapreso lo studio della Qabbalah proprio su ispirazione del convertito. Ḥalfan infatti, considerato fra i più esperti di diritto ebraico nella

Penisola, era stato coinvolto nella disputa relativa al divorzio di Enrico VIII d'Inghilterra da Caterina d'Aragona. In questo contesto, Hālfan aveva prodotto un documento particolarmente favorevole al re d'Inghilterra, sottoscritto da un ampio numero di esperti di diritto ebraico. La divulgazione di questo documento venne percepita come pericolosa da parte di Mantino che conosceva la profonda opposizione di Clemente VII al divorzio regale inglese, per non scontentare l'Imperatore Carlo V, nipote di Caterina d'Aragona. Si sono dunque esaminati approfonditamente i contatti stabiliti da Molko sia fra le comunità ebraiche della Penisola che fra le alte gerarchie cattoliche, fra cui, molto probabilmente figurava anche Egidio da Viterbo, in particolare durante i ripetuti viaggi a Roma del convertito fra il 1530 e il 1531. In queste occasioni infatti, Molko godette della protezione diretta di Clemente VII, che intervenne persino per salvarlo da una condanna al rogo dovuta alla sua apostasia. Le vicissitudini di Molko si conclusero nel 1532, anno della dipartita di Egidio da Viterbo. Il convertito e il suo maestro David Reuveni infatti si diressero a Regensburg per incontrare Carlo V e proporgli di guidare una spedizione contro l'Impero Ottomano. L'imperatore invece, dopo aver concesso udienza ai due, li fece arrestare e condannò a morte Molko per la sua apostasia. L'esecuzione di Molko avvenne perciò a Mantova nello stesso anno e portò sostanzialmente alla fine del movimento mistico-messianico che questi e Reuveni avevano ispirato nella Penisola. L'ultimo atto della vicenda del convertito risulta di peculiare interesse in quanto, negli anni in questi compì i suoi viaggi a Roma, Egidio da Viterbo stava scrivendo il suo ultimo trattato ispirato dai suoi studi cabbalistici, *Scechina*. Attraverso la personificazione della decima *sefirah* e una serie di argomentazioni basate sui misteri cabbalistici infatti, Egidio da Viterbo proponeva a Carlo V di assumere su di sé il ruolo di leader della cristianità e guidare lo scontro, anche militare, con l'Impero Ottomano. L'analisi di questo testo condotta in questo elaborato ha perciò permesso di ricostruire la traiettoria della visione cabbalistico-millennaristica di Egidio da Viterbo, nonché il contesto storico in cui questo trattato fu concepito e composto. In particolare, si è cercato di fornire risalto alle traumatiche vicende del Sacco di Roma del 1527 e dell'abortito tentativo da parte di Egidio di guidare un contingente militare finalizzato al salvataggio di Clemente VII. Si è esaminato il coinvolgimento di Egidio da Viterbo stesso nella disputa sul divorzio di Enrico VIII e Caterina d'Aragona. Si è infine proceduto ad analizzare la ferma opposizione ideologica all'Impero Ottomano ripetuta fra le pagine degli scritti egidiani, la quale costò al Cardinale la nomina a nunzio pontificio nella città di Venezia, probabilmente anche grazie all'opposizione al conferimento di questo incarico del cabbalista cristiano Francesco Zorzi. In generale, si è cercato di dimostrare come, anche a causa di contingenze storiche come l'avvio della Riforma, le istanze culturali e politiche propugnate da Egidio e ispirate dalle sue vastissime conoscenze cabbalistiche abbiano sostanzialmente ricevuto un'accoglienza limitata all'interno della Chiesa cattolica. Di conseguenza, una volta dimostrato il ruolo fondamentale degli studi cabbalistici

nell'indirizzare l'azione politica e religiosa di Egidio da Viterbo, si è deciso di includere al capitolo un'appendice dedicata alla biblioteca cabbalistica del Cardinale. Dopo una disamina sull'estensione di questa collezione e una riflessione sul suo smembramento nel corso dei secoli fra varie biblioteche europee, si è proceduto a una descrizione dettagliata del contenuto dei manoscritti di traduzioni mistico-cabbalistiche composte nell'atelier scribale egidiano. I primi volumi descritti nell'appendice contengono traduzioni latine di trattati cabbalistici, seguiti dai codici riportanti le traduzioni mistico-cabbalistiche composte in vernacolare italiano. Inoltre, qualora sia stato possibile riconoscere fra i volumi ebraici appartenuti a Egidio da Viterbo, il manoscritto alla base di alcune delle traduzioni cabbalistiche egidiane, è stata inclusa all'interno di quest'appendice anche una descrizione di questi codici. Nel seguire la successione cronologica delle datazioni presenti nei codici di traduzioni latine, si è proceduto alla descrizione del MS BNF, Lat. 598. La menzione del 1513 fra le carte della traduzione di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* ne fa infatti il volume contenente i primi lavori traduttori relativi allo studio della Qabbalah composti da Egidio e i suoi collaboratori. Si è poi proceduto alla descrizione del MS Biblioteca Casanatense, 3154. Questo pregiato volume contiene una versione completa in ebraico del *Sefer ha-Peliah* annotata estesamente da Egidio da Viterbo. Nel suo colofone tuttavia, lo scriba Yitzḥaq ben Moshe ibn Zerah di Segovia, scrive di avere terminato la copia di questo testo a Venezia nel 1534, due anni dopo la morte del Cardinale. Attraverso il confronto puntuale con altre due copie del medesimo testo trascritte dallo stesso copista, si è cercato di dimostrare la plausibilità dell'ipotesi di Saverio Campanini, che aveva anticipato la copia di questo volume al 1514. Ancor di più, dal confronto con le due traduzioni latine del *Sefer ha-Peliah* composte da Egidio e i suoi collaboratori, è emerso che questo volume è stato sicuramente utilizzato come fonte per entrambe le versioni latine di questo testo preservate nei MSS BNF, Lat. 527/2 e Lat. 3667. La datazione della traduzione di questo libro presente fra le numerose carte del MS BNF, Lat. 527/2 nel periodo a cavallo fra 1515 e 1516 sostanzia dunque l'ipotesi elaborata da Campanini. Si è dunque proceduto alla descrizione del contenuto e delle traduzioni presenti nel MS BNF, Lat. 527/2, fra le quali, oltre a quella del *Sefer ha-Peliah*, spicca anche la versione latina del *Sefer ha-Bahir*. Segue poi la puntuale descrizione della seconda traduzione del *Sefer ha-Peliah* preservata nell'opuscolo MS BNF, Lat. 3667, nel tentativo di avvalorare l'ipotesi per la quale questa versione latina venne composta intorno agli anni di composizione del trattato *Scechina*. Ho poi proceduto alla descrizione puntuale di tre manoscritti ebraici contenenti i testi usati come fonti di alcune traduzioni latine del MS BNF, Lat. 527/1 e del MS BAV, Lat. 5198. In primo luogo, si è esaminato il MS Biblioteca Casanatense, 2971, contenente una copia del *Sefer ha-Zohar*, utilizzata da Egidio da Viterbo e i suoi collaboratori, secondo quanto ricostruito da François Secret, come fonte per la traduzione latina del medesimo testo che apre il MS BNF, 527/1. L'enfatico colofone di questa versione latina testimonia

il fatto che Egidio considerasse il testo ebraico del volume preservato alla Biblioteca Casanatense come mutilo e scorretto. Pertanto, non sorprendono né l'incarico all'agostiniano veneziano Gabriele della Volta di reperire a Damasco un'ulteriore copia di questo testo, né la presenza di un volumetto contenente ulteriori passaggi zoharici attribuibile alla collezione egidiana. La prima unità codicologica che apre il MS BML, Plut. II 48 contiene infatti ai foll. 1r-68r alcuni estratti zoharici. Nei margini di queste carte le annotazioni autografe di Egidio da Viterbo sono ricorrenti e dimostrano un attento studio del suo contenuto. L'interesse per i brani zoharici contenuti in questo volumetto è comprovato dalla presenza di una loro traduzione latina ai foll. 259v-286v del MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198 intitolata "Zohar Parvus". Il volume vaticano contiene inoltre ai foll. 229r-246v una sezione della traduzione latina del cosiddetto "Raziel". Un'ulteriore porzione di questa traduzione latina è preservata alle carte 489r-566v del MS BNF, 527/1. Queste versioni latine, nonché importanti estratti in vernacolare centro-italiano preservati nei MSS Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44; BL, Add. 16390, pt. 2, sono basate sul testo dal titolo *Sode Rezayya* copiato da Eliyyahu Baḥur Levita nel 1515, conservato nel MS BL, Add. 27199. Dopo la descrizione del contenuto di questi manoscritti ebraici, si è perciò proceduto a una trattazione dei volumi in cui le versioni latine di questi testi sono contenute, partendo dal MS BNF, Lat. 527/1. Questo volume, oltre alle summenzionate traduzioni del *Sefer ha-Zohar* e del *Raziel*, contiene, tra le varie versioni latine di testi cabbalistici preservate fra le sue pagine, anche la traduzione latina del *Sefer ha-Temunah* letta da Egidio nel periodo del conclave del 1523. L'ultimo volume riportante traduzioni cabbalistiche latine descritto in questo elaborato è stato MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198. Questo codice risulta di particolare pregio non solamente per la presenza delle versioni latine dello *Zohar parvus*, del *Raziel* e dei segreti di Naḥmanide, ma anche per l'inserimento parallelo a questi testi di una serie di traduzioni in vernacolare centro-italiano di argomento midrashico. Si è dunque proceduto a una descrizione del contenuto dei manoscritti di traduzioni vernacolari di testi mistici, cabbalistici e midrashici. Date le peculiari condizioni codicologiche del MS Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44, si è deciso di procedere a una prima descrizione dei suoi contenuti in attesa di uno studio più approfondito che attribuisca un titolo alle sezioni di testo non ancora riconosciute. La sezione dei manoscritti di traduzioni vernacolari procede con il MS BL, Add. 16390 e infine con il MS BNF, It. 612. Quest'ultimo manoscritto dimostra l'interesse della cerchia egidiana per lo studio del *Talmud*, con una sezione dedicata persino ad alcune traduzioni tratte dal *Talmud Yerushalmi* stampato da Daniel Bomberg nel 1523. Tale interesse pare motivato soprattutto dalla presenza di narrazioni come le *aggadot* considerate latrici di segreti mistici antichissimi. Infine, la trattazione si è focalizzata sulle traduzioni latine e vernacolari di dizionari e lessici dall'ebraico e dall'aramaico. In particolare, sono state citate la traduzione latina del *Sefer ha-Shorashim* di David Qimḥi, oggetto di una recente e complessa edizione, e quella in vernacolare italiano del *Sefer he-'Arukh* di Natan ben

Yehiel 'Anaw da Roma, rinvenuta dalla sottoscritta nel MS BNF, Héb. 1220. Si è dunque riflettuto sul ruolo di Eliyyahu Baḥur Levita all'interno dell'atelier cabbalistico-scribale diretto da Egidio da Viterbo. Sotto l'egida del Cardinale, infatti, Levita compose una serie di lavori grammaticali e lessicologici sia in ebraico che in aramaico di grandissimo pregio filologico e culturale. Si sono poi prese in esame le grammatiche ebraiche in latino e gli studi del *Mikhlol* di David Qimḥi fra gli ebraisti cristiani del primo Cinquecento, con una particolare attenzione ai lavori di Agazio Guidacerio e Sante Pagnini. Entrambi infatti, oltre a trascorrere svariati periodi di studio e insegnamento a Roma, furono probabilmente o certamente in contatto con la cerchia intellettuale egidiana.

3. *Le traduzioni latine di Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*

Dopo la contestualizzazione storica e culturale delle cerchie intellettuali in cui si approntarono le traduzioni latine di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, la cui edizione viene presentata all'interno del secondo volume di tesi, il terzo capitolo di questo elaborato è stato dedicato all'analisi e allo studio comparativo di questi testi. Come emerso infatti dalla trattazione, le traduzioni di testi cabbalistici ebbero la funzione di mediare contenuti fino ad allora inaccessibili agli intellettuali cristiani, determinando importanti conseguenze sul piano storico e culturale. Per questo motivo, si è deciso di focalizzare questo studio su un testo cabbalistico specifico, le cui numerose traduzioni permettono di analizzare diacronicamente continuità e trasformazioni delle metodologie e approcci traduttivi all'interno di cerchie di intellettuali cristiani nei decenni. La parte introduttiva del capitolo è stata perciò dedicata a stabilire l'importanza del trattato *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* per la sistematizzazione del pensiero cabbalistico medievale, alla luce della sua ricezione e interpretazione fra le cerchie cabbalistiche italiane. In primo luogo, è stata discussa la struttura argomentativa di questo testo che presenta la dottrina cabbalistica sefirotica attraverso un approccio di sintesi accostabile alla metodologia filosofica dei commentari medievali. Dall'esame del trattato, si è passati poi all'analisi delle fonti utilizzate dall'autore di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, del rapporto fra questo trattato e altri testi fondamentali per lo sviluppo del pensiero cabbalistico medievale quali il *Sefer ha-Bahir* o il *Sefer ha-Zohar* e le possibili ricostruzioni cronologiche sulla data di composizione di questo testo. La trattazione si è dunque focalizzata sulla presenza di questo trattato nel *curriculum studiorum* elaborato dal cabbalista Yoḥannan Alemanno al fol. 64v del MS Bodleian Library, Reggio 23. In seguito, è stata rilevata e discussa l'importanza di Reuven Tzarfati e del suo *Perush Zulati*, nonché di una serie di commenti a *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* attribuibili alla sua scuola, per la ricezione di questo testo nella Penisola Italiana. Si è poi contestualizzata la composizione del secondo più celebre commento a *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, *Minḥat Yehudah* del cabbalista sefardita Yehudah Ḥayyat. Ḥayyat era infatti giunto in Italia assieme ad altri cabbalisti sefarditi dopo il *gerush* del 1492. La sua speculazione su

Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut si colloca perciò all'interno della più ampia disputa fra cabbalisti orientati a un'interpretazione filosofico-teurgica della dottrina sefirotica e i cabbalisti di ispirazione zoharica, che propugnavano un approccio più strettamente visionario o mistico alla Qabbalah. Il testo e l'interpretazione di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* divennero dunque terreno di scontro e incontro speculativo fondamentale nella storia culturale delle cerchie cabbalistiche italiane a cavallo fra la fine del Quattrocento e l'inizio del Cinquecento. Il fatto che in questo peculiare contesto storico si collochino anche le traduzioni latine e vernacolare di questo trattato all'interno di cerchie di intellettuali umanistiche e cristiane, non fa che ribadire la cruciale importanza di questo testo nel panorama culturale della Penisola Italiana. Il quadro introduttivo a *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* è terminato con la menzione delle sue concorrenti edizioni a stampa pubblicate a Ferrara e Mantova fra il 1557 e il 1558. Il capitolo prosegue dunque con la descrizione e lo studio della traduzione latina di questo testo approntata da Flavio Mitridate per Giovanni Pico ai foll. 132r-150v e 212r-221v del MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, cominciando da un'analisi delle caratteristiche codicologiche presentate da questo testo. L'ordine delle carte fra 212r-221v infatti va corretto nell'edizione e lettura della traduzione, procedendo dai foll. 218r-221v ai foll. 212r-217v. Il fatto che i quaderni che compongono questa traduzione siano stati assemblati in maniera sostanzialmente disordinata pare dovuto all'abitudine di Flavio Mitridate di lavorare alle sue versioni latine per Giovanni Pico in fascicoli, lasciati poi circolare all'interno della cerchia medicea. Questo tipo di procedura nel lavoro di traduzione parrebbe essere confermato per il caso del testo in questione anche da alcuni dettagli dei vari elenchi dei volumi della biblioteca picchiana in cui il titolo di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* viene accostato alla dizione "pars". Il MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190 sembra perciò il risultato dell'assemblaggio di materiali di traduzione sciolti in possesso di Mitridate al momento del suo arresto a Viterbo, confluiti poi nelle collezioni vaticane e qui riuniti in un solo volume. Il fatto che i testi delle traduzioni del MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190 siano stati composti in una fase quanto meno piuttosto tarda dei lavori che il converso compose per il mirandolano pare comprovata dagli argomenti delle frequenti annotazioni sparse da Mitridate fra questi scritti. Si tratta infatti di allusioni più o meno ironiche a mancati pagamenti che infine sfociano in una violenta invettiva contro il giovane patrono al fol. 200v. Tornando alle caratteristiche della traduzione mitridatica di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, l'abitudine di lavorare con materiali sciolti potrebbe essere all'origine della perdita di alcuni o più quaderni di testo che dovevano comporla. La versione latina di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* composta da Flavio Mitridate, infatti, si arresta *ex abrupto* al fol. 217v durante l'elenco dei nomi opposti nel sesto capitolo del trattato intitolato *Ma'arekhet Nagdut ha-Po'alim*. La presenza di una *catchword* sul lato inferiore destro della pagina pare però sottintendere la presenza di ulteriori pagine di traduzione oggi perdute. La traduzione mitridatica di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* riporta un indice completo dei titoli dei capitoli di questo trattato che ne

precede la tradizionale frase di inizio. La presenza di tale indice e il suo posizionamento prima del testo stesso di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* appare una caratteristica particolarmente rara fra i manoscritti medievali di questo trattato, dimostrando come i lavori mitridatici possano talvolta costituire testimoni di discreta quando non importante rilevanza stemmatica. I volumi riportanti un simile indice sono infatti: MS JTS, 2367; MS Bodleian Libraries, Opp. 486; and MS Biblioteca Palatina di Parma, 3015. Solo il MS JTS, 2367, datato fra il 1392 e il 1394, riporta questo sommario nella stessa posizione della traduzione di Mitridate. Tuttavia, le differenze sostanziali in questi indici portano ad escludere una dipendenza fra i due esemplari. Il contenuto di questo volume però risulta di peculiare interesse, in quanto presenta una serie di testi, oltre a *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, quali *Sitre Torah* di Abraham Abulafia o una porzione del *Sefer ha-Shorashim* di Yosef ben Abraham Ibn Waqar, che vennero tradotti da Mitridate per Giovanni Pico. Tale comparazione pare perciò contestualizzare più precisamente all'interno del panorama cabbalistico italiano lo specifico contenuto delle traduzioni commissionate dal Mirandolano. Per quanto riguarda la traduzione di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* elaborata da Flavio Mitridate, la traduzione del sommario che doveva precedere la copia di questo trattato nel manoscritto ebraico usato come fonte per questa versione latina, è una delle frequenti caratteristiche del lavoro di Mitridate su questo testo che permette di ricostruire le caratteristiche codicologiche di questo volume. Tale aderenza al testo ebraico, al punto da riportare puntualmente anche passaggi dalla difficile interpretazione grammaticale, è l'adattamento al caso di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* del rigido approccio letterale alla traduzione che Giovanni Pico pare aver indicato al suo traduttore. La necessità di procedere alla traduzione di questo testo con accurato letteralismo è rilevabile inoltre nella nota traduttoria che precede la traduzione di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, nonché nel frequente ricorso a coppie endiamiche per esprimere in latino le sfumature di significato di alcuni termini ebraici di particolare rilevanza. Queste parole sono spesso anche accompagnate dalla rispettiva traslitterazione in caratteri latini del referente ebraico originale e dalla trascrizione dell'ebraico. Queste variazioni sull'interpretazione e la presentazione di alcuni concetti di particolare rilevanza, anche se spesso appesantiscono e sostanzialmente rielaborano il testo finale risultante nella traduzione, sono un esempio dell'intento pedagogico di Mitridate nel guidare il giovane Conte della Mirandola nello studio di queste complesse dottrine. La presenza di trascrizioni di particelle grammaticali ebraiche intraducibili in latino si può ulteriormente ricondurre a questa specifica necessità di un approccio insieme letterale e pedagogico alla traduzione. Tale letteralismo mirato a riportare fedelmente le più minute caratteristiche testuali dell'ebraico nel risultato finale della traduzione consente di individuare con maggiore facilità e riflettere sugli errori interpretativi compiuti dal converso durante il suo lavoro su questo testo. In particolare, si è notata la difficoltà di Mitridate nell'interpretare una serie di acronimi frequenti nelle versioni manoscritte in ebraico cronologicamente più tarde di *Ma'arekhet*

ha-Elohut. Si è dunque esaminato accuratamente il caso dell'erroneo scioglimento degli acronimi צ"ז e צ"ן con la parola צדק invece di צורה e le occorrenze interne al testo del trattato che potrebbero aver condotto a questa interpretazione. Un'altra occorrenza in cui l'erroneo scioglimento di alcune sigle ha comportato risultati particolarmente evidenti dal punto di vista della resa testuale latina di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* riguarda le abbreviazioni dei nomi delle *Sefirot*. Per brevità nella copia del testo ebraico usato come fonte da Mitridate, a ciascuna *sefirah* era stata fatta corrispondere un'abbreviazione tendenzialmente corrispondente alle iniziali dei nomi più comuni attribuiti alle emanazioni divine. Mitridate però, travisando l'ambiguità del fatto che alle lettere ebraiche corrispondano valori numerici, tratta queste abbreviazioni come numeri corrispondenti alle *sefirot* e le traduce come tali, creando interessanti cortocircuiti interpretativi. All'interno dell'edizione di questa traduzione, si è perciò cercato di chiarire puntualmente l'equivalenza fra abbreviazioni, valori numerici e *sefirot* nell'ottica di guidare la lettura e l'interpretazione di questo lavoro. La parte finale della trattazione dedicata a questo testo si è concentrata sull'implausibile ipotesi di ricezione di questa traduzione all'interno delle *Conclusiones Nongentae*, nonché sulla traduzione di un *Commento a Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* ai foll. 43v-60r del MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191. Le evidenze raccolte finora dagli studiosi confermano infatti che i testi contenuti in questo volume sono stati consultati con certezza dal Mirandolano nel periodo di stesura delle *Conclusiones Nongentae*. La trattazione è perciò proseguita con la descrizione delle caratteristiche della traduzione latina di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* ai foll. 69r-141v del MS BNF, Lat. 598 elaborata, secondo quanto attestato dal colofone al termine del fol. 118r, da Egidio da Viterbo e i suoi collaboratori nei primi mesi del 1513. Si sono perciò presentati gli elementi che, all'interno di questa specifica traduzione, comprovano che il suo testo sia il prodotto di una collaborazione fra un traduttore che rendeva e dettava l'originale in vernacolare centro-italiano e una serie di copisti, fra cui Egidio stesso, che trascrivevano e sintetizzavano in latino questo dettato. Sono state perciò discusse le numerose cancellature e correzioni del testo latino, nonché le anticipazioni di alcune parole o concetti rispetto al testo ebraico che paiono comprovare il processo di dettatura. Si è poi rivolta l'attenzione alle traslitterazioni in caratteri latini delle parole ebraiche presenti nel testo che lasciano trasparire una coloritura linguistica accostabile ai dialetti centro-italiani. Il processo di traduzione di questi testi, nel suo risultato finale, pare perciò accostabile al riassunto ragionato della dettatura, nonché degli appunti e riflessioni che accompagnavano lo studio collaborativo di questo trattato. Sono state dunque prese in considerazione le aggiunte di informazioni incluse nel testo della traduzione, i riferimenti ad altre opere non citate nell'originale ebraico di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, quali *Ginnat Egoz* o *Sha'are Orah* di Yosef Gikatilla, nonché le esclamazioni e le numerose annotazioni marginali che accompagnano e interagiscono con il testo di questa versione latina. Queste ultime risultano fondamentali per attestare il processo di studio, ricezione e

rielaborazione di questi precisi contenuti intrapreso negli anni da Egidio da Viterbo. Attraverso l'analisi puntuale del testo della traduzione, sono state stabilite le caratteristiche codicologiche e testuali principali della versione ebraica di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* alla base di questo lavoro. Ai margini della traduzione latina infatti ricorre una numerazione da 211 a 281 spesso preceduta dalla dicitura "Carta". Come appare dal confronto con le traduzioni latine i cui antigrafi ebraici sono stati rinvenuti, tale numerazione serviva a permettere la lettura e lo studio del testo latino, integrandola con il suo corrispettivo originale in ebraico. Ne emerge dunque che il testo ebraico di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* utilizzato come fonte da Egidio da Viterbo e i suoi collaboratori fosse incluso all'interno di un volume più esteso di testi cabbalistici, di cui copriva all'incirca 70 carte. Si sono poi esaminate le varianti testuali di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* presenti in questa traduzione. Si è partiti segnalando l'assenza della nota inclusa all'interno della maggioranza dei testimoni ebraici: « וחסר כאן מה שחלק » «עליו ר' יצחק». La singolare mancanza di questa traduzione potrebbe però essere dovuta alla rapidità di dettatura e trascrizione di questa traduzione, nonché al suo peculiare contenuto. Si è poi proceduto ad esaminare la struttura del capitolo *Ma'arekhet ha-Seder*. All'interno della tradizione testuale di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* ricostruita da Levana Chajes, questo capitolo presenta due varianti particolarmente significative: la presenza o meno di una rappresentazione grafica del pleroma sefirotico e una divergenza riguardante l'orientamento della nona *sefirah*, *Yesod*, verso la sesta e centrale *Tiferet*, o rivolto a sinistra sotto la quinta *sefirah*, *Paḥad*. La traduzione egidiana presenta due bozze abortite di *ilan* che paiono corrispondere a uno schema sefirotico presente nell'originale ebraico, nonché l'orientamento di *Yesod* verso la centrale *Tiferet*. La variante più significativa del testo presentato dalla traduzione latina di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* elaborata da Egidio da Viterbo e i suoi collaboratori è il titolo del capitolo tradizionalmente riportato come *Ma'arekhet ha-Ta'am* reso come *Sha'ar ha-Ta'am*. Questa caratteristica infatti, è presente in un numero particolarmente limitato di manoscritti ebraici. Infine, la traduzione egidiana riporta entrambe le aggiunte al capitolo titolato *Sha'ar ha-Shem*. La caratteristica più interessante emersa dall'analisi puntuale del testo di questa traduzione è però la presenza di porzioni di testo tratte dal commento di Reuven Tzarfati a *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, noto con il titolo di *Perush Zulati*. Nella maggioranza dei casi queste sezioni di commento sono incluse nel testo principale della traduzione di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* senza soluzione di continuità, o persino sostituendo il trattato stesso nella resa in latino. Altre volte invece, la presenza di una traduzione tratta dal commento di Tzarfati viene chiaramente esplicitata. Il confronto fra la numerazione che accompagna queste porzioni di testo con quelle direttamente inerenti a *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, porta a concludere che, nel manoscritto alla base di questa traduzione, *Perush Zulati* circondasse e percorresse i margini del testo ebraico del trattato. La descrizione delle principali

caratteristiche della traduzione egidiana di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* ha facilitato la comparazione di questo testo con le copie del trattato presenti nei manoscritti attribuibili alla collezione di Egidio da Viterbo fra le varie biblioteche europee. La trattazione dedicata ai MSS Biblioteca Casanatense, 3087 e 3098 è stata esaurita velocemente, dato che questi volumi presentano caratteristiche che li distanziano fortemente dalla traduzione. La copia del trattato circondata da *Perush Zulati* alle carte 133r-157r del MS BSB, Cod. Hebr. 92 presenta un *layout* comparabile a quello ipotizzato per l'originale ebraico della traduzione egidiana di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Tuttavia, il testo del manoscritto monacense è incompleto e pare non corrispondere pienamente alle caratteristiche testuali della versione latina composta da Egidio da Viterbo e i suoi collaboratori. L'ultima copia di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* preservata fra i volumi riconducibili alla collezione egidiana si trova nel MS BL, Harley 5510. Questo manoscritto venne copiato a Carpentras espressamente per Egidio. La comparazione puntuale della versione ebraica conservata in questo codice con la traduzione egidiana porta a escludere rapporti di reciproca dipendenza. Tuttavia, la presenza di estese annotazioni autografe di mano egidiana fra i margini del testo ebraico di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, dimostra un esteso studio di questa specifica versione del trattato. L'esame puntuale di queste annotazioni permette di tracciare perciò una traiettoria della ricezione egidiana di questo testo, che meriterebbe ulteriori approfondimenti critici. La presenza di numerose copie di questo trattato all'interno della dispersa biblioteca egidiana dimostra ancora una volta la vastità della collezione in possesso del Cardinale e la sua attenzione nel procurarsi versioni sempre più accurate dei testi cabbalistici di suo interesse. A conclusione della trattazione dedicata alla descrizione di questo testo egidiano, si è proceduto ad analizzare i passaggi interni alla traduzione di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* in cui l'allora Priore Generale agostiniano riteneva di scorgere conferme di verità di fede cristiane. L'intento di questo esame era pertanto di spiegare i rimandi testuali e le strutture di pensiero che hanno portato alla sovrapposizione di dottrine cristiane su contenuti esoterici ebraici. In particolare, si è dunque cercata di tracciare l'immagine cabbalistica di Cristo che emerge da questa specifica traduzione egidiana. Infine, il capitolo è stato concluso da una serie di considerazioni sulle trasformazioni dell'approccio traduttivo ai testi cabbalistici dall'origine del movimento cabbalistico cristiano da Giovanni Pico e Mitridate fino Egidio da Viterbo e i suoi collaboratori. Da questa analisi infatti emerge chiaramente come alla continuità ideologica espressamente rimarcata fra gli ideatori e promotori di questi due progetti di traduzioni non corrispondesse un simile approccio all'atto pratico della traduzione dei diversi testi cabbalistici, quali ad esempio *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Tuttavia, nonostante esiti traduttivi particolarmente distanti dal punto di vista testuale, si può rilevare con certezza una comune prospettiva interpretativa nella ricerca di conferme alle dottrine cristiane attraverso i testi cabbalistici che orientava e indirizzava lo studio e la rielaborazione concettuale di questi testi. La presentazione

delle edizioni delle due traduzioni latine di *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* conclude questo elaborato dedicato allo studio di alcuni fondamentali aspetti ed eventi del movimento cabbalistico cristiano, proprio attraverso l'esplorazione delle versioni latine di testi cabbalistici come mediatori fondamentali di dottrine e immaginari cabbalistici nel panorama intellettuale cristiano. Il lavoro dedicato a *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* e la sua ricezione in ambito cabbalistico cristiano si è delineato infatti come una complessa riflessione sul contesto storico e culturale in cui questo testo venne reso in latino. Ancor di più la trascrizione ed edizione di questi testi ha presentato importanti sfide metodologiche e concettuali che inducono a più ampie considerazioni dal punto di vista filologico. I possibili sviluppi di questo studio perciò comprendono diversi ambiti. Dal punto di vista della storia culturale, sembra infatti emergere la necessità di una rivalutazione profonda della storia della Qabbalah nella Penisola Italiana in una prospettiva che tenga sostanzialmente conto degli stretti contatti fra intellettuali ebrei e cristiani a cavallo fra Quattrocento e Cinquecento. Dal punto di vista metodologico inoltre, lo studio delle traduzioni presentate in questi volumi evidenzia l'importanza di sviluppare più efficaci o mirate tecniche di edizione di questi testi, nonché dei numerosi *marginalia* autografi che accompagnano le copie in ebraico di alcuni dei trattati studiati. Più in generale, si evidenzia come la mancanza di edizioni e studi puntuali di questi lavori di traduzione non permetta ad oggi di giungere a un'interpretazione il più possibile onnicomprensiva dello sviluppo degli studi e degli interessi cabbalistici nel panorama intellettuale cristiano. Questa tesi, attraverso il suo approccio multidisciplinare, si è perciò posta l'obiettivo di cominciare a sanare, almeno in piccola parte, questa lacuna.

Transliteration of Hebrew letters

א	ʾ/-
ב	b/v
ג	g
ד	d
ה	h
ו	v
ז	z
ח	ḥ
ט	t
י	i/y
כ,ך	k/ch
ל	l
מ,ם	m
נ,ן	n
ס	s
ע	ʿ
פ,ף	p/f
צ,ץ	ts
ק	q
ר	r
ש	sh/s
ת	t

Introduction

This thesis presents an edition and a comparative philological study of the two Latin translations of the kabbalistic treatise *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, preceded by an extensive cultural contextualization of the translational endeavors in which they were developed. The first translation is incomplete and preserved on foll. 132r-150v and 212r-221v of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chigi A VI 190. It was composed by the convert Flavius Mithridates during his collaboration with the philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola within the context of the cultural exchange promoted by the humanist Neoplatonic intellectual circle of late 15th-century Florence. The second Latin translation of this text, preserved in complete form on foll. 69r-141v of MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 598, is dated 1513 on fol. 118r and was composed in the kabbalistic and scribal atelier revolving around the influential figure of the General Prior of the Augustinian Order, and later Cardinal, Egidio da Viterbo.

1. *Status Quaestionis and scope of this research*

According to prevailing historical reconstructions, Gershom Scholem, the founder of the scientific study of Kabbalistic thought and the inaugural Chair of this discipline at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, was initially introduced to Kabbalah through the reading of a book authored by the Christian Kabbalist and Freemason Franz Joseph Molitor¹. Despite the suspicion and occasional prejudices with which Scholem approached Christian Kabbalah, it is crucial to recognize that his investigations into the origins of this movement and its subsequent developments over the centuries have provided a significant foundation for the scholarly discourse on this subject from both cultural and historical perspectives². Subsequent scholarly investigations by intellectuals such as François Secret and Scholem's student, Ḥayyim Wirszubski, have illuminated the significance of Christian Kabbalah as a crucial component in the evolution of kabbalistic thought over the centuries, with particular emphasis on the period spanning from the late 15th century to the early 16th century³. The inclusion of a chapter titled *Jewish Kabbalah in Christian Garb* in Moshe Idel's foundational work, *Kabbalah in Italy (1280-1510). A Survey*, underscores the significance of this particular development and reinterpretation of kabbalistic thought within the loose borders of the Renaissance

¹ See e.g. S. Campanini, *Gershom Scholem e la Qabbalah cristiana*, in G. Scholem, *Cabbalisti Cristiani*, Milano, Adelphi, 2024, pp. 92-126.

² See G. Scholem, *Cabbalisti Cristiani*, pp. 5-62. The articles grouped in this volume first appeared as: G. Scholem, *Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der christlichen Kabbala*, in *Essays Presented to Leo Baeck on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, London, Leo Baeck Institute, 1954, pp. 158-193; Id., *Die Erforschung der Kabbala von Reuchlin bis zur Gegenwart*, Pforzheim, Selbstverlag der Stadt, 1970; Id., *Die Stellung der Kabbala in der europäischen Geistesgeschichte*, in P. Wapnewski (ed.), *Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin Jahrbuch 1981/82*, Berlin, Quadriga, 1983, pp. 281-289.

³ See e.g. F. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Milano, Archè, 1985; Ḥ. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 1989.

Italian Peninsula⁴. However, the chronological boundaries of Idel's inquiry present intriguing implications for the scholarly examination of Christian Kabbalah. As he states: «1510 represents the cessation of the literary activities of the generation of Italian and Spanish Jews who were contemporaries of the Florentine intellectuals Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, and the arrival in Italy of Kabbalists who were refugees from Spain»⁵. The recognition of the foundational significance of the Humanist circle of Florence and its cultural contributions within a study dedicated to the many intertwined histories of Kabbalah in Italy seemingly acknowledges as a genuine kabbalistic development what has been considered, and thus will be further indagated as, the inception of Christian Kabbalah. Nevertheless, its conclusion in the early sixteenth century does not adequately account for the evolution of the Christian Kabbalistic movement and its interactions with Jewish Kabbalistic circles, particularly within the Italian Peninsula, during the High Renaissance and the initial phases of the Reformation crisis up until the creation of the ghettos and the onset of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Indeed, the first half of the sixteenth century witnessed the zenith of kabbalistic activities among Christian scholars such as Johannes Reuchlin, Paolo Ricci, Francesco Zorzi, and Egidio da Viterbo, who engaged with kabbalistic studies from the ideological perspective initiated by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in his 1486 *Conclusiones Nongentae*⁶. The biographies of Reuchlin, Ricci, and Zorzi, alongside the scholarly examinations of Egidio da Viterbo's kabbalistic pursuits—often overlooked or briefly mentioned in his most prominent biographies—illustrate the profound interconnection between their roles as kabbalists and the propagation of Jewish and kabbalistic culture throughout Europe and Italy both among Jews and Christians. Moreover, these studies elucidate how the evolution of the Christian Kabbalistic movement became intricately linked to the development of kabbalistic thought among Jewish kabbalists, as well as to the destiny of the local Jewish communities residing in Europe with which they engaged both culturally and personally⁷. In a context where Hebrew and kabbalistic studies increasingly intersected with religious and political upheavals, the examination of the kabbalistic manuscripts and books circulating or composed during this period is essential for comprehending the dissemination of theories, ideas, and texts that influenced the actions and cultural production of both Christian and Jewish kabbalists. More specifically, as the mediation of kabbalistic content to a Christian audience was facilitated through translations into Latin or vernacular languages by either converts or Jewish scholars, the analysis of the manuscripts containing these texts is imperative to elucidate a critical juncture in Jewish and Christian cultural history. Given that many of these translations remain unpublished, unread, and largely unknown to the broader

⁴ M. Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy (1280-1510). A Survey*, New Haven-London, Harvard University Press, 2011, pp. 227-235.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. X.

⁶ See *infra* pp. 73-76.

⁷ See *infra* pp. 97-104.

academic community, it is essential to base their study and editions on the scholarly achievements of the editions of the translations by Flavius Mithridates for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, as published within the project “The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola”⁸. This project, which draws inspiration from and critically examines the conclusions of Ḥayyim Wirszubski’s posthumous work *Pico della Mirandola’s Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, has notably contributed to the establishment of editorial conventions and practices in the edition of these translations⁹. Furthermore, it has facilitated a comprehensive study of the manuscript traditions of the Hebrew kabbalistic texts rendered into Latin. These conventions and practices should indeed be adopted and adapted for the examination of texts produced within the same endeavor, as well as for works related to other figures such as Egidio da Viterbo. Notably, Egidio da Viterbo’s translations of Hebrew texts, as well as the majority of his works inspired by Kabbalistic thought, have seldom, if ever, been the focus of a critical edition. This study seeks to edit the two Latin translations of a text considered pivotal in the evolution of kabbalistic thought in the Italian Peninsula, specifically *Ma’arekhet ha-Elohut*, to examine its reception among Christian kabbalists. This kabbalistic treatise was translated into Latin by Flavius Mithridates for the Count of Mirandola, and this translation is preserved in an incomplete form in MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190. Additionally, there exists another incomplete vernacular translation, most probably contemporary to that of Mithridates, with occasional Latin re-translations in its margins, by Pier Leone da Spoleto and his Spanish/Sicilian collaborators, which was recovered in MS BNF, It. 443 and attributed to Lorenzo de Medici’s physician by Franco Bacchelli¹⁰. The only complete Latin translation of *Ma’arekhet ha-Elohut*, dated 1513, was composed by Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators. This translation is among the first kabbalistic texts likely studied within the context of the scribal workshop Egidio personally directed and sponsored. While a comprehensive comparison of all three translational efforts on the same text is indeed a worthy academic pursuit, this study will specifically concentrate on the edition and comparison of the two Latin translations. This focus is

⁸ “The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola”, directed by Giulio Busi and sponsored by the Institut für Judaistik of the Freie Universität in Berlin and the Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento (Florence, Italy). The texts published so far are: S. Bondoni Pastorio-G. Busi-S. Campanini, *The Great Parchment: Flavius Mithridates’ Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, Torino, Nino Aragno Editore, 2004; S. Campanini, *The Book of Bahir. Flavius Mithridates’ Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, Torino, Nino Aragno Editore, 2005; G. Corazzol (ed.), *Menaḥem Recanati. Commentary on the Daily Prayers. Flavius’ Mithridates’ Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, Torino, Nino Aragno Editore, 2009; F. Dal Bo (ed.), *Yosef Gikatilla, Gates of Justice, Flavius Mithridates’ Latin Translation and the Hebrew Text, Edited with Introduction by Federico Dal Bo*, Firenze-Berlin, PhD Thesis, 2009; A. Martini, *Yosef Gikatilla, The Book of Punctuation: Flavius Mithridates’ Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, Torino, Nino Aragno Editore, 2010; G. Busi-S. Campanini-S. Jurgan, *The Gate of Heaven. The Hebrew Text, Flavius Mithridates’ Latin Translation, and an English Version*, Torino, Nino Aragno Editore, 2012; S. Campanini, *Four Short Kabbalistic Treatises*, Castiglione delle Stiviere, Fondazione Palazzo Bondoni-Pastorio, 2019.

⁹ See *supra* n. 3.

¹⁰ See F. Bacchelli, *Giovanni Pico e Pier Leone da Spoleto: tra Filosofia dell’Amore e Tradizione Cabalistica*, Firenze, L. S. Olschki, 2001, pp. 14-30.

justified both by their linguistic similarity, which facilitates more precise comparisons, and by the declared ideological continuity between the cultural objectives of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Egidio da Viterbo's kabbalistic studies. Egidio explicitly identified Pico della Mirandola as the pioneering scholar who inspired the study of kabbalistic knowledge among Christians. Concurrently, as shall be further examined, Egidio adopted, with a series of adaptations, the same interpretative perspective towards kabbalistic thought that Pico initially proposed for dissemination of these doctrines among Christian scholars. Consequently, the comparative analysis of different translations of a single treatise, such as *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, serves as a foundational opportunity to examine both the trajectory of practical translational approaches to kabbalistic texts employed by Christian kabbalists over different decades and the ideological development of this movement. This analysis will rigorously explore the emergence of Christian kabbalistic thought within the Medicean intellectual circle in late 15th-century Humanist Florence, and its subsequent development in the early 16th century. This section of study will specifically concentrate on the promising reconstruction of the kabbalistic investigations conducted by Egidio da Viterbo. Egidio, akin to Pico and Mithridates, translated indeed a substantial corpus of kabbalistic texts, which, as explained before, has yet to encounter consistent scholarly attention. More notably, as a member of the highest echelons of the Catholic Church, he employed kabbalistic doctrines and ideas to guide and inspire his religious and political endeavors. Consequently, the investigation into the translational and ideological developments of the Christian kabbalistic movement shall also encompass a comprehensive analysis of the manuscript materials associated with these efforts, in order to situate the edition of these translations within their distinct historical and cultural context.

2. Methodology

The edition of translations of Hebrew kabbalistic texts into Latin or vernacular languages, due to their intrinsic nature as texts positioned at the confluence of diverse languages and cultures, presents significant textual and methodological issues. In his seminal introduction to the subject, *Problemi metodologici e testuali nell'edizione del Sefer ha-Bahir*, Saverio Campanini elucidated the complexities inherent in the study of manuscript traditions and texts in both Hebrew and the so-called Classical or Romance languages, which are encapsulated within the single textual outcome of each kabbalistic translation¹¹. In 1985, Colette Sirat had expressed concern regarding the scarcity of scholarly editions of Hebrew medieval philosophical texts. In her article on this issue, Sirat highlighted that the strict adherence to the objectivity of the so-called “critical edition” imposed valid,

¹¹ See S. Campanini, *Problemi metodologici e testuali nell'edizione del Sefer ha-Bahir*, in «Materia giudaica» XII/1 (2007), pp. 21-43.

though occasionally problematic, methodological constraints¹². These strict limitations hindered the editorial efforts on these texts, resulting in a missed opportunity for the scholarly dissemination of their doctrines. A specific critique was directed at the purported necessity, and often impracticality, of examining every manuscript copy of each text to collect all possible variants for the purpose of reconstructing an accurate and comprehensive *stemma codicum*. This process is intended to reconstruct an elusive textual archetype at the basis of the entire tradition, ultimately guiding the scholar towards the reconstruction of a supposed original. In this context, while research on manuscript tradition was still regarded as a foundational component of the philological work required to edit a text, a more nuanced approach to stemmatic research was proposed through the practical distinction between the historical reconstruction of the tradition of a text and its critical, or at least methodologically motivated, edition¹³. Saverio Campanini incorporated Sirat's insights on the edition of Hebrew medieval philosophical texts into a broader discourse on the evolution of modern textual philology, expanding these considerations to the peculiarities related to kabbalistic texts. His discourse spanned from Karl Lachmann and his *Codex Oblongus* to the positivist crystallization of ecdotic methodology, as exemplified by Paul Maas's 1927 *Textkritik*, and Giorgio Pasquali's *Storia della Tradizione e Critica del Testo* – which was initially meant to be a review of Maas' work –, culminating in the historicization of this approach in Sebastiano Timpanaro's *La Genesi del Metodo Lachmann*¹⁴. In his work, *La tradition manuscrite du Lai de l'Ombre: réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes*, Joseph Bédier had already offered a series of critiques on the ecdotic methodology employed in the study and editing of texts, particularly those from the medieval period¹⁵. As noted by Campanini, Bédier's polemic objections addressed various aspects, including the observation that numerous ecdotic reconstructions result in bifurcated *stemma codicum*. This bifurcation of the tradition usually makes the significant subjective intervention by the editor, albeit motivated by critical considerations, in the final textual outcome necessary. This intervention yields results that seemingly create an alternative textual tradition that lacks confirmation in manuscripts and textual traditions actually read or studied over the centuries. Therefore, Bédier indeed reasserted the validity of editions based on a so-called *codex optimus*, an actual manuscript within the tradition that the editor deems, through research, superior to all or most others, which should be corrected only when

¹² See C. Sirat, *L'édition des textes philosophiques médiévaux. Questions de méthodologie*, in «Da'at» X (1983), pp. 3-13.

¹³ See *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 4-9.

¹⁴ See K. Lachmann, *Caroli Lachmanni in T. Lucretii Cari De Rerum Natura Libros Commentarius Tertium Editus*, Berolini, Typis et Impensis Georgii Reimeri, 1866; P. Maas, *Textkritik*, Leipzig, B.G. Teubner, 1927; G. Pasquali, *Storia della Tradizione e Critica del Testo*, Firenze, F. Le Monnier, 1934; S. Timpanaro, *La Genesi del Metodo del Lachmann*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1963. See also S. Campanini, *Problemi metodologici e testuali nell'edizione del Sefer ha-Bahir*, pp. 21-23.

¹⁵ See J. Bédier, *La tradition manuscrite du Lai de l'Ombre. Réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes*, in «Romania» LIV/214 (1928), pp. 161-196 and LIV/215-216 (1928), pp. 321-356.

very apparently erroneous¹⁶. Although this solution was regarded as outdated, several of Bédier's objections have been subject to further examination, particularly in light of recent advancements in linguistic, palaeographical, and codicological studies. For instance, in the conventional practice of ecdoctic philology, the notion of synthesizing multiple texts from distinct branches of a tradition into a singular final product known as *contaminatio* is indeed regarded as an irreparable genetic error that irrevocably compromises the accurate reconstruction of the contaminated textual tradition¹⁷. When examining scribal practices from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, it becomes evident that textual interventions during the copying of texts, including sacred ones, as well as the collation of textual variants either in the margins or directly integrated into the final copied text, were indeed customary¹⁸. These evidences were pivotal in prompting a critical re-evaluation of the principles underlying traditional ecdoctic practices, as articulated in Bernard Cerquiglini's *Éloge de la Variante. Histoire Critique de la Philologie*, which is now regarded as the cornerstone of the post-modern approach to textual critique known as *Nouvelle Philologie*¹⁹. While certain methodological propositions of this post-modern approach to philology may be subject to critique, it is essential to recognize that a focus on the materiality of the tradition in textual editing has demonstrated significant benefits for the reconstruction of texts and the history of their transmission, especially when concerning medieval, compositively stratified works²⁰. Broadly speaking, it is essential to emphasize that a well-informed approach to textual editing, which combines the rigor of traditional ecdoctic methodology with the innovative insights of material philology, can produce a variety of textual outcomes and reconstructions of considerable scholarly significance. This approach is notably effective in influencing contemporary and recent scholarly methodologies for editing Hebrew kabbalistic texts. As observed by Saverio Campanini, despite the fact that a significant number of kabbalistic works have not been subjected to printed editions, the complexities inherent in the tradition of this unique esoteric subject have resulted in creative editorial solutions²¹. Many kabbalistic editions available in the market are not the product of a methodologically rigorous scholarly effort. Instead, they are often assembled through an eclectic collation of printed and manuscript sources. A case in point is the Beqer 2013 edition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which primarily results from a collation of the two sixteenth-

¹⁶ See J. Bédier, *La tradition manuscrite du Lai de l'Ombre*, pp. 354-356.

¹⁷ See P. Maas, *Textkritik*, pp. 6-9.

¹⁸ For a perspective on the specific cases of Hebrew texts and manuscripts spanning from the Biblical era to the Middle Ages, see e.g. E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, Leiden, Brill, 2004; C. Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994.

¹⁹ See B. Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la Variante. Histoire Critique de la Philologie*, Paris, Seuil, 1989. See also S. Ramlev Frandsen, *La dialectique de la variance. Nouvelle philologie et stratégies interprétatives du texte médiéval*, in «Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale» XLVIII/190 (2005), pp. 111-127.

²⁰ See e.g. S.G. Nichols, *Why material philology?*, in H. Tervooren-H. Wenzel, *Philologie als Textwissenschaft. Alte und Neue Horizonte*, Berlin, Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1997, pp. 10-30.

²¹ See S. Campanini, *Problemi metodologici e testuali nell'edizione del Sefer ha-Bahir*, pp. 22-26.

century printed editions of this text, published in Ferrara and Mantua, alongside a selection of manuscripts whose stemmatic relationships have not been established²². In this context, particular significance is attributed to MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 2773, due to its status as the oldest dated manuscript containing this work. Consequently, this edition eclectically collates various witnesses and establishes a hierarchy of importance within the manuscript tradition, based on the principle of the pre-eminence of the *codex antiquior*. This principle was ecdotically challenged by Giorgio Pasquali with the succinct assertion: *recentiores, non deteriores*²³. In the absence of a more philologically and stemmatically precise edition, the accessibility of this work renders it a suitable introductory version to the doctrines of this treatise. It will therefore serve as the primary Hebrew reference for the Latin translations that will be presented in this thesis. The scarcity of philologically accurate editions of kabbalistic texts can be attributed not only to the challenges highlighted by Colette Sirat in the 1980s, which pertain to the methodological difficulties in adhering to the principles necessary for producing a precise critical edition. Indeed, the inherent nature of Kabbalah as a mystical and secretive discipline, with its doctrines often disseminated esoterically or privately, has led to intriguing textual outcomes, characterized by an extreme textual fluidity. For instance, modern textual analyses of the *Sefer ha-Zohar* have concluded that this work was likely a forgery by Moshe de Leon, which subsequently attained the status of one of the most authoritative kabbalistic texts. Due to its pseudo-epigraphic nature, *Sefer ha-Zohar* consistently maintained an open structure, allowing for the incorporation of additional materials. Therefore, the idealized notion of a perfect, complete *Sefer ha-Zohar* seemingly resulted in its crystallization into a definitive textual form only with the sixteenth-century printed editions²⁴. The fact that the boundaries of kabbalistic works were often open to additions, expansions, and intrusions, presents challenges in determining the precise extent and content of these texts when attempting a philologically accurate edition, given their intrinsic ephemeral nature as esoteric materials. This has resulted in diverse methodologies and strategies in the editing of mystical texts. In instances such as the textual *corpus* of the *Hekhalot*, where multiple, occasionally disparate texts have been disseminated under a single conventional title, scholars have prudently opted to publish synoptic editions of these texts²⁵. This form of edition has the advantage of acknowledging diverse, equivalent, and concurrent textual traditions related to a broader corpus without imposing a hierarchy among them. Its systematic application however, when

²² See *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, Mahadurat Beqer, Jerusalem 2013, pp. I-IV.

²³ See G. Pasquali, *Recentiores, non deteriores. Collazioni umanistiche ed Editiones Principes*, in «Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, Storia e Filosofia» I/2 (1932), pp. 105-129.

²⁴ See e.g. D. Abrams, *Kabbalistic Manuscripts and Textual Theory. Methodologies of Textual Scholarship and Editorial Practices in the Study of Jewish Mysticism*, Jerusalem-Los Angeles, Magnes Press-Cherub Press, 2010, pp. 224-428.

²⁵ See P. Schäfer-M. Schlüter-H.G. von Mutius (eds.), *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1981. See also P. Schäfer, *Hekhalot-Studien*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1988.

not specifically necessitated by the unique textual conditions of certain *corpora*, results in a lack of critical intervention that does not benefit the study and, consequently, the edition of kabbalistic and mystical texts. Despite the extensive and fluid nature of the manuscript tradition, it is possible to apply traditional editing methodologies, which might include the selection of a *codex optimus* as the foundation for an edition or the adaptation of the ecdotic approach to kabbalistic texts. The scholarly editions of *Sefer ha-Bahir* published in recent years exemplify this trend. This authoritative text, regarded as foundational in the medieval development of kabbalistic thought and modern academic studies on Kabbalah, has traditionally been edited based on what scholars have considered one of its most significant manuscript copies, MS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209. This manuscript, dated to 1298, represents the earliest known dated copy of *Sefer ha-Bahir*. It also served as the foundation for Flavius Mithridates' Latin translation of *Sefer ha-Bahir* for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, as this particular copy was acquired by the young Count. Furthermore, this volume was utilized by Gershom Scholem in his doctoral thesis on the translation and commentary of the *Sefer ha-Bahir*, which is traditionally regarded as the inception of modern scholarly study of Kabbalah²⁶. The significance of this volume in the reception of this specific kabbalistic text as well as of kabbalistic thought in general prompted Daniel Abrams to produce an edition featuring a facsimile of the bahiric text from this volume, as well as its transcription corrected in the apparatus with the variants found in MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Barb. Or. 110. This latter volume is indeed dated 1297 in its colophon, although it has been proven to be a late 14th-century copy of an earlier manuscript²⁷. Saverio Campanini has critiqued this editorial practice as eclectic²⁸. Therefore, in his edition of Mithridates' Latin rendition of the text, he included a corrected transcription of the *Sefer ha-Bahir* of MS BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209, intended to accompany and guide the reading of the Latin translation. This edition was supplemented by the variants of the marginal glosses in the volume, as well as those found in the Bahiric text of four other manuscripts, specifically MS London, British Library, Or. 832; MS Moscow, Russian State Library, Günzburg 131; MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 2367; and MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3086. According to Campanini's reconstruction in fact, these manuscripts seemingly belonged to the same branch of tradition as the MS BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209. Avishai Bar-Asher's recent investigation into the material and codicological characteristics of MS Casanatense 3086 has led to a reassessment of the *Sefer ha-Bahir*'s textual structure, as uniquely preserved in this particular copy²⁹. This study, which aimed to reconstruct the *Sefer ha-Bahir* "as it once was", has led to the re-evaluation of the

²⁶ See G. Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir*, Leipzig 1923.

²⁷ See D. Abrams, *The Book Bahir: An Edition Based on the Earliest Manuscripts*, Los Angeles, Cherub Press, 1994.

²⁸ See S. Campanini, *Problemi metodologici e testuali nell'edizione del Sefer ha-Bahir*, pp. 31f. See also, See S. Campanini, *The Book of Bahir*, pp. 13*-165*.

²⁹ See A. Bar-Asher, *Sefer ha-Bahir – Nosaḥ, Seder u-Mivnah*, in «Tarbiz» 89 (2022), pp. 77-225, esp. pp. 93-110.

various branches of the Bahiric manuscript tradition. In the resultant *stemma codicum*, MS Casanatense 3086 is singled out, as it contains what is likely the least corrupted version of *Sefer ha-Bahir*. This manuscript, however, lacks direct copies or closely related volumes, and its reception has been notably limited³⁰. Conversely, all the other extant manuscripts from the late 13th to the 16th century offer a version of the *Sefer ha-Bahir* of limited ecdotic significance, albeit having experienced a broader reception over the centuries. This observation underscores the significance of the historical value inherent in certain manuscripts and branches of the textual tradition, even when their ecdotic importance is limited. It also highlights the importance of differentiating the scopes of methodologically driven editions, particularly those of texts with authoritative value. This principle should similarly be applied to the publication and edition of translations of kabbalistic texts, whether in Latin or vernacular languages. The publication of these texts, which belong to branches of the indirect tradition of kabbalistic literature, may indeed lead to the production of editions of their corresponding Hebrew texts. For instance, this is exemplified by Campanini's aforementioned study on the Latin translation of *Sefer ha-Bahir*, which led to the publication of an edition of its corresponding Hebrew original³¹. Similarly, Giacomo Corazzol's work on Mithridates' Latin translation of Menahem of Recanati's *Commentary on the Daily Prayers*, which included a Hebrew edition intended to assist the reader in interpreting the Latin text, successfully highlighted a specific layer of the textual tradition of this work³². Even in the absence of the publication of their corresponding Hebrew originals, these translations hold considerable cultural and historical significance. They in fact facilitated the transmission of Hebrew esoteric content into languages that made these doctrines accessible to a Christian audience, which subsequently began to study and creatively reinterpret these materials. Among the numerous instances where Christian scholars engaged in the translation of kabbalistic texts, certain works, such as 1516 *Portae Lucis* by Paolo Ricci and the translations by Guillaume Postel, were specifically designed and composed for publication³³. These texts thereby aimed to serve as substitutes for their respective Hebrew versions among Christian readers of kabbalistic content. The translations executed by Flavius Mithridates for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, along with those by Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators—two of which will be analyzed and edited in this thesis—were not intended for publication and were designed

³⁰ See *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³¹ See *supra* n. 28.

³² See G. Corazzol (ed.), *Menahem Recanati. Commentary on the Daily Prayers. Flavius' Mithridates' Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, Torino, Nino Aragno Editore, 2009.

³³ For a broader perspective on Paolo Ricci's work and biography, see *infra* p. 74 n. 320. On the life and works by Guillaume Postel, see F. Secret, *Vie et caractère de Guillaume Postel*, Milano, Archè, 1987; Id., *Postel revisité. Nouvelles recherches sur Guillaume Postel et son milieu*, Paris, Textes et Travaux de Chrysopœia, 1998. On the Postel's Latin translations of kabbalistic texts and their edition, see F. Secret, *Un manuscrit retrouvé de Guillaume Postel*, in «Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance» 35 (1973), pp. 87-99; G. Postel, *Postelliana*, (F. Secret ed.), Nieuwkoop, B. De Graaf, 1981.

for private consultation. The methodological choices employed in these translations, which will be described in subsequent sections of this work, demonstrate that these texts were intentionally designed to reference their Hebrew originals and facilitate, or at least mediate, their study. Consequently, although the edition of the corresponding Hebrew texts of the Latin translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* presents challenges that extend beyond the scope of the comparative translational study offered in this thesis, a thorough examination and accurate reference to the most significant Hebrew manuscripts containing this text will be undertaken. Indeed, any scholarly endeavor focused on editing Latin translations of kabbalistic texts must necessarily take into consideration the foundational contributions of the editions of translations by Flavius Mithridates, mostly published within the framework of the project “The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola”. The preservation of Mithridates’ translations in autograph form and predominantly as *codices unci* has led editors to exercise minimal intervention in the transcription and editorial re-elaboration of these texts. This methodology has consistently been described as semi-diplomatic and is intended to preserve through the very edition of these translations the majority of information regarding the actual proceedings and characteristics of the convert’s work, given its inherent historical significance. This approach offers substantial benefits in preserving the characteristics of the translations by Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators, given their significant cultural and historical value and the fact that these texts are preserved in autograph *codices unci*, which obviate the need for collation. Thus, in this thesis, this well-established semi-diplomatic approach to the edition of Latin translations will be employed for both Mithridates’ and Egidio’s Latin renditions of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, with necessary adaptations specified prior to each edition.

3. Overview of the sources and organization of the chapters

To produce the edition and study of the Latin translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and their respective historical contexts, it is essential to conduct a thorough examination of the manuscripts in which they are preserved. Specifically, this involves an autoptic analysis of MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, and MS BNF, Lat. 598. This approach is necessary because the first volume is only available in a low-quality digitization, and the latter has not been digitized. These manuscripts shall be analyzed in comparison with similar volumes of translations produced within the same intellectual and cultural contexts. The manuscripts under consideration for the translational endeavor of Flavius Mithridates and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola will be specifically MSS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189; 190; and 191. Considering that certain excerpts from Mithridates’ Latin kabbalistic translations were incorporated into miscellanies owned by Pier Leone da Spoleto, and that Lorenzo de Medici’s physician commissioned the translation of some kabbalistic texts into vernacular languages, an evaluation of

his volumes will be imperative. Pier Leone's manuscripts that need to be taken under consideration include: MS Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX.29; MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 9425; MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 868; MS BNF, It. 443; and MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8526. Conversely, the examination of Egidio da Viterbo's kabbalistic work will involve the following volumes: MSS BNF, Lat. 527/1; 527/2; 3667; and MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198, alongside those containing Italian vernacular translations of kabbalistic texts: MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44; MS London, British Library, Add. 16390; and MS BNF, It. 612. This analysis and comparison aim to establish, or at least attempt to reconstruct, the chronological sequence of the composition of these texts, as well as to evaluate the development of the translational and studying techniques employed in these different, though ideally related endeavors over the years and the decades. A comprehensive analysis of the Hebrew kabbalistic texts, which were acknowledged as part of the manuscript collection of the intellectuals who commissioned and contributed to these translational efforts, is necessary. Some of the books within these collections have in fact been identified as the original Hebrew sources upon which the Latin or vernacular translations of kabbalistic texts were based. These manuscripts include the aforementioned MS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209, which served as a source for certain works by Flavius Mithridates, and MS BNF, Hébr. 776, which underlies most of Pier Leone da Spoleto's extant translations³⁴. Furthermore, MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanantense, 2971, and MS BL, Add. 27199 have been recognized as the Hebrew foundations for translations of *Sefer ha-Zohar* and *Sefer Raziel*, produced in Egidio da Viterbo's kabbalistic and scribal Roman workshop³⁵. The analysis of the kabbalistic works of Pico, Pier Leone, and particularly Egidio da Viterbo, commencing with the aforementioned ascertained Hebrew originals of the translations, will seek indeed to determine whether any of these extant volumes served as sources for the Hebrew translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* edited in this thesis, or for any other of the yet unpublished translations of kabbalistic texts. These studies are motivated also by the necessity to focus on the actual content of these translations, in order to provide a historical and cultural contextualization of the emergence and development of the Christian kabbalistic movement, where these translations ought to be used as foundational sources. Consequently, in light of the methodological considerations discussed thus far, the subsequent chapters of this work will be structured as follows.

The first two chapters of this thesis will examine the study of Kabbalah among Christians during the Renaissance, commencing with its emergence in Florence in the late 15th century and extending to the specific early 16th-century case of Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators in Rome. These chapters aim to provide a historical and cultural contextualization of the intellectual endeavors in

³⁴ See *infra* pp. 41f; 67f.

³⁵ See *infra* pp. 137f; 140f.

which the kabbalistic translations edited in this work were conceived and produced. The ideological continuities and transformations described within these previous pages will facilitate and lead to the analysis and comparative study of the Latin translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which will be conducted in the third chapter of this thesis. To achieve these objectives, the initial chapter will commence by evaluating and documenting the most significant conceptions of Kabbalah that Giovanni Pico della Mirandola propagated in his writings. Subsequently, I will undertake a thorough examination of the role of Flavius Mithridates, focusing not only on his contributions as a translator but also on his active collaboration in shaping the Count of Mirandola's understanding of Kabbalah and his interpretative stance on this esoteric tradition, amidst supersessionist and anti-Jewish biases. This examination will also involve describing and reflecting on the content of the manuscripts of kabbalistic text translations composed by Mithridates for Giovanni Pico, whether currently preserved or documented. A thorough examination of the translational practices employed in the composition of these texts, as well as the specific kabbalistic materials they preserve, will facilitate a deeper contextualization within the kabbalistic studies conducted in Florence during the same period. Particular attention will therefore be given to the Jewish kabbalistic milieu, focusing on figures such as Yohannan Alemanno, members of the Da Pisa family, and an individual referred to as "Abraam", to evaluate their connections with Lorenzo de' Medici and the Florentine humanist intellectual circle, which included Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and Pier Leone da Spoleto. The translational efforts of kabbalistic texts, sponsored by the latter, will also be critically examined. The descriptions and analysis of the content of his extant translation manuscripts will serve to reassess and evaluate their relationship with the translations elaborated by Giovanni Pico and Mithridates. The concluding section of this chapter will examine the influence of the Count of Mirandola's perspective on Kabbalah on the ideological framework adopted by subsequent Christian kabbalists in their approach to the study of these doctrines. These considerations will stem from the assessment of the explicit references in their writings to Giovanni Pico's pivotal role in the dissemination of kabbalistic doctrines among Christians.

The second chapter will examine the kabbalistic studies of Egidio da Viterbo and their implications for his political and religious activities within the Catholic Church, an aspect often neglected in his biographies and only recently subjected to critical scholarly inquiry. Following a brief description of the key aspects of Egidio da Viterbo's life, with particular emphasis on the period preceding his discovery of Hebrew and Kabbalah, an overview of the history of kabbalistic studies in Rome from the late thirteenth century to the death of Hebraist Antonio Flaminio Biaxander will be provided. Notably, Biaxander's kabbalistic library was partially incorporated into Egidio da Viterbo's collection, providing him crucial kabbalistic texts. I will then focus on describing the translational

activities and techniques employed in the scribal and kabbalistic workshop directed by Egidio, as well as the ideological approach to kabbalistic studies he adopted, through an analysis of the annotations and colophons accompanying these texts. In this study, I will elucidate through Egidio's kabbalistically inspired writings, specifically the *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*, the *Historia XX Saeculorum*, and the *Scechina*, how the study of Kabbalah influenced his religious and political endeavors, both as General Prior of the Augustinian Order and, more notably, as Cardinal. Beginning with his proposal to Pope Leo X to reform the Latin alphabet by incorporating Hebrew letters, as well as the doctrines articulated in the *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*, I will conduct a comprehensive analysis of Egidio's involvement in the defense of Johannes Reuchlin during the trials that ensued following Reuchlin's opposition to the imperial *Judenbücherstreit*. Subsequently, I will examine the extent to which these events were intricately linked to the emergence of the Reformation crisis and assess Egidio's apparent (non)-position on the issue. Furthermore, I will scrutinize the concluding section of Egidio da Viterbo's *Historia XX Saeculorum*, which is specifically devoted to the pontificate of Pope Leo X and was composed, according to internal datings, in the pivotal year of 1517. In this section of the study, particular attention will be devoted to Egidio da Viterbo's staunch and, to some extent, kabbalistically influenced opposition to the Ottoman Empire's expansion following its conquest of Cairo and Syria, as well as his appeal to the Pope to lead a Crusade. Subsequently, an analysis will be conducted on Egidio da Viterbo's involvement in the conclaves that elected Pope Adrian VI and, notably, Clement VII, with a specific emphasis on the kabbalistic studies he likely pursued during these periods. Indeed, a significant component of this investigation will subsequently focus on the messianic movement of David Reuveni and Shlomo Molko, and on Egidio's involvement in their actions. Following a comprehensive discussion of the events and repercussions of the Sack of Rome on Egidio's ideological perspectives and political positions, I will ultimately concentrate on the Cardinal's final work, the *Scechina*. In this text, composed in the years preceding his death, Egidio, through the personification of the Tenth kabbalistic emanation of the Divine, reiterates his final, albeit unheeded, appeal to Emperor Charles V to lead a military campaign against the Ottoman Empire. Additionally, an appendix at the end of this chapter will be devoted to examining the fate of Egidio da Viterbo's kabbalistic library. This section will specifically focus on the detailed description of the manuscripts of translations from Hebrew found within Egidio's collection, as well as their corresponding Hebrew originals, when these have been identified. The discussion will conclude with an emphasis on the significance of dictionaries and lexicons studied, translated, and produced as part of the intellectual endeavor Egidio da Viterbo directed and supported.

The third introductory chapter, which will precede the editions of the Latin translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* in the second volume of this thesis, is devoted to a comparative study of these

texts. Following the examination of the ideological continuities and transformations that occurred between the translational efforts led by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Egidio da Viterbo conducted in the preceding chapters, this section will concentrate on the case of the translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. This analysis aims to elucidate the differences in the translational methodologies employed in rendering this treatise into Latin. Following an introduction to the significance of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* within the framework of Italian Jewish Kabbalah and its development, including considerations on the reception of this text, I will concentrate on examining the function of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and its translations as an influential mediator for kabbalistic concepts among Christians. I will employ a chronological approach in the analysis of these works to delineate the trajectory of their influence within the intellectual circles led by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Egidio da Viterbo. The translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* by Flavius Mithridates will be the initial focus of this examination. In order to elucidate its main characteristics, particular attention will be given to the translational techniques employed by Flavius Mithridates to meet the demands of his patron, as well as to the relationship between the Hebrew textual tradition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and this translation. Additionally, specific attention will be directed towards the translation of a *Commentary on Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which Mithridates translated for Giovanni Pico, to establish their potential chronology. In the subsequent section of this chapter, I will examine Egidio da Viterbo's Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Initially, I will elucidate the translational methodology employed in Egidio's kabbalistic workshop as it was specifically applied to this translation. Subsequently, I will provide an overview of the most philologically significant characteristics of this translation in comparison to the Hebrew textual tradition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Following this, I will analyze and describe the extant copies of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* preserved in manuscripts identified as part of Egidio's collection, specifically MSS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3087 and 3098; MS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 92; and most notably MS London, British Library, Harley 5510. Subsequently, I will undertake an investigation into Egidio da Viterbo's search for confirmations of Christian dogmas and doctrines among kabbalistic texts through the analysis of this translation. The concluding section of this chapter will finally focus on examining the evolution of translational methodologies applied to kabbalistic texts, specifically comparing the work of Flavius Mithridates with that of Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators. This discourse is intended to facilitate the reading and analysis of the two editions of the Latin translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which are presented in the second volume of thesis and are accompanied by a concise methodological introduction detailing the editorial decisions made throughout their compilation.

1. Studying Kabbalah among Christians in the Renaissance: Part 1

1.1 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and the Beginning of Christian Kabbalah

The Hebrews hold these same books with reverence that no one under forty years of age is permitted even to touch them. I acquired these books at considerable expense and, reading them from beginning to end with the greatest attention and with unrelenting toil, I discovered in them (as God is my witness) not so much the Mosaic as the Christian religion. There was to be found the mystery of the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Word, the divinity of the Messiah; there one might also read of original sin, of its expiation by Christ, of the heavenly Jerusalem, of the fall of the demons, of the orders of the angels, of the pains of purgatory and hell. There I read the same things which we read every day in the pages of Paul and of Dionysius, Jerome and Augustine. In philosophical matters, it were as though one were listening to Pythagoras and Plato, whose doctrines bear so close affinity to the Christian faith that our Augustine offered endless thanks to God that the books of the Platonists had fallen into his hands. In a word, there is no point of controversy between the Hebrews and ourselves on which the Hebrews cannot be confuted and convinced out the cabalistic writings, so that no corner is left for them to hide in³⁶.

This excerpt from the *Oratio de Hominis Dignitate* was composed by Giovanni Pico, Count of Mirandola, to introduce a novel set of kabbalistic concepts into the philosophical and theological discourse within the Catholic Church of the late 15th century. This text was originally conceived as a formal oration intended to be delivered by Giovanni Pico, introducing the scholarly debates prompted by his recent publication, *Conclusiones Nongentae*, which was printed in Rome on December 7,

³⁶ The translation is from G. Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, transl. A. Robert Caponigri, Washington D.C., Regnery Publishing Inc., 1956, p. 65. See also, G. Pico della Mirandola, *Oratio de hominis dignitate*, eds. E. Garin – M. Ciliberto, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2012, p. 60: «Hi libri apud Hebraeos hac tempestate tanta religione coluntur, ut neminem liceat nisi annos quadraginta natum illos attingere. Hos ego libros non mediocri impensa mihi cum comparassem, summa diligentia indefessis laboribus cum perlegissem, vidi in illis – testis est Deus – religionem non tam Mosaicam quam Christianam. Ibi Trinitatis mysterium, ibi Verbi incarnatio, ibi Messiae divinitas, ibi de peccato originali, de illius per Christum expiatione, de caelesti Hierusalem, de causis daemonum, de ordinibus angelorum, de purgatoriis, de inferorum poenis, eadem legi quae apud Paulum et Dionysium, apud Hieronymum et Augustinum quotidie legimus. In his vero quae spectant ad philosophiam, Pythagoram prorsus audias et Platonem, quorum decreta ita sunt fidei Christiana affinia, ut Augustinus noster immensas Deo gratias agat, quod ad eius manus pervenerint libri Platoniorum. In plenum nulla est ferme de re nobis cum Hebraeis controversia, de qua ex libri Cabalistarum ita redargui convincique non possint, ut ne angulus quidem reliquus sit in quem se condant». There have been two redactions of this text, one discovered by Eugenio Garin and preserved in MS Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. 885 (probably the first version of this text mentioned in Pico's letter to Girolamo Benivieni, see G. Pico della Mirandola, *Lettere*, ed. F. Borghese, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2018, p. 155; the letter is edited from the text in MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capp. 235, p. 33) and the one printed by Gianfrancesco Pico in 1496 (see G. Pico della Mirandola, *Discorso sulla Dignità dell'Uomo*, ed. F. Bausi, Milano-Parma, Fondazione Pietro Bembo – U. Guanda, 2003). Between the two redactions of this text there seems to be an intermediate work on these materials done by Pico for the prologue of his *Apologia* (see P. E. Fornaciari, *Introduzione*, in G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia. L'autodifesa di Pico di fronte al tribunale dell'Inquisizione*, ed. P. E. Fornaciari, Firenze, SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2010, pp. XXIII-XXVI; LXXVIII-LXXX). On the reception of this text, see B. Copenhaver, *Magic and the Dignity of Man: Pico della Mirandola and His Oration in Modern Memory*, Harvard University Press-Belknap Press, Cambridge (Massachusetts) 2019.

1486³⁷. The 900 theses outlined in this latter work were part of Pico's broader project of *pax philosophica*, a philosophical harmony in which he sought to demonstrate a substantial cultural and theological alignment among diverse religious and intellectual traditions³⁸. From Aristotle and Plato to the Scholastics, Neoplatonists, Hermes Trismegistus, Arab philosophers, and Kabbalists, Pico endeavored to synthesize the Scholastic teachings of the universities with the humanists' novel textual

³⁷ G. Pico della Mirandola, *Conclusiones CM publice disputandae*, Romae, Eucharius Silber Frank, 1486. For a modern critical edition of this text, see G. Pico della Mirandola, *900 Conclusions*, ed. and transl. B. Copenhaver, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Massachusetts) 2025. Here, at pp. 170-173: «Impressum Romae opera venerabilis viri Eucharii Silber alias Franck, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCCCLXXXVI, die septima Decembris, sedente Innocentio VIII Pontifice Maximo anno pontificatus eiusdem tertio. Conclusiones non disputabuntur nisi post Epiphaniam. Interim publicabuntur in omnibus Italiae gymnasiis. Et si quis philosophus aut theologus etiam ab extrema Italia arguendi gratia Romam venire voluerit, pollicetur ipse Dominus disputaturus se viatici expensas illi soluturum de suo» (Printed in Rome by the labor of the honorable Eucharius Silber, otherwise Franck, in the year 1486 from the Lord's incarnation on the seventh day of December during the tenure of Innocent VIII as Chief Pontiff in the third year of this same pontificate. The conclusions will not be disputed until after the Epiphany. Meanwhile they will be published in all the schools of Italy. And if any philosopher or theologian from the farthest parts of Italy wants to come to Rome and debate, this Lord himself – the one who will dispute – promises to pay travel expenses from his own funds). See also S.A. Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486) With Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Tempe (AZ), Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1998. The 900 theses were ready by 12th November 1486, as stated by Giovanni Pico in a letter to Girolamo Benivieni (see G. Pico della Mirandola, *Lettere*, ed. F. Borghese, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2018, p. 155; the letter is edited from the text in MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capp. 235, p. 33). Giovanni Pico wrote during the year 1486 three of his major works, namely the *Conclusiones Nongentae*, the *Oratio*, and the *Commento sopra una canzone de amore di Girolamo Benivieni*. See G. Pico della Mirandola, *De Hominis Dignitate, Heptaplus, De Ente et Uno*, ed. E. Garin, Firenze, Vellecchi Editore, 1942, pp. 443-581. The text is edited upon the collection of MS Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, alfa.k.01.16; MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2770; MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2528; MS Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. 708, and G. Benivieni, *Opere*, Firenze, per li heredi di Filippo di Giunta, 1519. See also S. Di Benedetto, *L'edizione giuntina delle "Opere" di Girolamo Benivieni*, in «ACME – Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Milano» LXIII/1 (2010), pp. 165-200.

³⁸ G. Pico della Mirandola, *Oratio de hominis dignitate*, eds. E. Garin – M. Ciliberto, pp. 44-46: «Propterea non contentus ego, praeter communes doctrinas multa de Mercurii Trismegisti prisca theologia, multa de Chaldaeorum, de Pythagorae disciplinis, multa de secretioribus Hebraeorum addidisse mysteriis, plurima quoque per nos inventa et meditata, de naturalibus et divinis rebus disputanda proposuimus. Proposuimus primo Plato Aristotelisque concordiam a multis antehac creditam, a nemine satis probatam [...]. Addimus autem et plures locos in quibus Scoti et Thomae, plures in quibus Averrois et Avicennae sententias, quae discordes existimantur, concordare esse nos asseveramus. Secundo loco, quae in philosophia cum Aristotelica tum Platonica excogitavimus nos, tum duo et septuaginta nova dogmata physica and metaphysica collocavimus, quae si quis teneat, poterit, nisi fallor, quod mihi erit mox manifestum, quamcumque de rebus naturalibus divinisque propositam quaestionem longe alia dissolvere ratione, quam per eam edoceamur quae et legitur in scholis et ab huius aevi doctoribus colitur philosophiam» (G. Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, pp. 49f.: «For these reasons, I have not been content to repeat well-worn doctrines, but have proposed for disputation many points of the early theology of Hermes Trismegistus, many theses drawn from the teachings of the Chaldeans and the Pythagoreans, from the occult mysteries of the Hebrews and, finally, a considerable number of propositions concerning both nature and God which we ourselves have discovered and worked out. In the first place, we have proposed a harmony between Plato and Aristotle, such as many before this time indeed believed to exist but which no one has satisfactorily established [...]. We have, in addition, adduced a great number of passages in which Scotus and Thomas, and other in which Averroes and Avicenna, have heretofore been thought to disagree, but which I assert are in harmony with one another. In the second place, along with my own reflections on and developments of both the Aristotelian and the Platonic philosophies, I have adduced seventy-two theses on physics and metaphysics. If I am not mistaken (and this will become clearer in the course of the proposed disputation) anyone subscribing to these theses will be able to resolve any question proposed to him in natural philosophy or theology on a principle quite other than that taught us in the philosophy which is at present to be learned in the schools and is taught by the masters of the present generation»).

and cultural discoveries, incorporating Hebrew traditions and Kabbalistic insights as well, into a cohesive all-comprehensive philosophical framework³⁹.

This solemn speech was never pronounced in public, nor did the public disputes that Pico had hoped for ever occur, as his theses underwent the Inquisition's scrutiny and a special papal commission nominated by Innocent VIII himself was established to assess the orthodoxy of Pico's conclusions⁴⁰. Following extensive private deliberations with the inquisitors in both oral and written formats, 13 of Pico's 900 theses were deemed controversial. While awaiting an official verdict that could have potentially resulted in an Inquisition trial, Pico published his *Apologia* at the end of May 1487 in Naples through Francesco Del Toppo⁴¹. The text comprised a prologue in which Pico reformulated portions of his undelivered *Oratio* to introduce the defense of the 13 controversial propositions⁴². This was accomplished through an extensive and meticulous combination of rhetoric, erudition, citations from diverse sources, and occasional irony directed toward the argumentation of his opponents in the Inquisition⁴³. A final epilogue with 46 additional conclusions derived from the

³⁹ For recent studies on Giovanni Pico's project of *pax philosophica* and the sources he used for his book, see G. Licata – P. Terracciano, *La Lama del Sapiente. Saggi sulla filosofia di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2022; and E. Garin, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Vita e Dottrina*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1937. For an introduction to Platonism in Florence, see A. Della Torre, *Accademia Platonica*, Firenze, Tipografia Galileiana, 1902, esp. pp. 526-562 and 567-628. The importance of Florence and especially the relationship between Giovanni Pico and Marsilio Ficino will be discussed later. As for Pico's studies on Scholastics, see A. Edelheit, *A Philosopher at the Crossroads – Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Scholastic Philosophy*, Boston-Leiden, Brill, 2022. Through its title reminiscing of H. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 1989 and a series of direct attacks at pp. 1-2 and 11-22, Edelheit aims not only at highlighting the importance of Scholastic philosophy in Pico's works but also at undermining the contribution of his kabbalistic studies and interests to his thought. While no one can doubt that Scholastic thought was a crucial step in the cultural formation of any intellectual at Pico's time, and therefore Giovanni Pico needed to be, among other things, a skilled Scholastic thinker as he wanted to present new doctrines and methodologies to the theological and philosophical arena of the late XV century, one of the purposes of this work is to show, once again, the crucial importance of Pico's kabbalistic stances, not only in his works but also accordi

ng to their reception and development. For more information of Giovanni Pico and Scholasticism, see B. Copenhaver, *From 737 Conclusions by Jean Cabrol to Giovanni Pico's 900 Conclusions*, in «Mediterranea. International Journal on the Transfer of Knowledge» IX (2024), pp. 53-105. For an introduction to Pico's involvement in the re-discovery of Averroes in the Renaissance period, see G. Licata, *Secundum Avenroem: Pico della Mirandola, Elia Del Medigo e la "Seconda Rivelazione" di Averroè*, Palermo, Officina di Studi Medievali, 2022. For modern, critical editions of Pico's *Conclusiones Nongentae*, see *supra* p. 16 n. 37.

⁴⁰ For a more complete recount of Pico's Inquisition controversy, see L. Dorez-L. Thuasne, *Pico de la Mirandole en France (1485-1488)*, Paris, E. Leroux, 1897, pp. 55-70 and 114-144; P. E. Fornaciari, *Introduzione*, pp. XIV-XXII and M. Fumagalli Beonio Brocchieri, *Pico della Mirandola*, Bari, Edizioni Laterza, 2011, pp. 63-80.

⁴¹ G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia Ioannis Pici Mirandulae Concordiae Comitum*, Napoli, Francesco del Toppo, 1487. All the citations of this text will come from its modern critical edition: G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia. L'autodifesa di Pico di fronte al tribunale dell'Inquisizione*, ed. P. E. Fornaciari, Firenze, SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2010. This text was probably only partially composed by Pico himself, who admits to having been helped by his friends in the redaction process of this apology (see P. E. Fornaciari, *Introduzione*, pp. XXVIII-XXXII and LVII).

⁴² On the relationship between the *Oratio* and the prologue of the *Apologia*, see *supra*, n. 36. See also, G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, p. 28-30, where one can find the same words presented as part of the *Oratio* at the beginning of this chapter.

⁴³ As an example of Pico's use of erudition and irony towards his inquisitors, a passage of his defense of the 9th magic conclusion according to his own opinion says (see G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, p. 176): «Volo autem et aliquid dicere latius de ista cabala, quanquam et supra in prima parte *Apologiae* nostrae multa dixerimus, sed illa forte non magis ab istis magistris intelligentur, quam intelligantur barbara ab eruditis [...]. Horrendum enim istis patribus videtur hoc

discussion of the 13 theses concluded this apology in a polemical manner, while affirming Pico's confidence in papal clemency and the orthodoxy of his work⁴⁴. Pico's reiterated positions and his assertive conduct during the Inquisition examinations led to an escalation of the debate, resulting in his arrest in Rome and subsequent flight to France, where he was detained by local authorities. He ultimately avoided a second, harsher trial by the Inquisition (though not excommunication) and was later permitted to return to Florence, primarily because of his influential connections in Paris and Italy, which personally intervened with the king of France, the inquisitors, and the Pope on his behalf⁴⁵.

In a context in which Pico's syncretic cultural project was regarded with such profound suspicion, it is unsurprising that one of the conclusions the inquisitors considered heretical was linked to magic and Kabbalah⁴⁶. The 9th conclusion on magic according to Pico's own opinion in fact stated:

nomen et ex ipso paene sono timendum, ita ut forte sint ex ipsis qui cabalistas non homines, sed hircocervos potius vel centauros vel omnino monstruosum aliquid esse suspicentur. Quinimmo ausi rem ridiculam: cum semel quidam ex eis interrogaretur quid esset ipsa cabala, respondit ille fuisse perfidum quendam hominem et diabolicum qui dictus est Cabala, et hunc multa contra Christum scripsisse inde sequaces eius dictos cabalistas. Quis, quaeso hic risum teneat?» (I also want to delve more deeply into this Kabbalah, even though I have already discussed it extensively in the first part of our *Apologia*. However, it seems that these sages may not have grasped it any better than learned men comprehend barbaric concepts[...]. This name is so detested by these fathers and feared for its very sound that they might suspect kabbalists are not human, but rather hircocervi, centaurs, or some other monstrous beings. I heard something quite absurd: when one of them was asked what this Kabbalah actually was, he replied that it was a treacherous and evil man named Kabbalah, who wrote many things against Christ, and thus his followers were called kabbalists. Who, I ask, could refrain from laughing in such a situation?).

⁴⁴ See G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, p. 302: «Quaecunque autem et scripsimus et scribemus in posterum cum ea semper praefatione sint dicta, ut id solum ratum sanctumque habeatur quod et Pontifex summus et hii omnes quorum iudicium ille approbaverit ratum sanctumque decernent. Atque utinam iam ille aliquid de his quae in dubium revocatae sunt opinionibus nostris pro sua et sapientia et auctoritate decrevisset, non hoc mihi susceptum operis quando et quae ille damnassem temerarium, et probasset supervacaneum erat defendere. Dum igitur tanti adhuc iudicis sententia uti non possumus, haec scripserimus, ne sit unde de propositis a me disputandis questionibus habeant quod sinistri possint vel dicere obrectatores, vel suspicari rudes et simplices» (Furthermore, anything we have written or will write must always begin with this preliminary statement: only what our High Pontiff and those whose judgment he has endorsed have declared as fixed and sacred shall be considered as such. Had he made declarations based on his wisdom and authority regarding my opinions that were deemed questionable, I would not have contemplated this work, as it would have been reckless to defend theses that were condemned and nullify those that were approved. Therefore, in the absence of a definitive judgment from such an authority, I have written these things to ensure that no malicious person can gossip about the theses I proposed to dispute, nor can the uneducated and ignorant harbor suspicions). Pico's despising attitude towards his inquisitors, to the point that he reverted against them their accusation of heresy, led to an escalation of his precarious situation (see also G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, pp. 6-11: in these passages of the prologue Pico not only defends his positions, but frontally attacks his Inquisition opponents).

⁴⁵ For a recount of Pico's arrest in France and Lorenzo de' Medici's and others' actions to keep him safe from an actual Inquisition trial and lead him back to Florence, see L. Dorez-L. Thuasne, *Pic de la Mirandole en France*, pp. 71-101; R. M. Zaccaria-L. Lanza, *Lorenzo per Pico*, in P. Viti (ed.), *Pico, Poliziano e l'Umanesimo di fine Quattrocento*, Firenze, L.S. Olschki, 1994, pp. 59-84, esp. 62-75. For a more specific inquiry into Lorenzo de' Medici's diplomatic relationship with Pope Innocent VIII, see A. Fara, «ragionevolmente doveremmo fare molto bene di questo partito». *Lorenzo de' Medici, Innocenzo VIII, il partito grande del 1489 e la rilettura di un pontificato*, in A. Fara- E. Plebani, *Lettere e registrazioni di mercanti-banchieri e ambasciatori per la storia di Roma nel contesto italiano ed europeo (XIV-XVI secolo)*, Roma, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2022, pp. 89-103.

⁴⁶ For a complete picture of Pico's inquisitors' rebuttal on magic and Kabbalah, see P. Garcia, *Determinationes Magistrales contra Conclusiones Iohanni Pici Mirandulae*, Romae, Eucharius Silber Frank, 1489, foll. 56r-91r, esp. foll. 84v-91r on Kabbalah. In this volume, the rhetorical strategy employed by Giovanni Pico in his *Apologia* against his accusers has been inverted, with instances of sarcasm now directed toward Pico himself, as exemplified by the passage

There is no knowledge that gives us more certainty of Christ's divinity than magic and Kabbalah⁴⁷.

While both the Inquisition commissioners and Pico himself focused the primary portion of their dispute on this conclusion upon their divergent perspectives on magic⁴⁸, a substantial and impassioned section of Pico's defense in his *Apologia* endeavored to elucidate Kabbalah to his opponents, as they seemed to be prejudicially suspicious toward doctrines originating from the Jewish tradition especially when equated to Christian theology⁴⁹. Indeed, this comparison between Jewish esoteric concepts and Catholic doctrines constituted Pico's primary motivation to study and present what he defined as Kabbalah to a broader intellectual audience⁵⁰. The 71 kabbalistic conclusions according to Pico's own opinion included in his *Conclusiones Nongentae* were defined "ex ipsis Hebraeorum sapientum fundamentis Christianam religionem maxime confirmantes", that is "Giving the Strongest Proof of the Christian Religion from the Very Basics of Jewish Sages", and concluded Pico's work with an endearing and bold statement "Kabbalah teaches us to read in the Book of the Law", that is the Bible⁵¹. As Pico explained both in his *Oratio* and in the prologue of his *Apologia*, in his view, kabbalistic doctrines represented a whole, homogeneous, ancient Jewish mystical and theological tradition, confirming the authenticity of Christian dogmas⁵². Kabbalah was indeed a form of knowledge that derived from God's revelation to Moses on the Sinai, the *Torah she-be'al-pe* transmitted orally from generation to generation, redacted at the times of Ezra in 70 books kept secret

found on fol. 89v, where Garsia, after refuting Pico's reconstruction of the origins of Kabbalah, using consistently appropriate terminology, refers to him as "Cabalanorum princeps", that is the "Chief of kabbalants" instead of kabbalists. One should also notice that this text on the refutation of Pico's conclusions published after his excommunication was printed by the same publisher as Pico's *Conclusiones Nongentae*. On Garcia's role in Giovanni Pico's Inquisition commission, see *supra* n. 40.

⁴⁷ G. Pico della Mirandola, *900 Conclusions*, p. 143, preceded by Pico's Latin thesis on p. 142: «Nulla est scientia quae nos magis certificet de divinitate Christi quam magia et cabala».

⁴⁸ See G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, pp. 154-176. For more information on Pico's interpretation of magic, see F. Buzzetta, *Magia Naturalis e Scientia cabalae in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, Firenze, Olschki, 2019. On the relationship between Magic and Kabbalah in the Jewish world, see E. Abate, *L'Eredità di Salomone. La Magia Ebraica in Italia e nel Mediterraneo*, Firenze, Giuntina, 2019.

⁴⁹ See G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, pp. 176-193.

⁵⁰ See *supra*, p. 15 on the presentation of Kabbalah in the *Oratio*. For Pico's application of Kabbalah and kabbalistic doctrines to Christian dogmas see also, G. Pico della Mirandola, *900 Conclusions*, pp. 60-71.; 140-151; and esp. pp. 152-171.

⁵¹ G. Pico della Mirandola, *900 Conclusions*, p. 171, preceded by Pico's Latin thesis on p. 170: «Sicut vera astrologia docet nos legere in libro dei, ita Cabala docet nos legere in libro legis». Pico's stance on astrology changed dramatically throughout his life, as one can assess from his last, very skeptical work *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem*, ed. E. Garin, Firenze, Vallecchi, 1946-1952. See also, S. Vanden Broecke, *The Limits of Influence. Pico, Louvain and the Crisis of Renaissance Astrology*, Boston-Leiden, Brill, 2003; M. Bertozzi (ed.), *Nello Specchio del Cielo. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e le «Disputationes» contro l'astrologia divinatoria Atti del Convegno di studi (Mirandola, 16 aprile 2004 - Ferrara, 17 aprile 2004)*, Firenze, Leo Olschki Editore, 2008; O. Akopyan, 'Princeps aliorum' and his followers: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola on the 'Astrological Tradition' in the *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem*, in «Renaissance Studies» XXXIV/4 (2018), pp. 547-564. On the relationship between astrology and Kabbalah during the Renaissance period, see F. Lelli, *Personaggi e temi dell'astrologia ebraica nel Rinascimento italiano*, in «Philosophical Readings» VII/1 (2015), pp. 132-144.

⁵² See G. Pico della Mirandola, *Oratio*, pp. 54-65; G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, pp. 24-33; 176-193; 372-375; see also *supra* n. 36.

and studied by the Jewish wise men only once they reached 40 years old⁵³. Giovanni Pico rejected the idea that the *Torah she-be 'al-pe* could be identified with the Talmudic tradition, which was looked upon with utmost suspicion by the Catholic Church from the Middle Ages, as he considered this *corpus* of writings a reaction against Christianity⁵⁴. Finally, although his works mentioned the Latin translations of kabbalistic books during the Pontificate of Sixtus IV, in his *Apologia* Pico praised himself as the first intellectual to have mentioned these doctrines in Latin among Christians⁵⁵. This reconstruction of the origin and development of the kabbalistic tradition, although historically untenable, remains of significant interest once one analyses its underlying implications within the historical context of its conception, which will be described in the next paragraphs⁵⁶.

⁵³ The expression “*Torah she-be 'al pe*” usually refers to the Talmudic tradition see e.g. H. L. Strack-G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1991; and also *MAvot* 1,1: « משה קבל תורה מסיני, ומסרה » (Moses received the Torah at Sinai and transmitted it to Joshua, Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the Men of the Great Assembly). However, many kabbalistic texts referred to Moses receiving the Torah from the Sinai as the direct source of the kabbalistic notions they express or used the expression לקבל התורה to indicate the transmission of their doctrines, see e.g. *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 6.

⁵⁴ G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, p. 190: «Talmudicos allegari ab antiquis doctoribus nostris non est credendum, tum quia Clemens et multi alii qui Hebraeos allegant fuerint ante compositionem ipsius Talmut quae fuit post Christi mortem plus quam per CL annos, tum quia doctrina Talmudica est totaliter contra nos conficta ab ipsis Hebraeis, iam contra Christianos pugnantibus quare illi doctrinae talem honorem non detulissent nostri ut tunc maxime aliquid dictum ab eis firmum putarent cum Iudeorum testimonio corroboratur» (It should not be assumed that our ancient scholars cited the Talmudic sages. Firstly, Clemens and many others who referenced Jewish teachings lived before the Talmud was even composed, which took place approximately 150 years after Christ's death. Secondly, the Talmudic doctrine was entirely formulated in opposition to us by those same Jews who immediately opposed Christians. Consequently, our scholars did not assign such significance to that doctrine as to consider something certain merely because it was corroborated by a Jewish source). For more information on Christian medieval suspicion against the Talmudic tradition and especially the case of Paris dispute on the Talmud in XIII century, see e.g. F. Dal Bo, *Jesus in the Latin Talmud. Judaism and Christianity During the Disputation of Paris in 1240 and Other Transcultural Issues*, Leiden, Brill, 2024; J. Olszowy-Schlanger, *Des Juifs, des Chrétiens et des Livres Manuscrits Hébreux Médiévaux de la France du Nord*, Belgique, BNF Éditions, 2023, esp. pp. 91-110; P. Capelli, *Biografie intellettuali di convertiti dall'ebraismo nel medioevo. I casi di Nicolas Donin e Pablo Christiani*, in M. Andreatta-F. Lelli (eds.), *Ir hefsi-vah. Studi di ebraistica e giudaistica in onore di Giuliano Tamani*, Livorno, Salomone Belforte & C., 2020, pp. 173-218; U. Cecini-O. L. de la Cruz Palma-A. Fidora-I. Lampurlanés Farré (eds.), *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem thematicum*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021; R. Chazan, *The Hebrew Report on the Trial of the Talmud: Information and Consolation*, in G. Dahan-E. Nicolas, *Le brûlement du Talmud 1242-1244*, Paris, Les Éditions De Cerf, 1999, pp. 79-93; J. M. Rosenthal, *The Talmud on Trial: The Disputation at Paris in the Year 1240*, in «The Jewish Quarterly Review» XLVII/1 (1956), pp. 58-76.

⁵⁵ For Pico's mention of kabbalistic translations under Pope Sixtus IV, see G. Pico della Mirandola, *Oratio*, pp. 58-60; G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, p. 28: «Hi libri Sixtus quartus pontifex maximus, qui hunc sub quo vivimus foeliciter Innocentium octavum proxime antecessit, maxima cura studioque curavit ut in publicam fidei nostrae utilitatem latinis litteris mandarentur» (High Pontiff Sixtus IV, who directly preceded Innocent VIII, under whose reign we happily live, with utmost diligence ensured that these books were translated into Latin for the public benefit of our shared faith). For Pico's stance on his work on Kabbalah, see G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, p. 190: «Haec est prima et vera cabala de qua credo me primum apud Latinos explicitam fecisse mentionem et est illa qua ego utor in meis conclusionibus quas cum expresse ponam contra Hebraeos ad confirmationem fidei nostrae nescio quo modo isti magistri habere potuerunt pro suspectis in fide» (I believe I was the first among Latins to explicitly mention this as the original and true Kabbalah. It is the same Kabbalah I employ in my conclusions, and I am perplexed as to how these wise men could find them suspicious for our faith, especially since I specifically directed them against the Jews).

⁵⁶ On the very complex subject of the origins of Kabbalah, see e.g. J. P. Brown, *On the Censorship of Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Kabbalah*, «Association for Jewish Studies Review» XLVIII/2 (2024), pp. 278-307; A. Bar-Asher, *The Earliest Version of Sefer Yeşirah: Text, Format, Structure, and Genre*, in «Aleph» XXIII/1-2 (2023), pp. 7-50; A. Bar-Asher, *Isaac the Blind's Letter and the History of Early Kabbalah*, in «The Jewish Quarterly Review» CXI/1-2 (2021), pp. 414-443; For more introductory works on the subject, see e.g. G. Busi, *La Qabbalah*, Roma-Bari, GLF Laterza Editori,

1.2 The role of convert Flavius Mithridates and the Florentine humanist circle in Pico's approach to Kabbalah

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola primarily engaged with kabbalistic texts through the intermediary of Hebrew to Latin translations provided by the highly contentious figure of convert Flavius Mithridates⁵⁷. Mithridates was born into a prominent Sicilian Jewish family as Shmuel ben Nissim Abu-al Farag⁵⁸. Two significant manuscripts, namely MS München, BSB, Cod. hebr. 246 and MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3082, not only contribute to the reconstruction of Mithridates' numerous *aliases* but also provide evidence of the rich cultural *milieu* in which the convert was raised⁵⁹. These codices were, in fact, copied by Mithridates' father Nissim ben Shabbetai Abu-al Farag

2016; M. Idel, *Kabbalah. New Perspectives*, New Haven (CT), Yale University Press, 1990; G. Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press, 1987; L.J. Blau, *Le origini della Cabala*, ed. F. Lelli, Nardò (LE), Besa Editrice, 2010. See also, F. Lelli (ed.), *Giovanni Pico e la Cabalà*, Firenze, Leo Olschki Editore, 2014. See also the aforementioned H. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, and its French edition H. Wirszubski, *Pic de la Mirandole et la Cabale*, trad. Jean-Marc Mandosio, Paris, Éditions de l'Éclat, 2007.

⁵⁷ See S. Campanini, *Pici Mirandulensis bibliotheca cabbalistica latina. Sulle traduzioni latine di opere cabbalistiche eseguite da Flavio Mitridate per Pico della Mirandola*, in «Materia Giudaica» VII/1 (2002), pp. 90–96; S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, in M. Perani (ed.), *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada alias Flavio Mitridate. Un Ebreo Converso Siciliano. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Caltabellotta, 23-24 ottobre 2004)*, Palermo, Officina di Studi Medievali, 2008, pp. 49-88; S. Campanini, “*Sine me non intelliges*”. L'edizione della biblioteca cabbalistica di Giovanni Pico: acquisizioni e prospettive, in G. Licata- P. Terracciano (eds.), *La Lama del Sapiente*, pp. 13-25.

⁵⁸ See R. Starrabba, *Ricerche storiche su Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada ebreo convertito siciliano del secolo XV*, in «Archivio Storico Siciliano» III (1878), pp. 15–91; U. Cassuto, *Wer war der Orientalist Mithridates?*, in «Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Juden in Deutschland» V (1935), pp. 230–236; the group contributions on Mithridates in A. Scandaliato, *Nuovi dati su Šemu'el ben Nissim alias Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada seu Flavio Mitridate*, in A. Scandaliato (ed.), *Judaica Minora Sicula*, Firenze, Giuntina, 2006, pp. 433-517, esp. A. Scandaliato, *Le radici familiari e culturali di Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada nell'«Isola dello Specchio»*, pp. 439-472; N. Zeldes, *Language and culture of a Sicilian Jewish intercultural mediator. The Hebrew background of Flavius Mithridates*, in G. Corazzol- M. Perani (eds.), *Flavio Mitridate Mediatore tra Culture nel Contesto dell'Ebraismo Siciliano del XV Secolo*, Palermo, Officina di Studi Medievali, 2012, pp. 17-26. For more information on the Sicilian Jewish milieu of the Middle Ages, see H. Bresc, *Arabes de Langue, Juifs de Religion. L'évolution du Judaïsme Sicilien dans l'Environnement Latin, 12.-15. Siècles*, Paris, Éditions Bouchène, 2001. On the role of converts, see N. Zeldes, *Sicilian Converts in the Contemporary Mediterranean Context (1400-1492)*, in M. Perani, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada alias Flavio Mitridate. Un Ebreo Converso Siciliano*, pp. 33-48.

⁵⁹ MS München, BSB, Cod. hebr. 246: Foll. 1r-20v: *Commentary on the Astrolabe* by Aḥmad ibn al-Tsaffar with schemes and astronomic tables; fol. 22r incipit page of *Keter Shem Tov*, here anonymous but traditionally attributed to Abraham ben Axelrad of Köln, reprised on foll. 49v-55v (see also *infra* pp. 42-44). Foll. 22v-37r *Ma'ase ha-kaddur* by Costa ben Luca with illustrated tables, followed by a treatise on the use of the astrolabe with schemes and illustrations (37v-48v). Fol. 49r Sephirothic questions preceeding *Keter Shem Tov*. Foll. 56r-65r Hebrew version of Euclid's *Elements*; foll. 65v-65bis: astrological questions. Foll. 67v-77v scientific treatises by Yitzḥaq Ibn Aḥdab on the meaning of word and the calculation of the average. Foll. 78v-80v treatise on the lunar and solar eclipses; fol. 82bisv: medical poem by Ibn Ezra. Foll. 83r-126r *Al-Fargani* illustrated with lunar positions, 126v-201v: *Commentary on the Al-Fargani*. Foll. 202r-228v: Commentary on Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* by Levi ben Gershon, foll. 229r-229v: treatise on the meaning of the tent, foll. 230r-235v: *Sod ha-sodot*, foll. 237r-251r: illustrated treatise on geomancy. Foll. 250r-250v: poem on *Purim* by Ibn Aḥdab (see M. Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen Handschriften der K. Hof-und Staatsbibliothek in München*, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 1895, p. 117-120; M. Perani, *I manoscritti ebraici copiati in Sicilia e i loro colophon come testimonianza del background culturale di Flavio Mitridate*, in G. Corazzol-M. Perani (eds.), *Flavio Mitridate Mediatore fra Culture*, pp. 219-288, esp. 230). For more information on the history of this specific manuscript, see M. Pepoli, *Storia di un manoscritto dai proprietari illustri: il MS München, BSB, Cod. hebr. 246*, in «Materia Giudaica» XXIX (2024), pp. 181-204.

MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3082: Foll. 1r-27v: Treatise on Astronomy by Abu Ali Al-Ḥasan in Hebrew; foll. 28r-42v: incomplete treatise on astronomy; foll. 43r-43v: Chronology of Festivities; foll. 44r-46r: *Sha'ar ha-Qabbalah*,

and by his uncle, Farag⁶⁰. The two copyists inscribed the pages of these manuscripts with the scientific works of Sephardic mathematician Yitzḥaq ibn Aḥdab, whom they deeply revered as their mentor, and with texts concerning magic, astronomy, science, astrology, and even Kabbalah⁶¹. Poems by Ibn Ezra or Ibn Aḥdab on pages initially left blank of MS BSB, Cod. hebr. 246, extensive *marginalia* scattered throughout the two manuscripts, and multiple notes of ownership and signatures in Hebrew and Latin serve as evidence of Mithridates' study of these texts from his early years to the period following his conversion to Christianity⁶². Both his Hebrew name and the one of Guillelmus Raymundus Moncada or Monchates, which he adopted upon baptism in honor of his godfather, a nobleman from Messina, are indeed present in the manuscripts, occasionally appearing concurrently⁶³. Following his

Commentary on the Sefirot by Ya'aqov ben Ya'aqov ha-Cohen; foll. 46v-47r: Anonymous Commentary on the Sefirot; foll. 48r-76r: *Rova' Israel* by Ya'aqov ibn Maqir; foll. 77r-103v: *De caelo et mundo* by Ibn Sina in Hebrew; fol. 104r-104v: Chronology by Yitzḥaq Ibn Aḥdab; foll. 105r-106r: Commentary on Jr 9,22; fol. 106v: Poem dedicated to Yitzḥaq ibn Aḥdab; foll. 107r-116v: Treatise on precious stones; 117r-118r: *Pereq r' of Yesod 'Olam*; foll. 118r-119v: Poems by Farag Abu al-Farag (see G. Sacerdote, *Catalogo dei Codici Ebraici della Biblioteca Casanatense*, Firenze, Stabilimento Tipografico Fiorentino, 1897, pp. 631-634). I would like to go into further details on these two manuscripts in a forthcoming publication.

⁶⁰ MS München, BSB, Cod. hebr. 246, fol. 18r: colophon by Farag ben Shabbetai Abu al-Farag; fol. 37r: colophon by Nissim ben Shabbetai Abu al-Farag; fol. 126r: colophon by Farag ben Shabbetai Abu al-Farag; fol. 201r: colophon by Farag ben Shabbetai Abu al-Farag. MS MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3082, fol. 27v: colophon by Farag ben Shabbetai Abu al-Farag; 67r: decoration on the name Yeshu'ah; fol. 104v: poem by Farag ben Shabbetai Abu al-Farag; fol. 106v: poem by Farag ben Shabbetai Abu al-Farag dedicated to Yitzḥaq ibn Aḥdab; foll. 118r-119v: poems by Farag Abu al-Farag. On MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1384, fol. 3r, Mithridates mentions his father: «Ego quoque vidi caput tantum leonis in lamina aurea sculptum manu patris mei Rabi nissim abuifarah involutum in bombice odorifera musco et nuce muscata: et a tergo hi characteres erant · quod facilem partum mulieribus dedit collo parientum alligatum» (I myself saw the head of such a lion in a golden laminated medallion sculpted by my father Rabbi Nissim Abu al-Farag. The lion was wrapped in a cocoon of smelling musk and nutmeg. On its back there were magical letters which give an easy delivery to the women, once it is worn on the neck by those who were giving birth). For more information on Mithridates' family, see also, A. Scandaliato, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada ebreo convertito di Caltabellotta*, in A. Scandaliato, *Judaica Minora Sicula*, pp. 435-438.

⁶¹ For the location of the poems dedicated to Yitzḥaq ibn Aḥdab, see *supra*. Yitzḥaq ibn Aḥdab is mentioned on foll. 18r, 37r, 126r, 201r of MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3082. For more information of Yitzḥaq ibn Aḥdab and his activity, see G. Mandalà, *Da Toledo a Palermo: Yisḥaq ben Selomoh ibn al-Ahdab in Sicilia (ca. 1395/96 - 1431)*, in G. Corazzol-M. Perani (eds.), *Flavio Mitridate Mediatore fra Culture*, pp. 1-16; I. Wartenberg, *‘Iggeret ha-Mispar by Isaac ben Solomon Ibn al-Ahdab (Sicily, 14th century). Part I: The Author*, in «Judaica» I (2008), pp. 18-36; I. Wartenberg, *The Birth of the Medieval Hebrew Mathematical Language as Manifest in Ibn al-Ahdab's 'Iggeret ha-Mispar*, in J. Olszowy-Schlanger-N. Vidro-I. E. Zwiep, *A Universal Art: Hebrew Grammar Across Disciplines and Faiths*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2014, pp. 117-131.

⁶² See MS BSB, Cod. hebr. 246, foll. 66r, 82bisv, 248v, 250r-250v, 252v (see M. Perani, *I manoscritti ebraici copiati in Sicilia*, in G. Corazzol-M. Perani (eds.), *Flavio Mitridate Mediatore fra Culture*, pp. 231-233).

MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3082, foll. 24r, 39v, 47v, 76r-76v, 118r (see E. Engel, *A Paleographical Analysis of Mithridates' Hebrew Autographs*, in M. Perani, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada alias Flavio Mitridate: un Ebreo Converso Siciliano*, pp. 201-224: some of the palaeographic remarks of that article should be rediscussed).

⁶³ MS BSB, Cod. hebr. 246, fol. 252v: «Ad futuram Rei memoriam a po(.) 1473: 14 novembris (...) neapoli venit no(ticiam) Iohannem regem (...) et accepisse barchinona(m) (...) qui bellavit 15 annis. Guillelmus Raymundus miles atque christiane fidei athleta sículus civis messeneus.

לזכר עולם יהיה י"ג כסלו הרל"ג בשבתי ניאפול באה שמועה אמתית איך ג'ואן המלך לקח ברצלונה אחר צר עליה ט"ו שנה. שמואל אבו אל פראג» (For the future memory [...] 1473: on 14th November [...] in Naples there came the notice that King John [...] and he took Barcelona [...] which fought for 15 years. Guillelmus Raymundus the Sicilian, citizen of Messina, militant and champion of the Christian faith/For the perpetual memory that on the 13th Kislev '233 while I was in Naples there came the notice that King John took Barcelona after besieging it for 15 years. Shmuel Abu-al Farag).

MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3082, fol. 47v: «אמ' שמואל גם רוחו של מלך המשיח וסימן לדבר · אדם דוד משיח»
Ego quidem guillelmus raymundus de moncada miles atque christi athleta utriusque talamuti doctor de hoc quod dicitur In fine nihil credo quia iam ista fuit opinio pitagore philosophi sicut quam reprobatur Aristoteles in libro de anima» (I

conversion, Mithridates pursued ecclesiastical studies while leveraging his proficiency in Hebrew, Arabic, and extensive knowledge of Jewish cultural and literary traditions to garner influence and secure patronage among the upper echelons of the Catholic Church hierarchy. After a period in Naples at the court of John of Aragon, Moncada became *familiaris*, that is *protégé*, of the Cardinal of Molfetta Giovanni Battista Cybo, later known as Pope Innocent VIII⁶⁴. Through his intercession, Moncada was granted the privilege of delivering the Good Friday homily before Pope Sixtus IV during the days that preceded Easter in 1481. Moncada's *Sermo de Passione Domini* heavily relied on anti-Jewish polemics, particularly the *Pugio Fidei* by Raimon Martí, and incorporated numerous Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek quotations, as well as enigmatic Chaldean sentences that were subsequently identified as Aramaic quotes transcribed in the Ethiopic alphabet⁶⁵. The research conducted by Haim Wirszubski, which led to these findings, has significantly diminished Mithridates' credibility among scholars as a reliable mediator for Jewish literary tradition within Christian circles. Mithridates' apparent eagerness to exploit his knowledge and even fabricate information to satisfy his listeners' expectations, as well as their anti-Jewish prejudice, influenced the scholarly interpretation of his subsequent translational works for Giovanni Pico⁶⁶. Nonetheless, the fascination generated by Moncada's speech resulted in commissions for Arabic and Hebrew to Latin translations from affluent and influential patrons, including Federico da Montefeltro, and potentially the Pope himself⁶⁷. As scholarly research has indicated, Giovanni Pico's reference to the translation of three unspecified kabbalistic texts during the pontificate of Sixtus IV is likely associated with Flavius Mithridates⁶⁸. At the peak of his

myself Guillelmus Raymundus de Moncada militant and champion of Christ as well as doctor on the Talmud, I believe in nothing that is said in the end since this has already been the opinion of philosopher Pythagoras according to what Aristotle reprimands in the Book of Soul).

⁶⁴ On Mithridates' conversion and the period before his arrival in Rome, see A. Scandaliato, *Nuovi dati su Šemu'el ben Nissim alias Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada seu Flavio Mitridate*, pp. 483-517.

⁶⁵ The text of this homily is written by Mithridates *manu propria* (fol. 126r) in MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Barb. Lat. 1775, foll. 90r-126r. This text is edited in F. Mithridates, *Sermo de Passione Domini*, ed. H. Wirszubski, Jerusalem, The Israel Academy of sciences and humanities, 1963. Another copy of this text is on foll. 130r-164r del MS Livorno, Biblioteca Labronica, Sez. XVI n. 2 (Inv. 443), previously MS 12.d.18 (see also P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. Accedunt alia itinera. A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, London, E.J. Brill, 1963, p. 250. For more information on Raimon Martí, see U. Ragacs, *The Forged Midrashim of Raymond Martini Reconsidered*, in «Henoch» XIX (1997), pp. 59-68; U. Ragacs, *Raimundo Martí, O.P. Biografia*, in C. del Valle-Rodríguez (ed.), *La Controversia Judeocristiana en España*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998, pp. 301-308.

⁶⁶ See H. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 69-120.

⁶⁷ See A. Piemontese, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada alla Corte di Urbino*, in M. Perani (ed.), *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada alias Flavio Mitridate: un Ebreo Converso Siciliano*, pp. 151-172, esp. p. 152 where there is the quotation of Sixtus IV Papal Bull in MS BAV, Reg. Vat. 658, fol. 203, which defines Mithridates as: «continuus commensalis et Ebraice Arabice Caldee linguarum in palatio nostro interpres» (Our attending table-companion and translator of the Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean languages in our palace). For more information on the favors that Mithridates obtained from Sixtus IV, see A. Scandaliato, *Judaica Minora Sicula*, pp. 483-517 and relative bibliography; B. Lagumina, *Due bolle di Sisto IV a favore di Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada e l'uso dei befini in Sicilia*, in «Archivio Storico Siciliano» III (1878), pp. 349-357.

⁶⁸ See A. Piemontese, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada alla Corte di Urbino*, pp. 151-172; P. Castelli, *Gli Astri e i Montefeltro*, in «Studi Umanistici Piceni» III (1983), pp. 75-89; L. Michellini-Tocci, *Federico da Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Cardia*, in G. Cerdoni (ed.), *Federico da Montefeltro. Lo Stato, le Arti, la Cultura*, vol. 1, Roma, Bulzoni,

ecclesiastical career, Moncada fled Rome for Germany, who started to use the *alias* of Flavius Mithridates precisely in this period as he was trying to escape imprisonment for an unspecified criminal offense that resulted in the loss of protection from his patron, Giovanni Battista Cybo⁶⁹. Mithridates can be traced to Florence circa 1484, where he established connections with the humanist circle of intellectuals associated with Marsilio Ficino and patronized by Lorenzo de' Medici⁷⁰. In this *milieu*, he encountered the young Count of Mirandola, Giovanni Pico, who was seeking a translator to assist him in incorporating Hebrew exegetical, Biblical, and kabbalistic texts into his philosophical research. At present, there exists no scholarly consensus regarding the specific circumstances under which the young Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola was introduced to fundamental kabbalistic notions, which subsequently led him to conceive an extensive project of translation and study of mystical and kabbalistic texts from the Jewish tradition⁷¹. It is possible that this introduction occurred in Padua, where Pico encountered Jewish philosopher Elia Del Medigo, who became his first Hebrew-to-Latin translator. Del Medigo primarily focused his translational efforts on Averroistic texts; however, he also provided Pico the titles of essential readings in Kabbalah and occasionally lent him Kabbalistic manuscripts⁷². The fertile cultural *milieu* of late 15th-century Florence may have constituted a conducive environment for such a translational endeavor. Upon his second arrival in Florence by the end of 1484, Pico joined the Medicean circle of intellectuals, which comprised figures such as Marsilio Ficino, Angelo Poliziano, Girolamo Benivieni, Lorenzo de' Medici, and others who shared a common philosophical interest in Plato and Neoplatonism⁷³. In this circle, the idea of a

1986, pp. 297-344. In 1474 Sixtus IV nominated Federico da Montefeltro duke of Urbino for his participation in an anti-Ottoman league with Persia (see A. Piemontese, *L'ambasciatore di Persia presso Federico da Montefeltro, Ludovico Bononiense O.F.M. e il Cardinale Bessarione*, in in «*Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*» XI (2004), pp. 539-565). The fact that Mithridates was working for Giovanni Battista Cybo while writing the texts in MS BAV, Urb. Lat. 1384 is confirmed by Mithridates himself at the beginning of his dedicatory letter, on fol. 1r: «Etsi negociis Reverendi Domini mei Cardinalis Melfitensis sim quotidie occupatus quae me totum sibi, tanta est illius sciendi cupiditas, vindicarunt» (Even if I am daily involved in the activities of my patron, my Reverend Mentor the Cardinal of Molfetta, which completely claim me for him, such is his desire of knowledge).

⁶⁹ For more information on Mithridates in Germany, see S. Campanini, *Mithridates redivivus. Traduire l'hébreu à la Renaissance*, in «*Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*» LXX/2 (2008), pp. 436-433; S. Campanini, *El'azar da Worms nelle traduzioni di Flavio Mitridate per Pico della Mirandola*, in G. Corazzol-M. Perani (eds.), *Flavio Mitridate Mediatore fra Culture*, pp. 47-49. According to some of Mithridates' notes throughout the translations he made for Giovanni Pico, the convert had probably committed a homicide under commission (see S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, pp. 69f. n. 106).

⁷⁰ For more information on Marsilio Ficino's encounter with Mithridates, see G. Bartolucci, *Vera Religio. Marsilio Ficino e la Tradizione Ebraica*, Torino, Paideia, 2017, pp. 65-77, esp. pp. 74-77. This chapter appeared first as an article: G. Bartolucci, *Il De Christiana religione di Marsilio Ficino e le «prime traduzioni» di Flavio Mitridate*, in «*Rinascimento*» XLVI/2 (2007), pp. 345-355.

⁷¹ See e.g. G. Busi, *Who does not wonder at this chameleon?*, in G. Busi (ed.), *Hebrew to Latin. Latin to Hebrew. The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism*, Torino, Nino Aragno Editore, 2006, pp. 167-196.

⁷² See G. Licata, *Secundum Avenroem*, pp. 17-58, 59-71, 259-282; G. Murano, *Un "codice d'autore" di Elia del Medigo appartenuto a Pico della Mirandola. Osservazione sul ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 6508*, in G. Licata-P. Terracciano (eds.), *La Lama del Sapiente*, pp. 141-177; G. Murano, *Opere di Elia del Medigo nella Biblioteca di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, in «*Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*» XXV (2019), pp. 333-370; A. Bartola, *Eliyahu del Medigo e Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. La testimonianza dei codici vaticani*, in «*Rinascimento*» XXXIII (1993), pp. 253-278.

⁷³ See e.g. P. Viti (ed.), *Pico, Poliziano e l'Umanesimo di fine Quattrocento*, Firenze, L. S. Olschki Editore, 1994.

truthful, ancient *prisca theologia* from which every other cultural and religious tradition originated had long been established as a common topic of discourse, even appearing in some of Marsilio Ficino's publications⁷⁴. The subsequent debates generated by this theory, which even postulated a Jewish origin for the Greek philosophy, resulted as well in a renewed interest in Jewish culture and Hebrew, which had not been uncommon in Florence but at the same time stood in contrast to certain positions held by early 15th-century humanists such as Leonardo Bruni, who was known to have been skeptical and wary of studying this language⁷⁵. Recent scholarship has elucidated that the kabbalistic translations commissioned by Giovanni Pico to Flavius Mithridates were not an isolated endeavor within the Florentine intellectual *milieu*. Notably, Pier Leone da Spoleto, who served as Lorenzo de Medici's physician and held a professorship in medicine at the University of Pisa, similarly commissioned vernacular translations of kabbalistic texts from Hebrew⁷⁶. This fact has problematized, or at least contextualized the idea of Giovanni Pico's primacy in kabbalistic studies

⁷⁴ Marsilio Ficino mentioned this concept even before meeting Mithridates on his *De Christiana Religione* printed in 1476 (see M. Ficino, *De Christiana Religione*, ed. G. Bartolucci, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2019; see also C. Vasoli, *Il De Christiana Religione di Marsilio Ficino. Parole chiave: religione, sapienza, profezia, vita civile, ebrei*, in «Bruniana e Campanelliana» XIII/2 (2007), pp. 403-428). For more precise information on this concept and its influence on Giovanni Pico's conception of Kabbalah, see *infra*, n. 115.

⁷⁵ For the development of humanistic interest towards Hebrew, see e.g. S. Campanini, *Ebrei ed ebraisti cristiani nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, in G. Busi-S. Greco (eds.), *Il Rinascimento Parla Ebraico*, Cinisello Balsamo-Ferrara, Silvana Editoriale-MEIS, 2019, pp. 184-195, esp. 186-188. For Leonardo Bruni's stance on the study of Hebrew, see L. Bruni, *Epistolarum Libri VIII. Pars Secunda*, Florentiae, Typographia Bernardi Paperinii, 1741 (anastatic edition printed in Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 2006), pp. 160-164 (*Liber IX*, ep. XII), esp. p. 160: «In qua [epistula] reprehendere me operam tuam, quam hebraicis litteris perdiscendis dares, te audivisse scribis, ac rationem tui facti reddens studia earum litterarum inprimis necessaria ostendere conaris. Ego autem quid tibi de me retulerit excellens ille vir, quem tu allegas, nescio. Illud tamen scio, non quasi rem turpem reprehensam fuisse a me illarum litterarum cognitionem & studium, sed quasi minus utilem, ac ut ita dixerim, supervacaneam operam» (In this [letter] you write that you had heard that I criticized your work, which you dedicated to the need of learning the Hebrew tradition. There, while you were justifying your action to me, you tried as well to show me that the study of this literary tradition is above all necessary. I really do not know what that excellent man, that you mentioned, told you about me. However, I know that I do not consider the knowledge and study of those literary tradition something indecent or to be reprimanded, but, as I said, a useless effort, even redundant) and its following justifications on his positions. For more information on the study of Hebrew in the Middle Ages and among Humanists, see G. Busi (ed.), *Hebrew to Latin Latin to Hebrew: The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism*, Torino, Nino Aragno Editore, 2006; J. Olszowy-Schlanger-N. Vidro-I. Zwiép (eds.), *A Universal Art. Hebrew Grammar across Disciplines and Faiths*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2014; D. Stein Kokin (ed.), *Hebrew Between Jews and Christians*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2023; J. Olszowy-Schlanger, *Learning Hebrew in Medieval England*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2023.

⁷⁶ See F. Bacchelli, *Pico della Mirandola traduttore di Ibn Tufayl*, in «Giornale Critico della Filosofia» XIII/1 (1993), pp. 1-25; F. Bacchelli, *Leoni (Lioni), Piero (Pier Leone, Pierleone da Spoleto)*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 64, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2005, pp. 606-610; F. Bacchelli, *Giovanni Pico e Pier Leone da Spoleto: tra Filosofia dell'Amore e Tradizione Cabalistica*, Firenze, L. S. Olschki, 2001; F. Buzzetta, *Traductions en sicilien de traités cabbalistiques: une étude du manuscrit 8526 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal de Paris*, in F. Buzzetta (ed.), *Cahier Cabbala I*, «Accademia» XI (2018), pp. 61-76; F. Buzzetta, *Pierleone da Spoleto: médecin, philosophe et cabbaliste*, in F. Buzzetta (ed.), *Cahier Cabbala I*, «Accademia» XI (2018), pp. 77-92; F. Buzzetta, *Lu Fatu de la Criacioni: una versione siciliana quattrocentesca del Ma'asè Bereshit*, in «Rassegna Mensile di Israel» LXXXVII/2 (2021), pp. 55-72; F. Buzzetta, *Cabbala e lullismo nel pensiero di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e di Pierleone da Spoleto*, in G. Licata-P. Terracciano (eds.), *La Lama del Sapiante*, pp. 27-44; S. Campanini, *Un frammento della traduzione latina del Commento al Pentateuco di Menaḥem Recanati compiuta da Flavio Mitridate per Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Gli excerpta di Pier Leone da Spoleto*, in M. Andreatta-F. Lelli (eds.), *עַרְפָּצִי-בָהּ 'Ir Ḥeḏḏi-vah. Studi di Ebraistica e Giudaistica in Onore di Giuliano Tamani*, pp. 219-314.

among Christian humanists, a topic that will be examined further in these chapters⁷⁷. It is important to note as well that Ficino's philosophical prominence, and consequently the Medicean circle that Pico frequented, originated from the translation project of Platonic texts commissioned by Cosimo the Elder, Lorenzo de' Medici's grandfather⁷⁸. As previously stated, Mithridates, who was introduced to certain kabbalistic concepts during his formative years, had by that time already offered his services as a translator from Hebrew to Latin to affluent patrons such as Federico da Montefeltro, and may have been involved in an initial rudimentary project of Hebrew to Latin translations, which he seemed to have deemed as kabbalistic to get even more credit at the eyes of the young Count⁷⁹. Therefore, as Giovanni Pico acquired an unprecedented collection of Hebrew manuscripts, Mithridates undertook the translation of thousands of pages of kabbalistic and mystical texts⁸⁰. MSS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. ebr. 189, 190, 191 as well as MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Chigi A VI 190, primarily focused on kabbalistic and mystical contents with their approximately 1750 folios (approximately 3500 pages). In conjunction with other exegetical, biblical, quranic, and philosophical texts dispersed throughout the collection of the Vatican Library, they represent only a partial testament to the extensive translational endeavor undertaken solely by Mithridates to enable Giovanni Pico to read, study, and, most importantly, comprehend kabbalistic texts⁸¹. More recent scholarly studies on this corpus of texts, and the publication of some of these translations, have demonstrated the depth of Mithridates' translational, kabbalistic, and occasionally philological competencies, his strict adherence to the Hebrew texts of his antigraphs at the expense of their Latin rendition, and his attention to elucidating (sometimes through notes directly integrated into the main text of the translation) complex passages or concepts that necessitated further clarification⁸². The in-depth examination of these manuscripts has also demonstrated Mithridates'

⁷⁷ See *infra*, pp. 71-76.

⁷⁸ See e.g. S. Gentile, *Sulle prime traduzioni dal greco di Marsilio Ficino*, in «Rinascimento» XXX (1990), pp. 57-104.

⁷⁹ See *supra* n. 69 and *infra* pp. 32-35.

⁸⁰ According to Jean Pierre Rothschild, the Hebrew Library of Giovanni Pico was one of the largest collections of that time, surpassed only by the one that belonged to the Finzi family (See J.P. Rothschild, *Les listes de livres, reflet de la culture des Juifs en Italie du Nord au XVe et au XVIe siècle?*, in G. Tamani-A. Vivian (eds.), *Manoscritti, Frammenti e Libri Ebraici nell'Italia dei Secoli XV-XVI. Atti del VII Congresso internazionale dell'AIISG, S. Miniato, Novembre 1988*, Roma, Carucci Editore, 1991, pp. 163-193. Giovanna Murano has recently underwent a thorough research, re-order, and reconstruction of the information on Giovanni Pico's Hebrew library, see G. Murano, *La Biblioteca Arabo-Ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2022 (on this book and some of the hypotheses it makes on Giovanni Pico's library and Mithridates' translation, see the review S. Campanini, *Recensione a: Giovanna Murano, La biblioteca arabo-ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 2022*, in «Bibliothecae.it» XII (2023), pp. 612-616; S. Campanini, *Due manoscritti ebraici monacensi dalla biblioteca di Pico?*, in F. Borghesi (ed.), *La Biblioteca di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Tra Bilanci e Prospettive di Ricerca*, Bologna, Marietti 1820, 2024, pp. 241-259).

⁸¹ For a more thorough description of the texts translated or worked upon by Mithridates for Giovanni Pico and their editions, see *infra*, pp. 37-51.

⁸² The main scholarly endeavor which studied, edited, and published Mithridates' translations for Giovanni Pico as well as the Hebrew texts these translations were originated from is the international project "The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola", see *supra* n. 8.

occasional sloppiness, the fatigue he accumulated while undertaking such an extensive translational endeavor, and his errors, particularly when they influenced Giovanni Pico's interpretation of kabbalistic concepts⁸³. Hayyim Wirszubski's research on these translations, while significant for disseminating interest in Mithridates' work for Giovanni Pico, concentrated on the most contentious aspects of his output and contributed to propagating the general perception that Moncada was not a reliable translator⁸⁴. The idea that Mithridates extensively utilized Christianizing interpolations and misinterpretations, potentially misleading his patron and rendering him an untrustworthy kabbalistic source, although consistent with his previous conduct at the Papal court, has been significantly challenged by the comprehensive examination of his extant works⁸⁵. This reexamination of Mithridates' teaching abilities has also led to a more nuanced reassessment of the relationship between Giovanni Pico and his translator. Notes and glosses by Giovanni Pico himself serve as evidence of his extensive, albeit potentially incomplete, study of these materials, which were typically previously noted with signs of attention and explanations by Mithridates, who tried to guide the kabbalistic interpretations of his patron⁸⁶. Mithridates' significant contribution to Giovanni Pico's cultural project was emphasized to the extent of asserting Giovanni Pico's cultural and translational dependence on Mithridates and his translations⁸⁷. Nevertheless, a more comprehensive analysis of Mithridates' extant manuscripts reveals a potentially more balanced relationship between the two. Mithridates' frequent comments on his translational choices and capabilities was intended to emphasize to Giovanni Pico

⁸³ See e.g. S. Campanini, "Sine me non intelliges". *L'edizione della biblioteca cabbalistica di Giovanni Pico: acquisizioni e prospettive*, in G. Licata-P. Terracciano (eds.), *La Lama del Sapiente*, pp. 19-21. There we see the description of a mistake by Mithridates in interpreting the subdivision of the texts in MS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209 between foll. 1r-38r, attributing in translation of these pages four short kabbalistic treatises between fol. 29v-38r to *Sefer ha-Bahir*. This error transpired in Giovanni Pico's *Conclusiones Nongentae*. In his *Conclusio XV secundum propriam opinionem de intelligentia dictorum Zoroastris et expositorum Chaldeorum* (15th Conclusion according to his own opinion on understanding the sayings of Zoroaster and his Chaldean commentators), Pico says: Quid sit intelligendum per *capras* apud Zoroastrem intelliget qui legerit in libro *Bahir* quae sit affinitas capris et quae agnis cum spiritibus (One who has read in the book *Bahir* about what the affinity is that goats have with spirits and also the affinity that lambs have will understand how *goats* should be understood for Zoroaster. See G. Pico della Mirandola, *900 Conclusions*, pp. 140f). Since there is no mention of she-goats in *Sefer ha-Bahir*, scholars have agreed that Giovanni Pico based his conclusion on *Inyan ha-Gadol*, which in Mithridates' Hebrew antigraph follows the *Sefer ha-Bahir* and was included in Mithridates' Latin translation of the *Bahir* and the following treatises titled *Fragmenta libri Bahir* on foll. 288r-335v of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191 (See also G. Corazzol, *Le fonti caldaiche dell'Oratio: indagine sui presupposti cabbalistici della concezione pichiana dell'uomo*, in «Accademia. Revue de la Société Marsile Ficini» XV (2013), pp. 9-62).

⁸⁴ See e.g. H. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 106-113. For a more nuanced approach to Mithridates' eventual christianizing interpretations of kabbalistic texts, see F. Dal Bo, *A reading of the "Epistle to the Romans" in Mithridates' Latin translation of Yosef Gikatilla's "Gates of Justice" for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, in G. Corazzol-M. Perani (eds.), *Flavio Mitridate Mediatore fra Culture*, pp. 137-148.

⁸⁵ See e.g. S. Campanini, *The Book of Bahir*, pp. 78-83; S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, pp. 79-87; A. Martini (ed.), *Yosef Gikatilla, The Book of Punctuation*, pp. 192-210.

⁸⁶ See S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, pp. 69-73 (especially the notes) and S. Campanini, "Sine me non intelliges", p. 18, where there is a lengthy comment on a note on fol. 365v of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190: «Mira sunt haec omnia signata» (Look, these [passages] are all signalled). For Mithridates' notes, comments and translational techniques applied in his Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, see *infra*, pp. 168-177.

⁸⁷ See e.g. S. Campanini, "Sine me non intelliges", pp. 19-25.

the importance of his role as a mediator for kabbalistic content. Additionally, these comments serve as evidence of Mithridates' desire for validation and recognition from his young patron to maintain his lucrative and productive commission⁸⁸. Based on the analysis of the extant Hebrew antigraph of Mithridates' translations, specifically MS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209, in comparison with its Latin translations in MS BAV, Vat. ebr. 191, it can be inferred that the translational work commissioned by Giovanni Pico to Mithridates was a close, albeit not always concurrent, collaborative process between the two intellectuals. Giovanni Pico provided Mithridates with the kabbalistic manuscripts he was able to acquire through various means, including market purchases, travels, and loans⁸⁹. Mithridates subsequently translated the Hebrew texts contained in Pico's manuscripts in accordance with the young Count's requirements and his comprehensive cultural program. Thereafter, Pico more or less independently studied these materials, sometimes even requiring additional explanations from his translator, and ultimately compensated Mithridates commensurate with his level of satisfaction⁹⁰. The relationship between Giovanni Pico and Mithridates that appears from this translational effort is multifaceted and complex: Mithridates certainly served as a mentor in Hebrew and Kabbalah who even required Pico, his student, to maintain confidentiality regarding his teachings⁹¹. Simultaneously, the Count of Mirandola emerges distinctly from Mithridates' notes as a wealthy patron, who furnished Mithridates with manuscripts for translation and initially regarded him as a mentor, while later treating him as a client.⁹² Mithridates' propensity to incorporate into his translations jokes, mockeries, vulgar anecdotes, and gossip about his patron, the Florentine intellectual circle, and the papal court in Rome, renders this *corpus* an

⁸⁸ See S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, pp. 70-72 nn. 55-65; S. Campanini, "Sine me non intelliges", p. 13 n.2f.

⁸⁹ On Giovanni Pico's purchase of books for his translations, see G. Murano, *La Biblioteca Arabo-Ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 88-90. Later in this chapter, we are going to discuss in-depth the titles chosen for Mithridates' translations, see *infra*, pp. 46-51.

⁹⁰ See S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, p. 79 nn. 102-104, where it becomes clear that Pico's payment of Mithridates' services did not always correspond to a simple monetary transaction (see also *infra*, pp.163f.).

⁹¹ See G. Busi, *Who does not wonder at this chameleon?*, pp. 189-192, esp. p. 191 n. 58 where it is reported the following passage from Giovanni Pico's letter to an unknown friend: «Alphabetum Chaldaicum, quod petis, nec a Mithridate impetrasses: nihil per illum licet ut a me impetrare possis, a quo posses omnia. Nam ille docere me Chaldaicam linguam nulla voluit ratione, nisi adiuratum prius, et quidem conceptis verbis, ne illa cuiquam traderem: facere fidem huius rei tibi potest noster Hieronymus Benivenius, qui cum adesset forte dum me ille docebat, furens Mithridates hominem eliminavit» (You could not have obtained the Chaldean alphabet which you ask from Mithridates: because of him you cannot obtain anything from me, from whom you could [obtain] everything. In fact, he did not want to teach me the Chaldean language for any reason, unless I swore before, and with specific words, that I would not teach it to anyone: our Girolamo Benivieni can confirm you this fact, since when he by chance came by, while he was teaching it to me, a furious Mithridates chased the man away). For further information regarding this anonymous correspondence and the potential identification of its intended recipient with Marsilio Ficino, see G. Corazzol, "Chiunque tu sia, sarai nostro amico", *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola-Amico Ignoto: Carteggio (Autunno 1486-Primavera 1487)*, in «Materia Giudaica» XXIII (2018), pp. 429-457.

⁹² For further information on Giovanni Pico's disinterest towards Mithridates in the later stages of their relationship, see *infra*, n. 93 and 95.

exceptional historical source, both intrinsic to the intellectual project of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and to the broader cultural, religious, and political *milieu* of Italy during that period⁹³. The analysis of the actual content of these translations also facilitates the reconstruction of the trajectory of Mithridates' collaboration with Giovanni Pico, from its initial stages in studying Kabbalistic texts to the period subsequent to Pico's Inquisition controversy. Insults, revindications, and deep disappointment directed at Giovanni Pico appear in some of Mithridates' comments on the last translations compiled for his patron⁹⁴. Conversely, Giovanni Pico, who had initially paid homage to Mithridates in the earliest version of the *Oratio*, subsequently opted to omit any reference to him upon reorganizing those same materials for his *Apologia*⁹⁵. This modification may have been precipitated not only by the decline of the relationship between the two individuals, but also by the precarious situation in which Giovanni Pico found himself. As previously stated, Pope Innocent VIII, who had been Mithridates' former patron before his actions led him to flee to Germany less than a decade prior to Pico's trial, ordered the establishment of an Inquisition commission against the young Count of Mirandola⁹⁶. Given that Pope Innocent VIII would have been the ultimate arbiter in his Inquisition case, Giovanni Pico might have deemed it more prudent to refrain from mentioning such a controversial figure in his published works⁹⁷. The profound deterioration of Mithridates and Pico's relationship by the conclusion of their collaboration, and its intricate entanglement with the papal court, is evidenced by the fate of the majority of Mithridates' translations for Giovanni Pico. The extant manuscripts of Mithridates' kabbalistic works fell in fact into possession of the Master of the Papal House, who subsequently presented them to Pope, thereby inserting them into one of the initial collections of the Vatican Library⁹⁸. This event occurred after Mithridates' detainment around 1489

⁹³ See , S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, pp. 76-89 (especially the notes where direct quotations from Mithridates' manuscripts are transcribed).

⁹⁴ See e.g. a note on fol. 200v MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190: «Fl. Guillelmus ramundus mythridates philosophus medicus et theologus et linguarum hebraice arabice chaldaice grece et latine Interpres transtulit Ad picum deceptorem fraudulentum fidifragum et verbifragum [...] qui fuit acer in principio et fractus In fine Itaque de eo dixit poeta Parturient montes nascetur ridiculus mus» (Flavius Guillelmus Raymundus Mithridates, the philosopher, physician, theologian and interpreter of the Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldean, Greek and Latin languages, translated this piece for Pico, the deceiver, fraudulent, the betrayer of pacts and words [...] he who was sharp in the beginning and pointless in the end. Therefore, for him the poet said: "The mountains will go into labor and a ridiculous mouse will be born"). See also, S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, p. 79 n. 102, where Mithridates claims that his services were not paid as promised.

⁹⁵ See MS Firenze, BNCF, Pal. 885: «Vidi ad hoc munus necessarium esse non graecae modo et latinae, sed hebraicae quoque atque chaldaicae et, cui nunc primum sub Mithridate Gulielmo harum linguarum interprete peritissimo insudare coepi, arabicae linguae cognitionem» (To this end, I deemed it essential to acquire knowledge not only of Greek and Latin, but also of Hebrew and Chaldean, and also Arabic. I began this endeavor under the tutelage of Guillelmus Mithridates, the most skilled translator of these languages). See P. E. Fornaciari, *Appendice I. Note sulla Figura di Flavio Mitridate*, in G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, pp. 415-419, esp. 418; G. Pico della Mirandola, *Discorso sulla Dignità dell'Uomo*, p. 150; E. Garin, *La Cultura Filosofica del Rinascimento Italiano*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1961, pp. 238f.

⁹⁶ See *supra* n. 41 and *infra* n. 103.

⁹⁷ See *supra* n. 45.

⁹⁸ See e.g. G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio e di Altra Biblioteca Ignota del Secolo XVI Esistenti nell'Ottoboniana e i Codici Greci Pio di Modena con una Digressione per la Storia dei Codici di S. Pietro in Vaticano*,

in Viterbo, in obedience to the direct order of Innocent VIII himself, who, as previously noted, had formerly been his benefactor⁹⁹. At the time of his arrest, Mithridates was carrying a *hoarse load* of books, which included his translations for Giovanni Pico and probably the two manuscripts copied by his family members mentioned at the beginning of this chapter¹⁰⁰. By 1489, Giovanni Pico's Inquisition proceedings had come to an end and he had safely managed to return to Florence. Nevertheless, the Count of Mirandola and Concordia remained excommunicated, and his theories faced vehement opposition within the Roman Curia, particularly following the publication of Pico's commentary on the Creation, the *Heptaplus*, which extensively utilized kabbalistic interpretations and concepts derived from the Jewish tradition¹⁰¹. Given the sensitive nature of Giovanni Pico's personal circumstances, it is unsurprising that he endeavored to retrieve Mithridates' books with utmost discretion¹⁰². This secrecy was necessitated not only by the controversial subject represented by the kabbalistic translations themselves but also by the presence of numerous compromising annotations that both he and, more significantly, Mithridates had interspersed throughout these manuscripts¹⁰³. The correspondence dispatched by Giovanni Pico in an attempt to resolve the matter of Mithridates' books does not indicate any particular concern on the part of the Count of Mirandola

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938, pp. 1-38. See also, M. Pepoli, *Storia di un manoscritto dai proprietari illustri*, pp. 190-192.

⁹⁹ See A. Frugoni, *Carteggio Umanistico di Alessandro Farnese (dal cod. Gl. Kgl. S. 2125, Copenhagen)*, Firenze, L. S. Olschki, 1950, p. 39 n. 26; G. Busi, *Who does not wonder at this chameleon?*, p. 194 n. 63: «Probably in March-April 1489 Ciriaco del Borgo (Pico's secretary) wrote to Piero Dovizi: "Egl'e preso ad Viterbo uno Guiglelmo Mithridate ad posta di Nostro Signore el quale ha dimolti boni libri. El conte desidera instantemente di vederli..." (A certain Guiglelmo Mithridates has been imprisoned in Viterbo by will of our Master [the Pope]. He has many good books and the Count would like to see them immediately)».

¹⁰⁰ See G. Busi, *Who does not wonder at this chameleon?*, p. 193, n. 65: «"E libri di Mitridate sono in tutto una soma et saria fussi bene i venissi qualchuno che sapessi questo quanto il conte vuole" (And Mithridates' books are all together a horse load and it would be good that someone comes who knows what the Count wants) Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo avanti il principato 59, 158». See also R.M. Zaccaria-L. Lanza, *Lorenzo per Pico*, p. 79.

¹⁰¹ A letter from Giovanni Lanfredini, Lorenzo de' Medici's ambassador in Rome, reports in direct quotes the vehement reaction of Pope Innocent VIII to the *Heptaplus*: «Et dixit: "Costui cercha di finire male et essere un di arso o vituperato in eterno come è stato qualchuno altro. Queste cose della fede sono troppo tenere et proibite, et non posso tollerarle. Scrivete a L(orenz)o: Se lui gli vuole molto bene, che lo facci scrivere opere di poesia et non cose theologiche perché saranno più de sua denti [...]» (And he said: This man [Pico] is trying his best to end up badly and be burnt at stake or eternally condemned as some did before him. These matters of faith are too delicate and prohibited, I cannot tolerate them! Write to Lorenzo [de' Medici]: if he cares so very much about him, he should let him [Pico] write only about poetry, not theology, as he would be biting more than he can chew. See Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo avanti il principato 58, 96). Lorenzo later replied to this letter, by defending the young Count of Miandola: «Ho inteso con grandissima mia molestia il carico che si dà a quest'opera della Mirandola [...]. Sono certo, se costui dicesse el Credo, cotesti spiriti maligni direbbono che fussi una heresia» (I have heard with utmost nuisance about the heavy burden inflicted upon this work by Mirandola [...]. I am sure that even if he recited the Creed, these malevolent spirits would say that it was a heresy». (For more documents about Lorenzo de' Medici, Giovanni Pico and the period after the publication of the *Heptaplus*, see R.M. Zaccaria-L. Lanza, *Lorenzo per Pico*, pp. 76-78).

¹⁰² See G. Busi, *Who does not wonder at this chameleon?*, pp. 192-194, esp. n. 67. See also the transcription of Giovanni Pico's letter to Nicolao Michelozzi where he swears him to secrecy in E. Garin (ed.), *La Cultura Filosofica del Rinascimento Italiano*, p. 276.

¹⁰³ See S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, pp. 76-78. One should also consider that the Master of the Papal House who received Mithridates' books was Jean de Monissart, who had also been part of the Inquisition commission against Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (See L. Dorez-L. Thuasne, *Pic de la Mirandole en France*, pp. 114-146).

regarding the specifics of Mithridates' circumstances during his detention, serving as conclusive evidence of an ultimately strained relationship between the two individuals, if not as an allusive proof of Mithridates' death in custody. Regarding Mithridates' fate in fact, extant records provide no further information about his activities following his arrest in 1489¹⁰⁴.

1.3 Giovanni Pico's ideas on Kabbalah in light of Mithridates, supersessionism, and anti-Jewish prejudice

As previously stated, Giovanni Pico thought that the "prima et vera Cabala" was an ancient tradition revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai, transmitted orally and subsequently codified at the time of Esdras in 70 books, three of which were translated in Rome during the papacy of Sixtus IV. In this context, Giovanni Pico believed to have been the first among Christians to have explicitly mentioned Kabbalah, and to have understood the potential of this doctrine in precurring and confirming Christian dogma. In addressing the practical aspect of Giovanni Pico's approach to Kabbalah, the significance of Mithridates' role as a translator, whose work was essential for Giovanni Pico to access kabbalistic texts, has been extensively examined in its nuances in the preceding chapter. Another critical aspect of Mithridates' influence on Giovanni Pico pertains to his capacity as a teacher to shape his student's conceptualization of Kabbalah as a doctrine. As elucidated in a seminal article by Giacomo Corazzol, Giovanni Pico's conception of "prima et vera Cabala" is the product of the convergence of multiple theories that Mithridates adeptly synthesized, sometimes manipulated, and finally unified to satisfy his patron(s) for his optimal personal benefit¹⁰⁵. According to Corazzol's reconstruction, after delivering his homily on the Good Friday, Mithridates is believed to have translated a series of Hebrew texts from Late Antiquity, specifically *Sefer ha-Qabbalah* by Abraham Ibn Dawd, *Seder 'Olam Raba*, and potentially some excerpts from the Talmudic treatise of *'Avodah Zara*¹⁰⁶. The selection of these specific texts appears to have been deliberate, when contextualized within the framework of major historical translations and research of ancient sources promoted by the Popes during the XV century¹⁰⁷. More specifically, Sixtus IV, in an effort to establish the importance of his papacy from a political, cultural, and concomitantly religious point of view, began attributing substantial importance to the biblical figure of Moses, who concurrently held the roles of legislator,

¹⁰⁴ The hypothesis of Mithridates' survival to his arrest in Viterbo and his meeting with forger Annio da Viterbo presented in A. Scandaliato-G. Mandalà, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada e Annio da Viterbo: proposte di identificazione e prospettive di ricerca*, in G. Corazzol-M. Perani (eds.), *Flavio Mitridate Mediatore fra Culture nel Contesto dell'Ebraismo Siciliano del XV Secolo*, pp. 201-218 is not widely accepted.

¹⁰⁵ See G. Corazzol, *L'influsso di Mitridate sulla concezione pichiana di cabala*, in G. Corazzol-M. Perani (eds.), *Flavio Mitridate Mediatore fra Culture*, pp. 149-200.

¹⁰⁶ See *Ibidem*, pp. 154-159.

¹⁰⁷ See *Ibidem*, pp. 160-162; see also E. B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography*, London, Hambledon Press, 1983.

monarch, and priest. The cultural significance of Moses in affirming Sixtus IV's papacy culminated in the conceptualization of the fresco cycle commissioned for the Sistine Chapel, which features Moses as its central figure¹⁰⁸. In this context, Mithridates not only contributed to the papal cause through his translational work from Hebrew to Latin but also through the content of his *Sermo de Passione Domini*, the Good Friday homily of 1481¹⁰⁹. In his homily, Mithridates, while reexamining Raimon Martí's *Pugio Fidei*, introduced the concept of a *Vetus Talmud*, an ancient Jewish tradition purportedly inaccessible to Jews before the age of 40, which allegedly prefigured and corroborated Christian dogmas and the identification of Jesus as the Messiah¹¹⁰. According to an account by Konrad Summerhardt, even after Mithridates fled Rome and sought refuge in Germany, the convert continued to recall this narrative, now apparently defined as "cabala", and utilized manipulated portions of his translations to appeal to his Christian audience¹¹¹. Summerhardt specifically addresses Mithridates' distinctive interpretation of a passage from *Seder 'Olam Raba*, which pertains to Moses' blessing of the people of Israel and the concept of God's Presence, the *Shekhinah*, destined to be bestowed upon them¹¹². The distinctive Latin rendition of this piece translated by Mithridates appears

¹⁰⁸ For the project of the fresco on Moses in the Sistine Chapel, see L. D. Ettlinger, *The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo. Religious Imagery and Papal Primacy*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965; L. Onofri, *Figure di potere e paradigmi culturali*, in M. Miglio-F. Niutta-D. Quaglioni-C. Ranieri (eds.), *Un Pontificato ed una Città: Sisto IV (1471-1484). Atti del Convegno. Roma, 3-7 Dicembre 1984*, Città del Vaticano, Pliniana, 1986, pp. 57-79; G. Corazzol, *L'influsso di Mitridate sulla concezione pichiana di cabala*, pp. 163-169; F. Lelli, *Mosè Mago nel Rinascimento fra Ebraismo e Cristianesimo*, in E. Abate (ed), *L'Eredità di Salomone. La Magia Ebraica in Italia e nel Mediterraneo*, Firenze, Giuntina, 2019, pp. 99-118.

¹⁰⁹ On the Papal Court's stance on the Jews at the time of Sixtus IV, see D. Quaglioni, *Propaganda antiebraica e polemiche di Curia*, in M. Miglio-F. Niutta-D. Quaglioni-C. Ranieri (eds.), *Un Pontificato ed una Città: Sisto IV (1471-1484)*, pp. 243-266; see also *supra* n. 66.

¹¹⁰ See G. Bartolucci, *Vera Religio*, pp. 45-63. This chapter first appeared as G. Bartolucci, "Per dicta antiquorum Talmudistarum": Flavio Mitridate, Paolo di Santa Maria e l'antico Talmud, in G. Corazzol-M. Perani (eds.), *Flavio Mitridate Mediatore fra Culture*, pp. 91-104.

¹¹¹ At this point of his recount, Summerhardt had already recalled his meeting with Mithridates in Tübingen, and before that had mentioned the books the convert had translated under Sixtus IV, especially the *Seder 'Olam Raba* mentioned as *Cedar Holam* (see K. Summerhardt, *Tractatus Bipartitus*, Tübingen, Johann Otmar, 1498, cc. Kiir-Kiiv: this story is very close to the one narrated in Giovanni Pico's *Apologia*, see *supra* n. 20, which at the time of Summerhardt's publication had already been printed for more than a decade. This fact led some scholars to hypothesize that Summerhardt was trying to align his account with Giovanni Pico's, see F. Mithridates, *Sermo de Passione Domini*, p. 66; F. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Milano, Archè, 2006, p. 25). Summerhardt then added: «Nec minus similem sententiam in uno praedictorum librorum contineri: eodem auctore transferente et mihi referente: sic sonante ut sequitur didici: Ut Moyses vidit operis huicemodi succedere: multitudini benedixit: et quomodo benedixit quia apperuit in opere manuum vestrarum ex mente dei fore divinitatem: sponte carnem seu humana membra accepturam. Rabi Meyres aliter ipsum apperuisse interpretatus est: scilicet felices estis qui electam edem habere meruistis: in cuius medio divinitas carnem vel hominem induit ut scribitur et facient mihi sanctuarium ut divinitas mea sit inter eos» (Ibidem, c. Kiiv: And there is quite a similar passage which is contained one of the books we have already mentioned: which was translated by that same author, who also referred it to me: it sounds as it follows: when Moses saw that such works succeeded, he blessed the crowd: and how did he bless them? Since it appeared from the work of your own hands that from God's mind there will be a divine presence that is destined to accept spontaneously the flesh or the human body. Rabbi Me'ir interpreted differently that same "appeared", that is: Blessed you be, as you deserved to have such a chosen temple: in the middle of which the divine presence will dress with flesh or human form, as it is written: and you will make me a sanctuary so that my Divine Presence shall be among them).

¹¹² Haim Wirszubski quoted this passage while commenting Flavius Mithridates' *Sermo de Passione Domini*, pp. 68f. in the version of G. Genebrard, *סדר עולם רבא hoc est Chronologia Hebraeorum maior*, Basel, Froben, 1580: «וירא משה את כל המלאכה והנה עשו אותה כאשר צוה ה' כן עשו ויברך אותם משה. מה ברכה ברכם? אמר להם: יהי רצון שתשרה השכינה במעשה ידיכם... ר' מעיר

to have led his Christian audience to conclude that it specifically foreshadowed the concept of Incarnation¹¹³. The aforementioned passage from Mithridates' translation of *Seder 'Olam Raba* was cited by Marsilio Ficino in his vernacular final edition of *De Christiana Religione*, published in Pisa in 1484¹¹⁴. By this time, Mithridates had already arrived in Florence and begun adapting his theory on the *Vetus Talmud*/cabala to the cultural needs of the Medicean Neoplatonic circle. As previously noted, upon Mithridates' arrival in Florence, Marsilio Ficino had already commenced promoting among Italian intellectuals the concept of *prisca theologia*, a primordial concordance and religious inspiration common to all theological traditions of antiquity, from Hermetism to Neoplatonism, which culminated in the Christian Revelation¹¹⁵. In the Latin versions of his *De Christiana Religione*, through the mediation of Pablo of Burgos' *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, Ficino had already begun to cite passages from the kabbalistic text *Sefer ha-Bahir* (The Book of Illumination) and to acknowledge the authority attributed to kabbalists such as Naḥmanides¹¹⁶. Some scholars posit that a copy of a Latin translation of *Sefer Yetzirah* (The Book of Formation), contained in MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 868 was likely commissioned by Pier Leone da Spoleto, Lorenzo de Medici's physician, and was in circulation prior to Mithridates' arrival in Florence¹¹⁷. In this particularly fertile intellectual

אומר לא כן אמר להם אלא ה' אלהי אבותיכם יוסף עליכם וגו'. אמר לכם: אשריכם ישראל שזכייתם לעבודת המשכן וכשם שזכייתם לכך כך תזכו שניתן לכם בית הבחירה ושתישרה שכינה בתוכם שג' ועשו לי מקדש ושכנתי בתוכם»

(And Moses saw all the work and behold they made it according to how the Lord ordered them to make it, and Moses blessed them. What blessing blessed them? He said: «May His will be that the Divine presence shall dwell in the work of your hands» [...]. Rabbi Me'ir did not say it like this, he [Moses] indeed told them these [words]: «May the Lord, God of your fathers, of Joseph, be upon you etc. He told you: «Blessed be you, oh Israel, who achieved to serve the Tabernacle, and as you achieved this, you will achieve that a chosen temple will be given to you, and there will dwell among you the Divine Presence, as it was said: *You will make me a sanctuary so that my Divine Presence will be among you* (Ex 25:8)»).

¹¹³ See *supra* n. 112. For a lengthier analysis of Mithridates' translational choices compared to the actual meaning of the words in this passage, see G. Corazzol, *L'influsso di Mitridate sulla concezione pichiana di cabala*, pp. 163-165.

¹¹⁴ See M. Ficino, *Della Christiana Religione*, Pisa, Lorenzo e Agnolo Fiorentini, 2 giugno 1484, pp. hiiiir-hiiiv: «Hesdra nell'antico Thalmuth, nel libro *Sederholam*, disegna Idio dover assumere l'humana natura così dicendo: “Quando Moyse vide tali opere circa il tabernacolo ben procedere, benedixit la multitudinem. Et come la benedixit manifestò una opera manufacta dover essere che la divinità spontaneamente ricevesti carne, o vero, membri humani. Raby Moyses interpretò lui havere in altro modo disposto, cioè hever decto che molte volte altrettanto sarebbe l'acquisto sopra loro secondo la mente del padre Idio. Et dipoi haver aggiunto queste parole: “Voi siete felici perché havete meritato havere el tempio electo nel mezo del quale la divinità spontaneamente si vestirà di carne, o vero, d'huomo, perché così è scripto: Costoro faranno a me el santuario acciochè la divinità mia sia intra loro». See G. Bartolucci, *Vera Religio*, pp. 65-77.

¹¹⁵ On the concept of *prisca theologia*, see e.g. E. Garin, *Ermetismo nel Rinascimento*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1988; C. Vasoli, *Il mito dei “prisci theologi” come “ideologia” della “renovatio”*, in C. Vasoli (ed.), *Quasi sit Deus. Studi su Marsilio Ficino*, Lecce, Conte, 1999, pp. 11-50. For further information on the influence of Jewish thought on Ficino's philosophy and idea of *prisca theologia*, see M. Idel, *Prisca Theologia in Marsilio Ficino and in some Jewish Treatments*, in M.J.B. Allen-V. Rees (eds.), *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, Brill, 2002, pp. 137-158. See also G. Bartolucci, *Vera Religio*, pp. 21-77. See also F. Lelli, *Prisca Philosophia and Docta Religio. The Boundaries of Rational Knowledge in Jewish and Christian Humanist Thought*, in «Jewish Quarterly Review», XCI (2000), pp. 53-100.

¹¹⁶ See G. Bartolucci, *Vera Religio*, pp. 55-63, esp. p. 59. See also M. Ficino, *De Christiana Religione*: «Antiquus etiam ille et illustris theologus Rabi Neuma, in libro, qui Lucidus inscribitur, dictum illud Salomonis exponens in Proverbiis: Iustus est fundamentum sempiternum, interrogat, quid hoc sibi velit dicere» (Also the very ancient and illustrious theologian Rabbi Neḥunyah in the book, that is titled Bright, while explaining that famous saying of Solomon in the Book of Proverbs: «The just man is an eternal foundation» asks what it might mean?).

¹¹⁷ See F. Bacchelli, *Giovanni Pico e Pier Leone da Spoleto*, pp. 31-36; F. Buzzetta, *Traductions en sicilien de traités cabbalistiques*, p. 64, see also *infra*, pp. 64-66.

context, the convergence of Mithridates' concept of *Vetus Talmud*/cabala and Ficino's theory of a *prisca theologia*, coupled with his evident fascination with mystical Jewish doctrines, reached its culmination upon Giovanni Pico's arrival in Florence. Through his collaboration with the young Count of Mirandola, Mithridates ultimately succeeded in connecting those same ideas with the mystical doctrines that emerged from his translations for his patron of exegetical, biblical, and ultimately kabbalistic texts from the Jewish tradition¹¹⁸. In light of these considerations, Mithridates exhibited not only the chameleontic capacity to adaptively integrate his knowledge of Jewish tradition into the political and cultural agendas promoted by his patrons but also the ability to shape their perception of these subjects in a manner that enabled him to continuously provide them additional information for his maximal personal advantage. This capacity to adapt and reformulate theories to align with the interests of his patrons was facilitated not only by Mithridates' adept persuasive abilities but also by the expectations inherent in Sixtus IV's reception of Moses as a biblical figure, partially in Ficino's concept of *prisca theologia* culminating in Christian Revelation, and especially in Giovanni Pico's approach to the Jewish tradition, particularly Kabbalah. These concepts were, in fact, profoundly influenced by the supersessionist perspective that was almost universally upheld by Christian intellectuals and theologians of the late 15th century. This perspective enabled them to postulate that an ancient tradition, even when developed and codified within a strictly Jewish context, was alluding to Christian doctrine. Supersessionism, a theological concept adopted in Christianity from its early establishment as a distinct religion from Judaism, posits that through the mediation of Jesus Christ as the Messiah, a new, universal covenant between humanity and God was established, superseding the previous biblical alliance between the Jewish people and God¹¹⁹. In light of this replacement, after a lengthy discussion on how to deal with Jewish biblical tradition, which was still undergoing a process of canonization even among the Jewish communities, Christians came to identify the Hebrew Bible as the Old Testament, an ancient sacred text that preluded to and therefore should be re-interpreted in light of the New Testament, the *corpus* of texts inspired by the life and

¹¹⁸ See G. Corazzol, *L'influsso di Mitridate sulla concezione pichiana di cabala*, pp. 169-200. For further information on Giovanni Pico's kabbalistic imagery, see G. Busi-R. Ebgi, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Mito, Magia e Qabbalah*, Torino, Einaudi, 2014.

¹¹⁹ See e.g. E. Zenger, *L'alleanza mai revocata. Inizi di una teologia cristiana dell'Ebraismo*, in N.J. Hofmann-J. Sievers-M. Mottolese, *Chiesa ed Ebraismo Oggi. Percorsi Fatti, Questioni Aperte*, Roma, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2005, pp. 111-134; M.J. Vlach, *Has the Church Replaced Israel? A Theological Evaluation*, Nashville (TN), B&H Publishing Group, 2010; G.D. Cova-C. Neri-E. Norelli (eds.), *La Chiesa al posto d'Israele? La Nascita di un'Ideologia nella Separazione tra Cristiani ed Ebrei nel II/III secolo. The Parting of the Ways and/as Supersessionism*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2021, esp. E. Norelli, *Verso le ideologie della sostituzione nel II secolo*, pp. 39-116; B. A. Edsall-J. Schröter-J. Verheyden (eds.), *Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE?*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2021; M.F. Bird, *Supersessionism*, in S. McKnight-L.H. Cohick-N.K. Gupta (eds.), *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship*, Lisle (IL), IVP Academic, 2023, pp. 1027-1030.

doctrines of Jesus and his followers¹²⁰. This mechanism of universalistic appropriation and reelaboration of Jewish doctrines consistently underpins the concept of Kabbalah and Jewish tradition “Christianam religionem maxime confirmantes” presented in essentially all of Giovanni Pico’s works, both preceding and following his Inquisition trial¹²¹. In broader terms, the supersessionist approach, which led to the universalization of the Christian message, brought about a significant challenge in the Christian world from Antiquity to the Middle Ages (and beyond) in accepting the Jewish people as a distinct religious minority that did not acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah or recognize the validity Christian doctrines¹²². As centuries progressed, the unfulfillment of Christian universalistic expectations led to the establishment of an anti-Jewish prejudice characterized by intellectual malice and perceived obstinacy in resisting conversion, which frequently served as the moral justification for persecution, mob violence, and acts of forced conversion¹²³. In this context, the notion that conversion could be achieved through the study and utilization in public debates and homilies—to which the local Jewish population was compelled to listen—of Jewish midrashic, and in some instances, even Talmudic traditions, is a noteworthy feature of Medieval anti-Jewish polemics¹²⁴. Given the context of profound skepticism toward the Jewish people and their traditions, in which Giovanni Pico attempted to introduce the novel concept of “cabala”, it is not unexpected that the young Count of Mirandola sought to appease his ecclesiastical audience by emphasizing the significance of this tradition in corroborating Christian doctrines, and consequently, in facilitating the conversion of Jews¹²⁵. When Giovanni Pico’s theories on Kabbalah became subject to the scrutiny of the Inquisition and the ecclesiastical commission that investigated his case questioned the efficacy

¹²⁰ On the process of formation and canonization of the biblical texts, see e.g. E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*, Leiden, Brill, 2015. For further information on the Christian biblical canon and its canonization, see e.g. E.L. Gallagher-J. D. Meade, *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017; see also G. Boccaccini-G. Mariotti, *Paolo di Tarso. Un Ebreo del suo Tempo*, Roma, Carocci Editore, 2025, pp. 50-57.

¹²¹ See *supra*, pp. 19f., but consider also the example from Pico’s *Heptaplus* reported in G. Corazzol, *L’influsso di Mitridate sulla concezione pichiana di cabala*, pp. 185-200.

¹²² See e.g. D. Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism. The Western Tradition*, New York-London, W.W. Norton & Co., 2013, pp. 86-130.

¹²³ See e.g. D. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996; J. Elukin, *Living Together. Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages*, Princeton-Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2007.

¹²⁴ See F. Steinhaus, *Predicatori e scrittori antiebraici nella Spagna del Quattrocento*, in «La Rassegna Mensile di Israel» XXXV/1 (1969), pp. 30-35; A. Funkenstein, *Reflections on Medieval Anti-Judaism. 3 basic types of Christian Anti-Jewish Polemics in the Later Middle Ages*, in «Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies» II (1972), pp. 373-382; J. Coen, *The Friars and the Jews. The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*, London, Cornell University Press, 1982; M. Idel-M. Perani (eds.), *Nahmanide Esegata e Cabbalista. Studi e Testi*, Firenze, Giuntina, 1998; P. Capelli, *The converts in Jewish-Christian intellectual Polemics in the Middle Ages*, in E.S. Steiner (ed.), *Intricate Interfaith Networks: Quotidian Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2016, vol. 5, pp. 33-83. For a specific focus on Italy, G. Fioravanti, *Polemiche anti giudaiche nell’Italia del Quattrocento: un tentativo di interpretazione globale*, in «Quaderni Storici» XXII/64 (1987), pp. 19-37; M. Benfatto, *La polemica cristiana anti-giudaica italiana: L’Ebreo Convinto dei Suoi Errori dalla Scrittura (1729) e le tradizioni rituali ebraiche*, in «Materia Giudaica» XXVII (2022), pp. 435-451.

¹²⁵ See e.g. *supra*, p. 15.

itself of utilizing kabbalistic thought as a means to achieving the conversion of the Jews, the Count of Mirandola resorted to a defense that heavily relied on the tropes of anti-Jewish prejudice¹²⁶. References to the malevolence and obstinacy in refusing conversion are indeed frequent in Pico's *Apologia*, as he endeavored to preserve the substance and the importance of kabbalistic thought in the eyes of his inquisitors¹²⁷. This fact elucidates the significant ambiguity inherent in Giovanni Pico's supersessionist approach to Kabbalah as a means to corroborate Christian doctrine. The profound interest in Jewish tradition it inspired, in fact, did not resolve the underlying mistrust toward the Jewish people, commonly held by the Christian majority, even among those Christians who engaged in its study and could ostensibly be considered more tolerant¹²⁸.

1.4 Giovanni Pico's kabbalistic readings through the manuscripts

On foll. 71r-76v of MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6508 there is a letter by philosopher Elia Del Medigo addressed to his patron Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, for whom he was translating a series of Averroistic texts¹²⁹. The aim of this missive was the clarification of some philosophic doubts expressed by Giovanni Pico while reading Del Medigo's Hebrew to Latin translations. Due to its subject matter, the degree of cultural respect it demonstrates between the two intellectuals involved in the exchange, the anecdotes it presents, and particularly the multilingual style in which it is composed, this document serves as a crucial historical source for reconstructing the dynamic and productive collaboration between Giovanni Pico and Elia Del Medigo¹³⁰. A series of

¹²⁶ See G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, pp. 188-190. For further information on the Inquisition commission's rebuttal of Pico's opinion see also *supra*, n. 47.

¹²⁷ See e.g. *Ibidem*, pp. 30; 186-192.

¹²⁸ See *infra*, pp. 88f. and 185; see also S. Campanini, *Nottole ad Atene. La Qabbalah cristiana e la conversione degli ebrei*, in «Materia Giudaica» XIX (2014), pp. 81-102.

¹²⁹ This letter was partially mentioned in J. Dukas, *Recherches sur l'Histoire Littéraire du Quinzième Siècle. Laurent Maioli, Pic de la Mirandole, Elie del Medigo*, Paris, Techener, 1876; then in E. Garin, *Prefazione*, in G. Pico della Mirandola, *De Dignitate Hominis, Heptaplus, De Ente et Uno e Scritti Vari*, E. Garin (ed.), Firenze, Vallecchi, 1942, pp. 67-72. The complete edition of this text appeared in B. Kieszowski, *Les rapports entre Elie del Medigo et Pic de la Mirandole (d'après le ms. lat. 6508 de la Bibliothèque Nationale)*, in «Rinascimento» IV (1964), pp. 41-91. It was then re-edited and amended by G. Licata, «Magno in secta peripatetica» *Una nuova edizione commentata della lettera di Elia del Medigo a Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 6508)*, in «Schede Medievali» LV (2017), pp. 103-143. The digitized version of the MS can be found at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9080876d.r=6508.langEN>. See also, *supra* n. 40.

¹³⁰ See e.g. fol. 76r MS Paris, BnF, lat. 6508. For an interesting linguistic commentary of this letter, see F. Papi, *Osservazioni linguistiche sulla lettera di Elia Del Medigo a Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, in «Studi Linguistici Italiani» I (2020), 26-42. On Del Medigo's handwriting, see C. Sirat, *Elie del Medigo averroiste envers et contre tous*, in C. Angotti-M. Brinzei-M. Teeuwen (eds.), *Portraits de Maîtres Offerts à Olga Weijers*, Porto, Brepols, 2012, pp. 127-140. On Del Medigo's manuscripts of translations for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, see G. Murano, *Opere di Elia del Medigo nella Biblioteca di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, in «Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae» XXV (2019), pp. 333-370; Ead., *Un "codice d'autore" di Elia del Medigo appartenuto a Pico della Mirandola. Osservazione sul ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 6508*, in G. Licata-P. Terracciano (eds.), *La Lama del Sapiante*, pp. 141-177; E. P. Mahoney, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Elia del Medigo, Nicoletto Vernia and Agostino Nifo*, in G.C. Garfagnini (ed.), *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Convegno Internazionale di Studi nel Cinquecentesimo Anniversario della Morte (1494-1994). Mirandola, 4-8 ottobre 1994*, Firenze, Olschki, 1997, pp. 127-156; A. Bartola, *Eliyahu del Medigo e Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. La testimonianza dei codici vaticani*, in «Rinascimento» XXXIII (1993), pp. 253-278.

reading recommendations of Hebrew titles introduces us to the description of Pico's initial, determined efforts in studying "isto benedicto Chabala", as Del Medigo facetiously defines it, while addressing Pico's diligence and intellectual curiosity towards this presumably newly discovered discipline, who he probably was already not very fond of¹³¹. Among the texts that Del Medigo recommended to Pico on fol. 75r, the Crete-born philosopher included several titles of Kabbalistic books that could constitute an appropriate introduction to the Kabbalistic discipline for his patron, in particular: *Sefer ha-Zohar*, Yitzḥaq of Aqko *Me'irat 'Enayim* (a commentary on Naḥmanides' *Perush 'al ha-Torah*), Yosef Gikatilla's *Sha'are Orah*, the name of Recanati, which might allude to all the kabbalistic corpus of Menaḥem ben Binyamin of Recanati, but most probably is referred to his *Perush 'al ha-Torah*, *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and a generic *Perush Sefer Yetzira*¹³². Del Medigo ends his kabbalistic recommendations with the mention of "many more whose names I cannot recollect since I have many occupations". Del Medigo's list of significant kabbalistic titles appears to correspond to the initial phases of Pico's kabbalistic research. It is evident that during the stage of Pico's kabbalistic translational project, which is vaguely described in this letter, the young Count of Mirandola possessed some notions of Kabbalah that had inspired him to study its doctrines with enthusiasm. However, he still required guidance in selecting appropriate books and obtaining the necessary manuscripts for his translational project¹³³. As we proceed in delineating the extensive *corpus* of Mithridates' kabbalistic translations for the young Count of Mirandola, this list of kabbalistic titles emerges as a fundamental element in assessing the kabbalistic manuscripts Giovanni Pico successfully acquired for his personal library and commissioned Mithridates to translate.

1.4.1 The Commentary on the Torah by Menaḥem Recanati

As demonstrated by H. Wirszubki in *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, the kabbalistic text that exerted the most significant influence on the young Count of Mirandola while writing his *Conclusiones Nongentae* was the *Commentary on the Torah* by Menaḥem Recanati¹³⁴. This text is considered the initial introduction of Zoharic materials into Italian Kabbalistic circles and,

¹³¹ See K. P. Bland, *Elijah del Medigo's Averroist response to the Kabbalah of fifteenth-century Jewry and Pico della Mirandola*, in «The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy» I (1991), pp. 23-53 maintained a more favorable perspective on Del Medigo's approach to Kabbalah; however, this viewpoint is not currently endorsed by the majority of contemporary scholars. On Del Medigo's opinion towards Qabbalah by the end of his life, see also E. Del Medigo, *Sefer Behinat Ha-dat*, ed. J. J. Ross, Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv University. Haim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies, 1984.

¹³² MS Paris, BNF, lat. 6508, fol. 75r: «קבלה ספר הזוהר»

מאירת עיניי
שערי אורה
רקנטי
מערכת האלהות
פי' ספר יצירה

et multa alia quorum nomina non occurrunt mihi quia multas habeo occupationes».

¹³³ See G. Busi, *Who does not wonder at this chameleon?*, pp. 171-174.

¹³⁴ See H. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 19-52.

consequently, was utilized by Giovanni Pico as a primary source of quotations from the *Sefer ha-Zohar* (The Book of Splendor), which he was ultimately unable to acquire¹³⁵. According to prevailing historical reconstructions, Giovanni Pico's substantial reliance on this Zoharic anthology for his *Conclusiones* was also attributable to the fact that this text was among the initial translations from Hebrew to Latin that Mithridates completed for his young patron¹³⁶. As previously observed, Elia Del Medigo referenced the name of Recanati (most likely alluding to this specific text) in his compilation of kabbalistic recommendations. In the same piece of correspondence, Del Medigo also expressed his regret to Giovanni Pico to have been so far unable to lend him the "Ricanato", which he had asked for in a precedent letter which is now lost. The reason for this delay was that the roads between the Veneto region, where Del Medigo was living at that time, and Florence were inundated with mud, and he was concerned about potentially damaging a valuable manuscript¹³⁷. Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah* was documented in one of the catalogs of Pico's books compiled after his death as «Recanatu super pentateuchum manuscriptus in papiro» (Recanati on the Pentateuch, manuscript, in paper)¹³⁸. Giuliano Tamani observed that in the absence of the specific designation "in ebreo" which

¹³⁵ For a biographic *disamina* of Menaḥem ben Binyamin Recanati, see M. Idel, *R. Menaḥem Recanati ha-Mequbbal*, Jerusalem, Schocken, 1998; G. Busi, *Menaḥem Finzi da Recanati: The True Name of an Old Acquaintance*, in «Materia Giudaica», VIII/1 (2003), pp. 213-218; M. Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy 1280-1510. A Survey*, New Haven-London, Harvard University Press, 2011, pp. 106-138. For a critical edition of Menaḥem Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*, see M. Recanati, *Perush 'al ha-Torah 'al Derekh ha-Emet*, A. Gros (ed.), Jerusalem, A. Gros, 2003; M. Recanati, *Perush 'al ha-Torah*, Venezia, Daniel Bomberg, 1523; M. Recanati, *Perush 'al ha-Torah*, Venezia, Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, 1545. For a critical edition of another work by Menaḥem Recanati, see G. Corazzol (ed.), *Menaḥem Recanati Commentary on the Daily Prayers*, pp. 21*-151*; M. Recanati, *Il Commento alle Preghiere. Perush ha-Tefilloth*, G.C. Sonnino-N. Ahronce (eds.), Padova, Il Prato Edizioni, 2016.

¹³⁶ See S. Campanini, *Un frammento della traduzione latina del Commento al Pentateuco di Menaḥem Recanati compiuta da Flavio Mitridate per Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 223-225.

¹³⁷ See *supra* n. 98; MS Paris, BNF, lat. 6508: «Voleva ancora mandarvi el Ricanato adesso, ma per cagione che le vie sono molto cattive et le piogge et è in carta buona, dubitai non si guastassi».

¹³⁸ F. Calori-Cesis, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola detto la Fenice degli Ingegneri: Cenni Biografici con Documentazione ed Appendice*, Mirandola, Tipografia di Gaetano Cagarelli, 1897, p. 68. After Giovanni Pico's sudden death in 1494, two catalogs were made to register the item of his enormous library. The first catalogue was copied in MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3436 on foll. 263r-296v and it mentions also the items belonging to the library of Francesco and Ermolao Barbaro (see A. Diller, *The Library of Francesco and Ermolao Barbaro*, in «Italia Medioevale e Umanistica» VI (1963), pp. 253-262). It was edited in P. Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1936 and it was initially believed to have been compiled while Giovanni Pico was still alive (see e.g. G. Tamani, *I libri ebraici di Pico della Mirandola*, in G.C. Garfagnini, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 491-530, esp. p. 491). Recent studies by H. Walter (H. Walter, *Per la biblioteca di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. L'inventario anonimo nel cod. Vat. lat. 3436, foll. 263r-296v*, in «Studi Umanistici Piceni» XXIV (2004), pp. 119-128; H. Walter, *Ancora per l'anonimo Inventarius librorum Io. Pici Mirandulae nel cod. Vat. Lat. 3436, foll. 263r-296v*, in «Studi Umanistici Piceni» XXV (2005), pp. 231-243) have problematized and corrected this assumption. The catalog was probably made by two Dominican friars of San Marco frairy where Pico's library was transferred in multiple *capsae* after his death, while his collection was waiting for a buyer, as disposed of by the deceased count in his will (see C. Milanesi, *Testamento olografo e codicillo di Giovanni Pico dei conti della Mirandola*, in «Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani» II (1857), pp. 85-100). It was then copied in XVI cent. MS Milano, VAB, I 110 inf. on foll. 109v-135r (see P. O. Kristeller, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and his Sources*, in *L'Opera e il Pensiero di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nella Storia dell'Umanesimo (Convegno Internazionale, Mirandola 15-18 settembre 1963)/Relazioni*, Firenze, Olschki, 1965, pp. 35-142). The second catalog was composed in 1498 by Antonio Pizzamano, the future bishop of Aquileia, for cardinal Domenico Grimani, who was interested in buying and then actually bought Pico's library. It is now preserved in Modena, Archivio di Stato, Cassaforte 5, Autografi, b.1 (before Archivio di Stato, Archivi per materie, Letterati, b. 55; see G. Murano, *La biblioteca di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: un primo censimento*, in «Scriptorium» LXXII (2018), pp. 213-250, esp. p. 218) and

is commonly used in this register for Pico's Hebrew books, it is not possible to ascertain whether this catalog entry refers to Mithridates' translation of this text or to its Hebrew *antigraphus*¹³⁹. Nevertheless, given the absence of any reference to a *Commentary on the Torah* in the inventory of Hebrew texts belonging to Cardinal Domenico Grimani, who had acquired Giovanni Pico's library following the Count's demise, Giovanna Murano concludes that the documented item is most likely the Latin translation of this text, potentially derived from the manuscript loaned by Del Medigo¹⁴⁰. Mithridates' Latin translation of Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah* is confirmed by a description of its manuscript compiled by Jacques Gaffarel in 1651 in his *Codicum Cabalisticorum Manuscriptorum, quibus est Usus Ioannes Picus comes Mirandulanus Index*¹⁴¹. Gaffarel acquired some of Pico's manuscripts of kabbalistic translations while in Venice, where the majority of Cardinal Domenico Grimani's collection was purportedly preserved following his death¹⁴². The French librarian characterizes the text of Recanati's *Commentary* as extensively annotated with illegible handwriting, which can be attributed to Pico, and glossed by an "insectator Pici" who is definitively identifiable as Mithridates¹⁴³. As the manuscript acquired by Gaffarel appears to be lost, his description was for many years the sole source available to historians for reconstructing the material aspects of Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah* as it was read by Giovanni Pico. However, due to a discovery by Franco Bacchelli, a small excerpt of Mithridates' translation of this work has been recovered and was subsequently edited by Saverio Campanini¹⁴⁴. The fragment is preserved in MS

was edited by Calori-Cesis (see *supra*). Both the inventories will soon be republished as announced by Murano (*Ibidem*, p. 217 n.22).

¹³⁹ G. Tamani, *I libri ebraici di Pico della Mirandola*, p. 503.

¹⁴⁰ G. Murano, *La Biblioteca Arabo-Ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 81-82.

¹⁴¹ J. Gaffarel, *Codicum Cabalisticorum Manuscriptorum, quibus est Usus Ioannes Picus comes Mirandulanus Index*, Paris, Ex Typographia Viduae H. Blageart, 1651, pp. 12-20. On Jacques Gaffarel and his activities as a librarian, see S. Campanini, *Jacques Gaffarel e gli Abditae divinae cabalae mysteria*, in H. Hirai (ed.), *Jacques Gaffarel Between Magic and Science in Early Modern Europe*, Pisa-Roma, Fabrizio Serra editore, 2014, pp. 27-41 (this article is an Italian revised version of S. Campanini, *Eine späte Apologie der Kabbala. Die Abditae divinae Cabalae Mysteria des Jacques Gaffarel*, in T. Frank-U. Kocher-U. Tarnow (eds.), *Topik und Tradition. Prozesse der Neuordnung von Wissensüberlieferungen des 13. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen, V&R Unipress, 2007, pp. 325-351).

¹⁴² For a complete history of Domenico Grimani's library see A. Diller-H.D. Saffrey-L.G. Westerink, *Bibliotheca Graeca Manuscripta Cardinalis Dominici Grimani (1461-1523)*, Venezia, Edizioni della Laguna, 2003; G. Tamani, *Codici ebraici Pico Grimani nella Biblioteca Arcivescovile di Udine*, in «Annali di Ca' Foscari, serie Orientale» X (1971), pp. 1-25; G. Tamani, *I libri ebraici del Cardinale Domenico Grimani*, in «Annali di Ca' Foscari» XXXIV (1995), pp. 5-52; G. Mercati, *Codici Latini Pico Grimani Pio e di Altra Biblioteca Ignota del Secolo XVI Esistenti nell'Ottoboniana e i Codici Greci Pio di Modena con una Digressione per la Storia dei Codici di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1936; T. Freudenberger, *Die Bibliothek des Cardinals Domenico Grimani*, in «Historisches Jahrbuch» LVI (1936), pp. 15-45; O. Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V und Jacob Fugger*, München, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, 1917. On Gaffarel's manuscripts and their authenticity or the possibility they might all or in part been a copy, see F. Mithridates, *Sermo de Passione Domini*, pp. 59-65 and S. Campanini, *Un frammento della traduzione latina del Commento al Pentateuco di Menaḥem Recanati compiuta da Flavio Mitridate per Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, p. 222-225.

¹⁴³ See S. Campanini, *Un frammento della traduzione latina del Commento al Pentateuco di Menaḥem Recanati compiuta da Flavio Mitridate per Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, p. 222.

¹⁴⁴ See *Ibidem*, p. 219-313, esp. pp. 243-307: here, the Latin text is followed by a Hebrew parallel version of Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*.

Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX.29, a miscellaneous collection of texts from the late 15th century, which belonged to Lorenzo de' Medici's physician Pier Leone da Spoleto. The excerpt on foll. 117r-124r was transcribed by Pier Leone himself and corresponds to Recanati's commentary on Gen 1:26-2:9. Given the distinctive translational style of the passage, there exists substantial philological evidence to suggest that this text belonged to the larger translation of Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah* produced by Flavius Mithridates for Giovanni Pico¹⁴⁵. At present, it remains the sole known extant material of Mithridates' translation. The text concludes abruptly, potentially providing insights into the circulation of Mithridates' translations in unbound quires¹⁴⁶. This extant copy of a passage from Mithridates' translation for Giovanni Pico serves as evidence of a collaboration between the young Count of Mirandola and Pier Leone da Spoleto, who has only recently been recognized as a Christian Kabbalist. Pier Leone da Spoleto also commissioned a series of Hebrew to vernacular Kabbalistic translations and is likely the author of some of the annotations dispersed throughout the manuscripts of Mithridates' Kabbalistic translations currently housed in the Vatican Library¹⁴⁷. This collaborative relationship, which occasionally might have manifested competitive elements, but also many affinities and common interests, is further evidenced in another text in MS Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX.29. Foll. 80r-115r contain a Latin translation copied by Pier Leone of Ibn Tufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, which remains unpublished to date¹⁴⁸. Another Latin translation of this text, which seems now lost and was entitled *Quo quisque pacto per se philosophus evadat*, was announced by Giovanni Pico around 1492 in the works posthumously published as *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem*¹⁴⁹.

1.4.2 MS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209

MS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209 is the only manuscript attributed to the library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola to have been certainly used by Flavius Mithridates as Hebrew antigraph for his kabbalistic translations contained on foll. 208v-346r of MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191. It begins with *Sefer*

¹⁴⁵ See *Ibidem*, p. 222-240, esp. p. 238.

¹⁴⁶ See *Ibidem*, p. 228.

¹⁴⁷ For a thorough bibliography on the matter, see *supra* n. 77. An exam of Pier Leone's translational project and its influence within the Medicean circle will be conducted further on (see *infra* pp. 62-73).

¹⁴⁸ See F. Bacchelli, *Pico della Mirandola traduttore di Ibn Tufayl*, pp. 1-25.

¹⁴⁹ G. Pico della Mirandola, *Disputationes Adversus Astrologiam Divinatricem*, ed. E. Garin, Firenze, Vallecchi Editore, 1946, vol. I, p. 80: «Scripsit etiam Abubater de natalibus praedictionibus et eodem nomine alius philosophica, praecipeque librum Quo quisque pacto per se philosophus evadat, quem anno superiore ex hebraeo vertimus in Latinum; sed ille Alchasibi, hic vero Tofail filius» (Abu Bakr as well wrote about predictions at birth, while another one with the same name wrote about philosophy, especially a book titled “How each philosopher should escape for himself”, which I translated a year ago from Hebrew to Latin; however, the former is Abu Bakr is Al-Qasibi, the latter ibn Tufayl». Franco Bacchelli argues that there might have been two concurrent translations of Ibn Tufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, one authored by Pier Leone, and one authored by Giovanni Pico (see F. Bacchelli, *Leoni (Lioni), Piero (Pier Leone, Pierleone da Spoleto)*, pp. 606-610).

ha-Bahir (1r-29r)¹⁵⁰ and a series of commentaries, namely Asher ben David's *Perush Shem ha-Meforash* (29r-32v), *Inyan ha-gadol* attributed to Yitzḥaq ben Ya'aqov ha-Kohen (33r-35r), and two other commentaries on the *Sefirot* (35r-36v; 37r-38r). Due to their *mise-en-page*, Mithridates mistakenly attributed these last four commentaries to the text of *Sefer ha-Bahir*, leading Giovanni Pico to blatant error in one of his *Conclusiones Nongentae*¹⁵¹. This first group of texts is followed by a *Commentary on Psalm 19* by Todros Abulafia (foll. 38v-98r) and a complex *Tefillah* (foll. 98r-103v). This manuscript is usually identified with the item listed as «Sepherabaic cum expositione celi enar.» of Pizzamano's catalog redacted after the death of Giovanni Pico¹⁵² and the one quoted by Pearl Kibre on footnote n. 54¹⁵³. It is identifiable with item n. 34 of Domenico Grimani's Hebrew books catalog, where it is also defined «rarus»¹⁵⁴. Though its philological value and primacy has recently been questioned, this manuscript is the oldest dated codex containing *Sefer ha-Bahir*¹⁵⁵. It is also worth noticing that this specific manuscript was used as a base for Gershom Scholem's PhD thesis on the *Bahir*¹⁵⁶.

1.4.3 MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191

This manuscript contains a miscellaneous collection of kabbalistic translations. It begins with five different commentaries on *Sefer Yetzirah*. The first one is by El'azar of Worms (foll. 1r-12r), the second (foll. 12r-26r) and the third (foll. 26v-29v), even if considered separate by Mithridates, are probably part of a same single work attributed to Abraham Abulafia, a Hebrew version of which seem to be found in MS Paris, BNF, Hébr. 768¹⁵⁷. The following text is an unidentified commentary on the *Sefirot* which Mithridates does not title (foll. 29v-34v). On foll. 39r-43v there is Naḥmanides' *Commentary on Sefer Yetzirah* followed by *Comentum Voluminis de proportione divinitatis* or *Perush 'al Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* (foll. 43v-60r)¹⁵⁸. The next translation by Mithridates is titled *Expositio*

¹⁵⁰ A transcription of the *Sefer ha-Bahir* contained in this manuscript can be found in S. Campanini, *The Book of Bahir*, pp. 13*-165*.

¹⁵¹ See *supra* n. 84.

¹⁵² See F. Calori-Cesis, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola detto la Fenice degli Ingegneri*, p. 46. The misunderstanding of the last letter of the word *abahir* found on fol. 104v of the MS seems to have led to Pizzamano's spelling mistake.

¹⁵³ See P. Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola*, p. 46.

¹⁵⁴ See G. Tamani, *I libri ebraici del Cardinale Domenico Grimani*, p. 18.

¹⁵⁵ A. Bar-Asher, *Sefer ha-Bahir – Nosah, Seder u-Mivnah*, in «Tarbiz» 89 (2022), pp. 77-225, esp. pp. 93-110 and A. Bar-Asher, *The Bahir and Its Historiography: A Reassessment*, in «in «The Journal of Religion» CIII/2 (2023), pp. 115-140. On the precedent reconstruction of the manuscript tradition of *Sefer ha-Bahir*, see D. Abrams, *The Book Bahir: An Edition Based on the Earliest Manuscripts* [in Hebrew and English], Los Angeles, Cherub Press, 1994, pp. 105-115.

¹⁵⁶ G. Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir*, Leipzig, 1923.

¹⁵⁷ See M. Beit-Ariè-N. Pasternak-B. Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008, p. 134.

¹⁵⁸ This commentary on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is a true rarity in Giovanni Pico's library, as it is preserved in only three extant medieval manuscripts: MS München, BSB, Cod. Or. 92, foll. 136r-144r; MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3483, foll. 104r-110v; MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Neof. 27, foll. 3r-24r (see S. Campanini, «*Sine me non intelliges*», p. 16 nn. 11-12-13 for further cataloguing information). Giulio Busi is currently editing and studying this text in the context of the project «The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola» (See *Ibidem*).

decem numerationum, in Hebrew known as *Sha'ar ha-Shama'im* (foll. 60v-107v)¹⁵⁹, followed by a Latin rendition of *Iggeret ha-Qodesh* titled *Porta Iusticiae* (foll. 109r-121r)¹⁶⁰. On foll. 121v-124r Mithridates translates a series of kabbalistic secrets that he titles *Liber secretorum quorundam praecetorum legis* (foll. 121v-124r) followed by *Mysterium opere geneseos* (foll. 121v-208r) which assembles in a single translation both *Inyan ma'aseh Bereshit* and Moses de Leon's *Nefesh ha-hokhmah*. On foll. 208v-287v a text titled *Porta secretorum* is the translation of Todros Abulafia's *Sha'ar ha-Razim*¹⁶¹. On foll. 288r-335v a text titled *Fragmenta libri Bahir* contains a Latin translation of the *Sefer ha-Bahir* (foll. 288r-325v) followed by another rendition of Asher ben David's *Perush ha-Shem ha-Meforash* (foll. 326r-329v), by Yitzḥaq ben Ya'aqov ha-Kohen's *Inyan ha-Gadol* (329v-332v) and two other anonymous commentaries on the *Sefirot* on foll. 332v-333v and 333v-335v¹⁶². Yehudah Romano's *Be'ur Ma'aseh Bereshit* was translated as *Comentum Rabi ieude filii Rabi moyseos super opere Geneseos* on foll. 339r-346r but it is incomplete¹⁶³.

1.4.4 MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190

This manuscript of kabbalistic translations by Flavius Mithridates begins with *Liber combinationum* a Latin translation of *Sefer ha-Tzeruf* (1r-90r). It is followed by Yosef Gikatilla's *Sefer ha-Niqqud* translated as *Expositio secretorum punctuationis* (90v-120r)¹⁶⁴. On foll. 120v-132r a text titled *Summa brevis Cabale* is the Latin translation of Abraham Abulafia's *Ve-zot li-Yehudah*; it is followed by a text titled *Tractatus de revolutione ducentarum triginta unius porte alphabeti* (132v-150v) which contains within itself a fragment of Yehudah ben Nissim Ibn Malqa's *Perush 'al ha-Tefillot* (foll.

¹⁵⁹ This text was edited in the context of the project "The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola" by Saverio Campanini in S. Campanini-G. Busi-S. Jurgan, *The Gate of Heaven*, pp. 99-262.

¹⁶⁰ This text was analyzed and commented on in S. Campanini, *Porte iusticie: l'Iggeret ha-qodesh nella traduzione di Flavio Mitridate*, in R. Gonzales Salinero-M.T. Ortega Monasteiro (eds.), *Fuentes Clásicas en el Judaísmo de Sofía a Hokmah*, Madrid, Signifer Libros, 2009, pp. 143-164. The hypothesis made by Giovanna Murano that this Latin translation could be based on the text contained in MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. II.41 is untenable on both a philological and codicological basis (See G. Murano, *La Biblioteca Arabo-Ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 116; 139).

¹⁶¹ Parts of this text were edited and preseted in S. Campanini, תפלה לעני / *Oratio pauperis. A kabbalistic prayer attributed to Todros ha-Levi Abulafia in Mithridates' Latin translation*, in «Iberia Judaica» VI (2014), pp. 23-34.

¹⁶² The translation of these texts was based on the Hebrew originals contained in MS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209 (see *supra*). The *Book of Bahir* both in Latin and its Hebrew original was studied thoroughly and commented upon in S. Campanini, *The Book of Bahir*, pp. 125-240. The four kabbalistic treatises following the *Bahir* were instead edited and studied with their Hebrew originals in S. Campanini, *Four Short Kabbalistic Treatises*, pp. 69-81; 82-90; 91-94; 95-91. S. Campanini, *Problemi metodologici e testuali nell'edizione del Sefer ha-Bahir*, in «Materia giudaica» XII/1 (2007), pp. 21-43 traced an interesting perspective on Mithridates' translation of the *Bahir* and the methodological problems of its edition.

¹⁶³ This text was edited and discussed in S. Campanini, *Latin into Hebrew (and Back): Flavius Mithridates and His Latin Translations from Judah Romano*, in A. Fidora-H. J. Hames-Y. Schwartz (eds.), *Latin into Hebrew. Texts and Studies, Volume Two: Texts in Contexts*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2013, pp. 161-193.

¹⁶⁴ This text was edited in the context of the project "The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola" as A. Martini, *The Book of Punctuation*, pp. 223-314.

134r-150v)¹⁶⁵. *Sefer ha-Yeriah ha-Gedolah* on foll. 150v-165r is also undistinguished from the previous treatise¹⁶⁶ and is followed by a text titled *Questiones super decem numerationibus cum responsionibus suis* (foll. 165r-173v), which is a Latin translation of Azriel of Gerona's *Sha'ar ha-Sho'el*¹⁶⁷. It is followed by Abraham ben Axelrad of Cologne's *Keter Shem Tov* which is titled *Corona nominis boni* (foll. 173v-186r)¹⁶⁸ and Asher ben David's *Libellus de expositione nominis Tetragrammaton* or *Perush ha-Shem ha-meforash* (foll. 186r-192v)¹⁶⁹. Asher ben David's *Libellus de expositione tredecim proprietatum* or *Perush Shalosh-'esre Middot* is on foll. 193r-207r¹⁷⁰. It is followed by *Libellus de secretis legis manifestandis*, a commentary on the *Sefirot* by Ya'aqov ben Ya'aqov, here attributed to Nahmanides (207r-221v). On foll. 222r-275r there is Ibn Waqqar's *Sefer ha-Shorashim* translated as *Liber de radicibus vel terminis Cabale*. The last two texts featured in this MS are the translation of Menahem ben Binyamin Recanati's *Perush ha-Tefillot* or *Liber de Secretis Orationum et benedictionum* (275v-336r)¹⁷¹ and Abraham Abulafia's *Sitre Torah* or *Liber de secretis* (336v-469v)¹⁷². The quires that compose this last text, according to Beit-Arié, are misplaced from foll. 420-469: the correct order of this text would be fol. 419- foll. 450-469 – foll. 430-449 and foll. 420-429¹⁷³. Abulafia's *Sitre Torah* is also incomplete as the final parts of Mithridates' translation of this text are on foll. 232r-261v of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chigi A VI 190. The conditions of this

¹⁶⁵ The Hebrew text of *Perush 'al ha-Tefillot* by Ibn Malqa was edited in S. Campanini, *The "Anonymous" Kabbalistic Commentary on the Prayers*, in G. Busi (ed.), *Catalogue of the Kabbalistic Manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Community of Mantua*, Città di Castello, Edizioni Cadmo, 2001, pp. 217-358, esp. pp. 219-241. The Latin version of this text was instead edited, translated, and discussed in S. Campanini, *Una fonte trascurata sul rapporto tra qabbalah e combinatoria lulliana in Pico della Mirandola: il Commento alle preghiere di Yehudah Ibn Malka*, in «Studia Lulliana» LV (2015), pp. 83-127.

¹⁶⁶ This text was the first edition published within the context of project "The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola" as S. Bondoni-G. Busi-S. Campanini, *The Great Parchment*, pp. 51-94. See also, J. H. Chajes, *The Kabbalistic Tree*. האילן הקבלי, University Parks (Pennsylvania), The Pennsylvania University Press, 2022, pp. 47-51; 373 n. 26 makes the case of linking MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. Add. E. to the kabbalistic tree described in this text.

¹⁶⁷ This text is anonymous in this manuscript, but was identified by M. Steinschneider, *Jochanan Alemanno, Flavius Mithridates und Pico de la Mirandola*, in «Hebräische Bibliographie» XXI (1881), pp. 109-133, esp. pp. 109-115. See also S. Campanini, «Color azurei oscurissimi». *Sfumature cabbalistiche in 'Azriel da Gerona e Flavio Mitridate*, in «Itinera» XIX (2020), pp. 54-71.

¹⁶⁸ I have produced the first edition of this text in M. Pepoli, *Corona Nominis Boni. Flavius Mithridates' translation of Keter Shem Tov* (MS Vat. Ebr. 190), M.A. Thesis, Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna, 2022, pp. 64-83. I hope to finally publish this text after a future thorough revision.

¹⁶⁹ Asher ben David's *Perush ha-Shem meforash* was translated twice by Mithridates, the second being on foll. 326r-329v of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 191 (see *infra*). The former text was first edited in S. Campanini, *Perush 'al 'ešer sefirot di Ašer ben Dawid*, in D. Abrams (ed.), *Asher Ben David. His Complete Works and Studies in his Kabbalistic Thought. Including the Commentaries to the Account of Creation by the Kabbalists of Provence and Gerona*, Los Angeles, Cherub Press, 1996, pp. 289-298 and then reprinted in S. Campanini, *Four Short Kabbalistic Treatises*, pp. 100-120, while the latter was edited only in S. Campanini, *Four Short Kabbalistic Treatises*, pp. 69-81.

¹⁷⁰ As discussed by S. Campanini, *Four Short Kabbalistic Treatises*, pp. 26f. both this text and the preceeding one attributed to Asher ben David were part of a fragmented and now reconstructed *Sefer ha-Yihud*, which was first identified by M. Soave, *Ha-Raba"d ha-revi i*, in «Otzar Nekhmad» IV (1864), pp. 37-43.

¹⁷¹ This Latin translation was edited by Giacomo Corazzol in M. Recanati, *Commentary on the Daily Prayers*, pp. 379-682.

¹⁷² See *infra* p. 45. See also pp. 48f.

¹⁷³ See M. Beit-Arié-N. Pasternak-B. Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, p. 134.

kabbalistic work and its preservation in multiple MSS with misplaced quires give hints on the procedure of Mithridates' work of translation which was made on loose quires he periodically gave to his patron and reassembled in a second time¹⁷⁴.

1.4.5 MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189

This MS contains miscellaneous works tied with the pietistic circles of *Ḥaside Ashkenaz*. Some of these texts are either attributed to El'azar of Worms or to Yehudah the pious of Regensburg¹⁷⁵. As thoroughly analyzed by Campanini, who also described at length the complete content of this MS, Mithridates considered all these pietistic texts he was translating as part of a miscellaneous *Liber de anima* in fifteen books, the first three of which are currently missing¹⁷⁶. This manuscript begins with a partial translation of *Sefer ha-Ne'elam* (foll. 1r-183v) or in Latin *Liber de occultis*, the initial missing part of which is contained on foll. 201r-210v of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chigi A VI 190¹⁷⁷. It is followed by *Sefer Semukim* or *Liber de subiunctis* (foll. 184r-201r) and *Sefer ha-Tagim* or *Liber de coronis* (foll. 201v-347v). The first work attributed to El'azar of Worms is *Liber Pesek* or *Sefer Pesek* in Hebrew on foll. 347v-360v, followed by a translation of a book titled *Alphabetum domini* (foll. 360v-385v)¹⁷⁸. On foll. 385v-398r there is *Liber de vocibus* or *Sefer ha-Qolot* followed by *Liber de homine* (foll. 398r-459v)¹⁷⁹. On foll. 459v-525v there is *Liber de secreto unitatis et fidei*, followed on foll. 525v-530v by *Liber de felicitate iustorum*: these two texts are indeed part of a single work by El'azar of Worms titled *Sha'ar ha-Sod ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Emunah*. Then there is *Tractatus de obliquis* or *Sefer ha-Arimot* (foll. 531r-542v), followed by *Liber de conversione* or *Sefer ha-Pukh* (foll. 542-550r)¹⁸⁰. On fol. 550v begins *Liber de secretis secretorum subiunctorum*, that is *Sod Raze Semukhim* which is then completed on foll. 151r-200v of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chigi A VI 190. This manuscript was copied at least twice once it reached the papal collection. An extant copy of this manuscript is MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. 1253 which was copied by Egidio da Viterbo

¹⁷⁴ See S. Campanini, "Sine me non intelliges", pp. 18f.

¹⁷⁵ On the controversy about the attribution of these texts within the circles of *Ḥaside Ashkenaz*, see J. Dan, 'Iyyunim be-Sifrut Ḥaside Ashkenaz, Ramat Gan, Masada, 1975 pp. 134-147 and M. Idel, 'Al ha-perushim shel R. Neḥemyah ben Shlomoh ha-navi le-shem ben m"b otiyyot we-Sefer ha-Ḥokhmah ha-meyuḥas le-R. El'azar me-Worms, in «Kabbalah» XIV (2006), pp. 157-261.

¹⁷⁶ S. Campanini, *El'azar da Worms nelle traduzioni di Flavio Mitridate per Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 47-80, esp. p. 52f.

¹⁷⁷ The text on fol. 202r of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chigi A VI 190 begins: «Liber de occultis et est quartus liber de anima». From a note on fol. 201r Mithridates affirms having already translated a *Liber de angelis* or *Sefer ha-Malakim* which was probably one of the first three books of this collection that we are missing (see S. Campanini, *El'azar da Worms nelle traduzioni di Flavio Mitridate*, p. 53).

¹⁷⁸ This text was not reported in M. Beit-Ariè-N. Pasternak-B. Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, p. 133.

¹⁷⁹ This title was considered as part of previous *Sefer ha-qolot* in M. Beit-Ariè-N. Pasternak-B. Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, p. 133. It is also reported that the foliotation skips without loss of text directly from fol. 403v to fol. 446r.

¹⁸⁰ Neither this text is reported in M. Beit-Ariè-N. Pasternak-B. Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, p. 133.

around 1516¹⁸¹. This latter contains the same *lacunae* of its antigraph by Mithridates and therefore gives scholars a *terminus ante quem* not only for the acquisition of this text in the collection of the Vatican Library but also for its loss of quires inserted later in MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chigi A VI 190¹⁸². Jacques Gaffarel, in his description of the three *codices* of translations made for Pico della Mirandola which he acquired in Venice, describes as well the content of this manuscript¹⁸³. Haim Wirszubski has proved that the copy possessed by Gaffarel can neither be MS Vat. ebr. 189 itself nor MS Angelica 1253. Therefore, at least another copy of MS Vat. ebr. 189 was transcribed during the Renaissance period¹⁸⁴.

1.4.6 MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chigi A VI 190

This MS contains a series of translations of kabbalistic works intertwined with quires of texts were already mentioned in other manuscripts of Mithridates' translations. This fact seems to confirm once again the idea that Mithridates translated his texts in loose quires that circulated autonomously and were later sewn together either by Mithridates himself or by librarians who found them unbound after his or Pico's arrest¹⁸⁵. The first text of this miscellaneous collection is the translation of Yosef Gikatilla's *Sha'are Tzedeq* or *Porte Iusticie* (foll. 1r-131v) which is separated from its conclusion of foll. 361r-390v¹⁸⁶. On foll. 132r-150v there is the beginning of the Mithridates' incomplete translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* or *Liber de ordine vel proportione*, which then continues on incorrectly sewn quires on foll. 212r-221v, though its correct reading order is foll. 218r-221v and 212r-217v¹⁸⁷. On foll. 152r-201v there is the final part of *Sod Raze Semuchim*, whose *incipit* can be found in MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 189, followed by the initial part of the fourth book of *Liber de anima* titled *Liber de occultis* (foll. 202r-211v), preserved in its other parts once again in MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 189. On foll. 212r-231v Mithridates translates a series of kabbalistic *excerpta* followed by the end of the translation Abraham Abulafia's *Sitre Torah* on foll. 232r-261v, whose beginning is in MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 190. This text is followed by a misplaced series

¹⁸¹ The year of the copy is obtained from the register of the Vatican Library itself (see M. Bertola, *I Due Primi Registri di Prestito della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Codici Vaticani Latini 3964-3966*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1942). On the figure of Egidio da Viterbo and his library see *infra*, pp. 77-152. On the influences of this specific MS on the works of Egidio da Viterbo, see S. Campanini, *El'azar da Worms nelle traduzioni di Flavio Mitridate per Pico della Mirandola*, p. 58 and pp. 69f.

¹⁸² See S. Campanini, *El'azar da Worms nelle traduzioni di Flavio Mitridate per Pico della Mirandola*, p. 57.

¹⁸³ J. Gaffarel, *Codicum Cabalisticorum Manuscriptorum, quibus est Usus Ioannes Picus comes Mirandulanus Index*, pp. 20-24.

¹⁸⁴ F. Mithridates, *Sermo de Passione Domini*, pp. 62-64.

¹⁸⁵ See e.g. F. Lelli, *Pico tra filosofia ebraica e «qabbalah»*, in P. Viti (ed.), *Pico, Poliziano e l'Umanesimo di fine Quattrocento*, Firenze, Olschki, 1994, p. 207.

¹⁸⁶ This translation was edited in F. Dal Bo (ed.), *Y. Gikatilla, Gates of Justice, Flavius Mithridates' Latin Translation and the Hebrew Text, Edited with Introduction by Federico Dal Bo*.

¹⁸⁷ The first edition of this translation will be proposed *infra*, vol. 2 pp. 2-48. The study of this translation is *infra* pp. 160-180. See also G. Murano, *La Biblioteca Arabo-Ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 97f.

of *Sodot* on foll. 262r-332v. On foll. 333r-359v there is a yet unknown kabbalistic commentary on Talmudic *Aggadot* titled *Libellus de expositione allegoriarum*¹⁸⁸. It is followed by an abridged version of *Perush Shimmushei Torah*, titled *Liber misteriorum venerabilium* on foll. 360r-360v¹⁸⁹. Another series of *Sodot* closes the volume between foll. 361-390v, where we find a final, bitter note by Mithridates against Giovanni Pico¹⁹⁰. A copy of this volume MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Barb. Lat. 725 was produced in the late 16th century and possesses no philological value for editing the texts of MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190. Given that MS BAV, Barb. Lat. 725 does not contain the copy of the texts from the intellectual circle of *Hasside Ashkenaz* absent in MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189, and subsequently incorporated into MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, this later 16th-century copy establishes a *terminus post quem* for the dating of this subsequent binding¹⁹¹.

1.4.7 Some considerations on the kabbalistic materials translated by Flavius Mithridates for Giovanni Pico

The corpus of Hebrew literature translated by Mithridates for Giovanni Pico encompasses approximately 60 book titles, as evidenced by the extant manuscripts housed in the Vatican Library and those reconstructed through rigorous scholarly methods. Prior to undertaking the extensive translation of kabbalistic texts previously outlined, Mithridates had already produced a series of exegetical and philosophical translations for his young benefactor. These works, housed in MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 4273, comprise an incomplete translation of the Arabic Pentateuch (foll. 1r-2v), a rendition of Levi ben Gershom's *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (foll. 5r-54r), and a translation of Maimonides' *Iggeret ha-metim*, based on Shmuel Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew adaptation of the original Arabic text¹⁹². The studies and translations on the *Book of Job* contained in MS Città del

¹⁸⁸ This translation was first signaled by Saverio Campanini in S. Campanini, *Pici Mirandulensis bibliotheca cabbalistica latina*, p. 95 and has not yet found its Hebrew original.

¹⁸⁹ See F. Buzzetta, *Misteri e prassi cabbalistiche nel Liber misteriorum venerabilium (Shimmushei Torah)*, ms. Chigi A. VI. 190, ff. 360 r-v, in «Schede Medievali» LIII (2015), pp. 53-73.

¹⁹⁰ On fol. 390v Mithridates signs his translation: «Mithridate interprete et cum pico indignato propter nahar» (by the translator Mithridates who is enraged with Pico because of the nahar). Nahar is the usual transcription of Hebrew נָחַר and refers to Lancillotto da Faenza, Giovanni Pico's servant (see S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, p. 79).

¹⁹¹ See S. Campanini, *El'azar da Worms nelle traduzioni di Flavio Mitridate per Pico della Mirandola*, p. 57.

¹⁹² Haim Wirszbuski was the first to hypothesize a failed translation of a Pentateuch from Arabic in F. Mithridates, *Sermo de Passione Domini*, p. 51. An edition of Mithridates' translation of Gersonides' *Commentary on the Song of Songs* is in M. Andreatta (ed.), *Gersonide, Commento al Cantico dei Cantici nella Traduzione Ebraico-Latina di Flavio Mitridate. Edizione e Commento del ms. Vat. Lat. 4273 (cc. 5r-54r)*, Firenze, L.S. Olschki, 2009. The translation of *Iggeret ha-metim* was associated with the Maimonidean translations of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 4561, suggesting a more comprehensive project of philosophical works by Mithridates for Giovanni Pico (see M. Zonta, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada traduttore di Maimonide*, in M. Perani (ed.), *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada alias Flavio Mitridate*, pp. 185-200). The attribution of the translations in MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 4561 to Mithridates remains inconclusive (see G. Murano, *La Biblioteca Arabo-Ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 80f). In contrast to the previously discussed manuscripts of Mithridates' kabbalistic translations, the scribe responsible for the texts in MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 4273 is not Mithridates himself, but rather another copyist who regularly performed work for Giovanni Pico (see G. Murano, *Ibidem*, p. 71). MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 4273 was registered in both Pizzamano and the Vatican catalog of Pico's library (see F. Calori-

Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 607 and possibly on the *Qur'an* in Hebrew characters of MS Città del Vaticano, Vat. Ebr. 357 (foll. 51r-156r) should also be dated around this first period of collaboration between Mithridates and Giovanni Pico¹⁹³. As previously discussed, the *Commentary on the Torah* by Menaḥem Recanati is chronologically among the first, if not the first, kabbalistic treatise ever translated by Mithridates. This assertion is supported by the fact that a copy of this text was in the possession of Elia del Medigo, one of Pico's closest collaborators, and therefore could have been readily accessed¹⁹⁴. Del Medigo had also mentioned this text among the kabbalistic works he recommended to the young Count of Mirandola in his letter preserved in MS BNF, lat. 6508¹⁹⁵. Given that a copy of the *Sefer ha-Zohar*, which was recommended in the aforementioned missive as a fundamental kabbalistic text, appears to have never reached Giovanni Pico's kabbalistic library, Recanati's text became the young Count's primary source of zoharic materials and quotations¹⁹⁶. The loss of both Mithridates' Latin translation of this text and its Hebrew antigraph represents a significant void in the study of Pico's kabbalistic philosophy. This gap is only marginally mitigated by Pier Leone's small fragment and the translation of Recanati's *Commentary on the Prayers*, which stands as the sole surviving work by Recanati among Mithridates' works for Giovanni Pico¹⁹⁷. In addition to the *Sefer ha-Zohar*, among the texts mentioned by Elia Del Medigo in his correspondence with the Count of Mirandola, two other titles appear to have not been reached Pico's library and, consequently, were not translated by Mithridates: Yitzḥaq of Aqko's *Me'irat 'Enayim*, and Yosef Gikatilla's *Sha'are Orah*. During his search for a copy of this latter text, Giovanni Pico concurrently arranged for Mithridates to translate two other kabbalistic works by Gikatilla, specifically the *Sefer ha-Niqqud* and

Cesis, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola detto la Fenice degli Ingegneri*, p. 44; P. Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola*, p. 218).

¹⁹³ This manuscript is identifiable only in the Vatican catalog of Giovanni Pico's library (see P. Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola*, p. 178). The first complete study on Giovanni Pico's Book of Job is H. Wirszubski, *Giovanni Pico's Book of Job*, in «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes» XXXII (1969), pp. 171-199. The reception of this translation has been studied by Saverio Campanini in S. Campanini, *Who Was Rabbi Mithridates? Following a Neglected Trail*, F. Buzzetta (ed.), *Cahier Cabbala I*, «Accademia» XI (2018), pp. 9-22. For Mithridates' study on the Qur'an, see B. Grévin, *Le Coran de Mithridate (MS Vat. Ebr. 357) à la croisée des savoirs arabes dans l'Italie du XV^e siècle*, in «Al-Qantara» XXXI (2010), pp. 513-548; B. Grévin, *Flavius Mithridate au Travail sur le Coran*, in G. Corazzol-M. Perani (eds.), *Flavio Mitridate Mediatore fra Culture*, pp. 200-230 (see also *supra*, n. 99). For further information on the study of the *Qur'an* in Christian Europe, see A.M. Piemontese, *Il Corano latino di Ficino e i corani arabi di Pico e Monchates*, in «Rinascimento» XXVI (1996), pp. 227-273, esp. pp. 264-266. For further details on the role of Sicilian Jewry for the preservation of the knowledge of the Qur'an in Europe, see A.M. Piemontese, *Codici giudeo-arabi di Sicilia*, in N. Bucaria-M. Luzzati-A. Tarantino (eds.), *Sicilia e Ebrei*, Palermo, Regione Siciliana-Flaccovio, 2002, pp. 179-183; B. Grévin, *Un témoin majeur du rôle des communautés juives de Sicile dans la préservation et la diffusion en Italie d'un savoir sur l'arabe et l'Islam au XV^e siècle: les notes interlinéaires et marginales du "Coran de Mithridate" (ms. Vat. Ebr. 357)*, in B. Grévin-A. Nef-E. Tixier du Mesnis (eds.), *Chrétiens, juifs et musulmans dans la Méditerranée médiévale. Études en hommage à Henri Bresc*, Paris, De Boccard, 2008, pp. 45-56; A. Paudice, *On three extant sources of the Qur'an transcribed in Hebrew*, in «European Journal of Jewish Studies» II/2 (2009), pp. 213-257.

¹⁹⁴ See *supra*, pp. 38f.

¹⁹⁵ See *supra*, n. 138

¹⁹⁶ See e.g. H. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 20f. For further information on the *Sefer ha-Zohar* and the research of its manuscripts during the Renaissance see *infra*, pp. 137-140.

¹⁹⁷ See *supra*, pp. 40; 42.

the *Sha'are Tzedeq*. The presence of the translation of *Sha'are Tzedeq* in MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, which, as will be discussed subsequently, contains some of Mithridates' latest translations, may suggest that the research of a manuscript containing *Sha'are Orah* and other kabbalistic materials by Giqatilla was still ongoing. In this context, it is pertinent to consider that one of the most extensively translated authors by Mithridates, with approximately 191 folios of materials and three titles (*Ve-zot li-Yehudah*, *Sitre Torah* and a *Commentary on the Sefer Yetzira*), is Abraham Abulafia, the first but then renounced mentor of Yosef Giqatilla¹⁹⁸. The significance of Abulafian Kabbalistic thought among Italian, and particularly Sicilian Kabbalistic circles, is evidenced by Mithridates' enthusiastic comments on the text of *Sitre Torah* and the anecdotes he recounted to his young patron¹⁹⁹. In light of this information, a comprehensive examination of Mithridates' Abulafian translations and their reception by Giovanni Pico would necessitate further in-depth analysis, which is beyond the scope of this discussion. However, it is noteworthy that, while Mithridates demonstrated a clear affinity for Abulafia's works, his knowledge of them appears to have been limited prior to translating them for Giovanni Pico around 1487²⁰⁰. This is particularly intriguing given that Mithridates originated from Sicily, a region where Abulafian thought was arguably most widely accepted and studied²⁰¹. It seems that the convert was likely aware of Abulafia's reputation but had not extensively engaged with his writings before undertaking the translational project commissioned by the young Count of Mirandola²⁰². This fact might be consequence of the kabbalistic interests cultivated in his family, especially by his father and his uncle, who were heavily influenced by the figure of Sephardi mathematician Yitzḥaq Ibn Aḥdab. From the manuscripts copied Mithridates' relatives in fact, it emerges that the first kabbalistic texts studied by the convert were likely fundamental Sephardic sephirotic handbooks, such as Abraham ben Axelrad of Cologne's *Keter Shem Tov*²⁰³. Mithridates later translated this specific text for Giovanni Pico, among other Sephardic kabbalistic materials, though he did not use the Hebrew version contained in MS BSB, Cod. hebr. 246 as his Hebrew

¹⁹⁸ See M. Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy (1280-1510). A Survey*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 2011, pp. 33f.

¹⁹⁹ See S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, pp. 61-63, where parts of these notes are transcribed and explained.

²⁰⁰ See *Ibidem*, p. 63. This is Saverio Campanini's interpretation of notes by Mithridates to Abulafia's *Sitre Torah*, such as: «Nescio quid dicam obstipesco» (MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190, fol. 366r: I don't know what to say, I am amazed) or «numquam vidi maiora miracula» (MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190, fol. 403r: I've never seen greater miracles).

²⁰¹ See M. Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy (1280-1510). A Survey*, pp. 40-51; see also M. Idel, *The Ecstatic Kabbalah of Abraham Abulafia in Sicily*, in *Italia Judaica. Gli Ebrei in Sicilia fino all'Espulsione del 1492*, Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 1995, pp. 330-340.

²⁰² On fol. 458v of MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190 Mithridates adds in the margins of his translation: «ego scio quod hic auctor fecit multa mirabilia Panhormi hoc anno et celebratur in monumentis hebreorum panormitanorum in Sicilia mirum in modum» (I know that this author [Abraham Abulafia] did many amazing things during this year in Palermo, and he is celebrated in a wonderful way in Sicily in the records of the Jews from Palermo). See H. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, p. 70; S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, p. 62.

²⁰³ See *supra*, p. 23f.

antigraph²⁰⁴. This evidence may substantiate the suggestion of Mithridates' limited agency in selecting the kabbalistic manuscripts or the titles he translated for Giovanni Pico, in contrast to the broader intellectual autonomy apparently afforded to Elia Del Medigo, who had also been responsible for some noteworthy kabbalistic recommendations to his young patron²⁰⁵. Returning, in fact, to Del Medigo's kabbalistic recommendations, two additional texts among those mentioned in his letter were translated by Mithridates: an unspecified *Commentary on Sefer Yetzira* and *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Four commentaries (although Mithridates considered them to be five) commence MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191, underscoring the profound kabbalistic interest inspired by *Sefer Yetzira*, even among Christians in Florence, and illustrating the diversity of mystical authors translated by Mithridates²⁰⁶. The commentaries in question encompass works authored by Nahmanides, the previously mentioned Abraham Abulafia, and El'azar of Worms. The texts composed within the mystical circle of Rhineland pietists *Hasside Ashkenaz* or by El'azar of Worms himself cover an entire manuscript among the four remaining volumes of Mithridates' translations, specifically MS BAV Vat. Ebr. 189, and a substantial portion of MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, extending for approximately 700 folios, which constitute one-fifth of all of Mithridates' extant work. Nevertheless, Mithridates, and presumably Pico, regarded these composite materials as components of a single title, an extensive *Liber de anima* or *Sefer ha-Nefesh*, comprising fifteen books, of which the initial three are currently lost and would have likely significantly increased the volume and proportion of Mithridates' work devoted to the Rhineland pietists²⁰⁷. Mithridates' Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, together with the translation of this same text by Egidio da Viterbo and his intellectual circle, is indeed at the basis of this dissertation, and will be discussed at length later in this volume. What is noteworthy in this context, discussing the texts Giovanni Pico had Mithridates to translate is an important detail noted by Giovanna Murano in her reconstruction of Giovanni Pico's library regarding this text or at least its Hebrew source²⁰⁸. In both the catalogs of Pico's books made after his death, there is an item among the Hebrew manuscripts, which is identified with n. 364 and in one listings is said to be located in *capsa* 8, that is described as "Liber gubernationum" (Book of Governments) or "Liber combinationum" (*The Book*

²⁰⁴ For an in-depth demonstration of this fact, see M. Pepoli, *Storia di un manoscritto dai proprietari illustri*, p. 189 n. 34.

²⁰⁵ See G. Busi, *Who does not wonder at this chameleon?*, pp. 180f. On fol. 122v MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190, Mithridates calls Elia Del Medigo "imperfectus" (imperfect, that should probably be intended as "unreliable"). The two intellectuals engaged in a scholarly debate in the presence of their mutual patron, Giovanni Pico, and other members of the Florentine humanistic circle in 1485. According to Ficino's account of the debate, Mithridates did not perform well during this disputation against Del Medigo and a certain Abraam, and was nearly declared defeated (see *infra*, pp. 58-62). This outcome may elucidate the acerbic comment Mithridates directs toward the Averroistic philosopher.

²⁰⁶ See *infra*, pp. 64-66.

²⁰⁷ See *supra*, pp. 45f.

²⁰⁸ See G. Murano, *La Biblioteca Arabo-Ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 91-100.

on combinations)²⁰⁹. As it happens with most of the entries on those lists, only the first book-title of the texts comprised in a manuscript was transcribed in the catalogs²¹⁰. However, once those same Hebrew books were cataloged again for Cardinal Domenico Grimani, who had bought Giovanni Pico's library from his relatives, the entire content of this manuscript was reported:

Hebr. 35: Liber condemnationum Cabalistarum. Expositio decem verborum. Pars libri Radicum. Liber Yecira cum expositione rabi Moisi Gerundensis. Ianuae Iustitiae rabi Ioseph Zacheletae. Pars libri qui inscribitur Ordo divinitatis. Aliqua fragmenta scientiae cabalisticae rabi Moisi Gerundensis. Qui liber est rarus²¹¹. (Book of kabbalistic condemnations. Exposition on the Ten Sefirot. Parts of the Book of Roots. Sefer Yetzirah with commentary by Rabbi Moses of Girona. Gates of Justice by Yoseph Gikatilla. A part of a the book which is called The Order of the Divine. Some fragments on the practical Kabbalah by Rabbi Moses of Girona, which is a rare book).

As observed by Murano, all of the texts mentioned in this list, some of which have been previously analyzed in this chapter, were translated by Mithridates and are preserved in MS Vat. Ebr. 191, MS Vat. Ebr. 190 and MS Chigi A VI 190. This evidence suggests that this Hebrew manuscript, which is now presumably lost, may have served as the foundation for Mithridates' translations²¹². The observation that texts belonging to the same Hebrew manuscript were apparently translated during different, albeit proximate, time periods suggests the possibility of a systematic translation program. In this program, the selection of texts for translation may have been influenced not only by their availability in Giovanni Pico's collection but also by their relevance to the cultural interests of the Count of Mirandola. The examination of MS BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209 lends credence to this hypothesis, as it reveals that Flavius Mithridates translated only a subset of the texts contained within the aforementioned volume²¹³. The analysis of this item within Grimani's inventory reveals another noteworthy characteristic regarding the preservation of certain works: *Sefer ha-Shorashim* and *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* must have been only partially preserved within this manuscript. This fragmentary nature is, in fact, evidenced by the presence of the term "pars" preceding these particular titles. The incomplete state of these texts is likely attributable to Mithridates' aforementioned practice of utilizing unbound quires of materials, from which he derived his translations, which subsequently circulated in this same unbound format. The methodology employed by Mithridates in his work is

²⁰⁹ The variation in the definition of this title as either "gubernationum", "combinationum" (the correct transcription as it refers to Hebrew *Sefer ha-Tzeruf*), or "condemnationum" in Grimani's catalog is likely attributable to the difficulty in deciphering Mithridates' cursive Latin handwriting, compounded by the use of a 9-shaped symbol for the nexus "cum/com".

²¹⁰ See e.g. *supra*, p. 43.

²¹¹ See G. Murano, *La Biblioteca Arabo-Ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, p. 95. This item was first edited in G. Tamani, *I libri ebraici del Cardinale Domenico Grimani*, pp. 18f.

²¹² G. Murano, *La Biblioteca Arabo-Ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 92-95.

²¹³ See *supra*, pp. 43f.

evidenced by the condition of MS Chigi A VI 190, wherein the majority of the translations compiled in the volume are either fragments of texts found in other manuscripts, such as *Sitre Torah*, or texts arranged in an incorrect sequence, such as *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is particularly noteworthy in this context, as it appears that a significant portion of this text was either lost or never translated by Mithridates, resulting in an incomplete translation²¹⁴. MS Chigi A VI 190 appears to be a compilation of quires that were either separated from other volumes or potentially discovered unbound subsequent to the confiscation of either Giovanni Pico's materials whilst in Rome or Mithridates' possessions following his arrest in Viterbo. This observation may also suggest that texts contained in this volume, such as *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* or *Sha'are Tzedeq*, were likely translated during the final phase of Mithridates' translational activities and potentially did not reach Giovanni Pico. The latter supposition appears to be corroborated by the absence of annotations and glosses in Giovanni Pico's handwriting surrounding these translated texts, which are notably prevalent in MSS Vat. Ebr. 190 and 191, yet virtually nonexistent in MS Vat. Ebr. 189, and in MS Chigi A VI 190²¹⁵. The dating of MS Vat. Ebr. 190 to 1487 has elucidated that certain historical references, which are prevalent throughout Mithridates' translations, are pivotal for accurately situating these texts within the intellectual endeavors of Pico and the Florentine humanistic circle. This understanding is indispensable for comprehending the historical and cultural context in which they were conceived²¹⁶. Given these data, it is increasingly essential to conduct a comprehensive study and analysis of the content of additional translations by Mithridates, along with their subsequent edition. Such an undertaking would allow scholars to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between these translations and Pico's broader intellectual project, as well as the humanist intellectual circle to which he belonged.

1.5 Jewish kabbalistic culture in Late XV century Florence and the Medicean intellectual circle

So is this man of our generation, whose name is known as Lorenzo de' Medici. With the qualities of his hands and the abundance of his spiritual mind, unseen by the eyes of the people, he moves and leads with wisdom, knowledge, understanding, and great compassion all that is around him to the ends of the earth, and their kings bow down from afar at his footstool. And since he is not within the congregation as one who moves and leads

²¹⁴ See *infra*, pp. 160-163.

²¹⁵ I agree with Saverio Campanini in attributing the largest part of the signs of attention on these manuscripts constituted by two upper dots and a vertical line to Mithridates (see S. Campanini, "*Sine me non intelliges*", p. 18). Giovanni Pico's handwritten notes can be found on MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190, foll. 123v; 135r; 136v; 150v; 165v-170v; 171v; 186r-188r; 189r; 222v-224r; 225r; 247r-249r; 250r-250v; 251v-252v; 253v; 254v-255r; 256r-256v; 257v-259r; 260r-263v; 265r-267v; 268v-270r; 271r-273v; 274r; 275r; and on MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191, foll. 29v; 212v.

Though Pico's handwriting is absent in MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189, on foll. 6r; 9r; 16r; 51r; 70v; 72r; 75r; 77v; 78v; 79r; 80v; 81v; 85r; 85v; 87r; 88r; 90r; 91v; 93v; 94r; 95v; 97v; 112r; 119r; 121r; 122r; 122v; 125v; 141r; 165v; 251v; 256r; 258v there are notes in Egidio da Viterbo's handwriting, who had copied this specific manuscript for his collection (see *supra*, pp. 45f.).

²¹⁶ See *supra*, p. 29 n. 94.

with a strong hand [...]; but rather with a spirit of counsel and great humility, with a spirit of knowledge and fear of God – which is his treasure –, all the desires of his heart are only to do good to all who enter the gate of his city, which is a beautiful, faithful and glorified one, to which God has granted wealth and honour and value above all the nations²¹⁷.

In the introductory remarks of his treatise *Hesheq Shlomo* (Solomon's Desire), a kabbalistic commentary on the *Song of Songs*, specifically in the section devoted to the virtues of King Solomon, the Jewish scholar Yohannan Alemanno praises with this description Lorenzo de' Medici²¹⁸. As demonstrated by Fabrizio Lelli, the analogy between a local prince and King Solomon, depicted in even more dramatic fashion during events such as the procession organized by the Jewish community for the wedding of Costanzo Sforza, Prince of Pesaro, and Camilla d'Aragona, was a common occurrence among Italian Jewish communities in the fifteenth century²¹⁹. This particular form of praise is situated within a context where affirming and reassuring the protection of the princes was a critical safety concern for the local Jewish communities, which depended on privileges and concessions to reside and earn a livelihood in each city of Center and Northern Italy²²⁰. Strong religious anti-Jewish prejudice, both a consequence and a cause of the economic role of money-lenders, which many Jews residing in these cities were deliberately called to fulfill, jeopardized the quiet and peaceful existence of these communities within the Christian-majority territories²²¹. Pierre Savy, in his examination of the interactions between local princes and Jewish communities in the late fifteenth century, elucidates how the majority of these princes, who had acquired control over extensive territories due to the progressive political fragmentation of municipal governments and wars of conquest, perceived the opportunity to grant and ensure the safety of the local Jewish minority

²¹⁷ I owe the translation of this passage to Delia Del Prete, PhD student in History, Anthropology and Religion at "La Sapienza" – University of Rome. Delia del Prete is currently conducting her research titled *Imago Salomonis. Mystical-sapiential literature in the political reflection of Italian Humanism*, which deals with the composition and reception of Alemanno's *Hesheq Shlomo*.

²¹⁸ MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 103, foll. 18v:

כן האיש הלזה אשר בדורנו זה אשר שמו לורנצו דמידיצי' יכונה · בתבונות כפיו וברוב שכלו הרוחני הנעלם מעיני העם יגיע וינהיג בחכמה בדעת ובתבונה וברחמים גדולים כל סביביו · עד אפסי ארץ ומלכיהם ישתחוו מרהוק להדום רגליו. ואם הוא לא היה בתוך העדה כמניע ומנהיג בחזקת היד [...] כי אם ברוח עצה וענוה רבה ורוח דעת ויראת ה' היא אוצרו וכל מאווי לבו אך להטיב לכל באי שער עירו · היא העירה היפפיה היא הקריה הנאמנה והמעטירה אשר חסד אלקי' אותה עושר וכבוד ומעלה מכל מדינה.

²¹⁹ F. Lelli, *Umanesimo laurenziano nell'opera di Yohannan Alemanno*, in D.L. Bemporad-I. Zatelli (eds.), *La Cultura Ebraica all'Epoca di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1997, pp. 56-59. See also A. Melamed, *Wisdom's Little Sister. Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Jewish Political Thought*, Boston (MA), Academic Studies Press, 2012, esp. pp. 272-304. See also Id., *The Philosopher-King in Medieval and Renaissance Jewish Political Thought*, Suny Press, Albany (NY) 2012.

²²⁰ See e.g. B.D. Cooperman-S. Di Nepi-G. Maifreda, *Jews and State Building. Early Modern Italy and Beyond*, Leiden, Brill, 2025, esp. I. Lazzarini, *Power, Rule, and Political Agency in Italy during the Later Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance*, pp. 13-39; P. Savy, *Les Princes et les Juifs dans l'Italie de la Renaissance*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2023.

²²¹ On the ambiguities tied to economic role of the Jewish communities in Italian local economies, see P. Savy, *Les Princes et les Juifs*, pp. 181-195. On violence and prejudice against the Jewish communities in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era, see *supra*, nn. 124-125.

as a means to consolidate and centralize higher forms of power²²². This strategy was in fact employed in their struggle against local authorities, which continued to assert significant power within local governance and could foment revolts. Although Florence and its territories were still officially a Republic, the influence of the Medici family had progressively increased to such an extent that their substantial governance of the city and its affairs could be considered a crypto-signoria, or hidden lordship, wherein they functioned as local princes. In this context, it is unsurprising that Lorenzo de' Medici assumed the role of protector of the Jewish community in Florence and its territories, despite the fact that the local Jewish communities were under the jurisdiction of the *Otto di Guardia e di Balìa*, the Florentine judicial committee. A series of letters addressed to Lorenzo from prominent Jewish figures, such as the merchant Meshullam ben Menaḥem da Voterra (also known as Bonaventura di Emanuele) or banker Immanuel da Camerino (Emanuele di Bonaiuto) attest to a strong and amicable relationship between the leaders of the local Jewish community and their *de facto* prince²²³. Lorenzo's direct, though not public involvement in the protection of the rights granted to the Jews residing in Florence is commonly recognized by historians in cases such as the defence of the Banco della Vacca, a pawn-shop and bank managed by Immanuel da Camerino, who was considered one of the most affluent Jewish bankers of the time in Florence²²⁴. On 11th March 1488, after being incited by preacher Bernardino da Feltre, a mob went out of the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore and attacked the nearest Jewish pawn-shop, namely the Banco della Vacca, located in Via de' Pecori²²⁵. The swift intervention by the City Security Council of the Eight, who dispatched two of their members to personally address the situation, successfully safeguarded Immanuel da Camerino and the majority of his estate. The subsequent day, through the mediation of Lorenzo de' Medici, Bernardino da Feltre was expelled from Florence. Additionally, an official edict was publicly declared, reaffirming the rights and privileges of the local Jewish community and threatening severe penalties for any future aggressors²²⁶. The coincidence of the year of the attack on a prominent member of the local Jewish community with the second arrival in Florence of Yoḥannan Alemanno, the author of the encomium for Lorenzo at the beginning of this chapter, may suggest a purely political

²²² P. Savy, *Les Princes et les Juifs*, pp. 49-95, esp. 49-63.

²²³ See U. Cassuto, *La famiglia dei Medici et les Juifs*, in «Revue des Études Juives» LXXVI/112 (1923), pp. 132-145, esp. pp. 143-145.

²²⁴ See U. Cassuto, *Gli Ebrei a Firenze nell'Età del Rinascimento*, Firenze, Tipografia Galletti e Cocci, 1918, pp. 56-59. On Immanuel da Camerino, see also M. Toniazzi, *Nuovi documenti su Emanuele di Bonaiuto da Camerino, banchiere e uomo di cultura ebreo tra le Marche e la Toscana del XV secolo*, in «Il Capitale Culturale» X (2014), pp. 121-133.

²²⁵ On Bernardino da Feltre and his anti-Jewish activity as a preacher, see e.g. M.G. Muzzarelli, *Monti di Pietà e banchi ebraici nella predicazione osservante: il caso di Bernardino da Feltre*, in «Studi Francescani» CX/3-4 (2013), pp. 327-342. See also M.G. Muzzarelli, *Il Denaro e la Salvezza. L'Invenzione del Monte di Pietà*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2001; C.R. Puglisi-W.L. Barcham, *Bernardino da Feltre, the Monte di Pietà and the Man of Sorrows: Activist, Microcredit and Logo*, in «Artibus et Historiae» LVIII (2008), pp. 35-63.

²²⁶ MS Firenze, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Otto di Guardia e Balìa della Repubblica*, 79, foll. 12r-12v.

dimension to his comparison to King Solomon, a form of public recognition among Jewish intellectuals of Lorenzo's protection²²⁷. Nevertheless, the specific work in which this highly connotative praise is found, Alemanno's *Hesheq Shlomo*, along with the historical and cultural context in which it was composed, necessitates a more nuanced and culturally significant interpretation of these words. Yohannan Alemanno, a prominent Jewish scholar, well-versed in philosophy and Kabbalah, had initially started working on a soon abandoned commentary on the *Song of Songs* around 1469²²⁸. This commentary was further developed and expanded in a more comprehensive work, the *Hesheq Shlomo*, which commences with a treatise on the virtues of Solomon as an authentic example of kabbalist king, following Alemanno's arrival in Florence. As per Alemanno's own admission, this development was facilitated by the encouragement of Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, who was, at that time, recovering from his Inquisition experiences²²⁹. It is therefore clear that Alemanno's final work, which deals with the intricate dimensions of intellectual love through exegetical analysis and kabbalistic interpretation, emerged from a profound intellectual exchange between the Jewish scholar and the Medicean Neoplatonic circle. Texts such as Ficino's Latin and vernacular commentary on Plato's *Symposium*, Girolamo Benivieni's *Canzona de Amore*, and Giovanni Pico's *Commento sopra una Canzona de Amore*—composed slightly before or contemporaneously with his *Conclusiones Nongentae*—alongside notes and glosses dispersed throughout the manuscripts of other members of the same intellectual circle, such as Pier Leone da Spoleto and Angelo Poliziano, describe the progressive integration of Neoplatonic thought with Kabbalah and Jewish tradition among intellectuals in Florence²³⁰. The presence of an intellectual focused on the study of Kabbalah, particularly through Neoplatonic interpretations, like Yohannan Alemanno, within the Medicean scholarly circle, highlights the significance of his comparison between King Solomon and Lorenzo de' Medici. This comparison is particularly relevant due to its mystical dimensions and Lorenzo's dual roles as both a prince and a patron of the arts and culture²³¹.

²²⁷ MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 103, fol. 18r: «עד בואי בשנת רמ"ה לאלף הששי אל ארץ ראשיה». On Alemanno's personal relationship with Immanuel da Camerino, see M. Luzzati, *Documenti Inediti su Yohannan Alemanno a Firenze (1481 e 1492-1494)*, in D.L. Bemporad-I. Zatelli (eds.), *La Cultura Ebraica all'Epoca di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, pp. 71-84, esp. pp. 77-79.

²²⁸ See e.g. F. Lelli, *Introduzione*, in Y. Alemanno, *Hay ha-'Olamim. L'Immortale. Parte I: Retorica*, ed. F. Lelli, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1995, pp. 6-9.

²²⁹ See e.g. J. Perles, *Les savants juifs à Florence à l'époque de Laurent de Médicis*, in «Revue des Études Juives» XII/24 (1886), pp. 244-257, esp. 245f.

²³⁰ See M. Ficino, *Sopra lo Amore Overo Convito di Platone*, ed. G. Rensi, Lanciano, R. Carabba Editore, 1934; M. Ficino *El Libro dell'Amore*, ed. S. Niccoli, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1987; G. Pico della Mirandola, *De Dignitate Hominis*, pp. 459-581. See also F. Bacchelli, *Giovanni Pico e Pier Leone da Spoleto*, pp. 103-144; M. Corradi, *Alle Origini della Letteratura Neoplatonica del "Convito". Marsilio Ficino e il "De Amore"*, in «Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica» LXIX/3 (1977), pp. 406-422; S. Fellina, *Modelli di Episteme Neoplatonica nella Firenze del '400: Le Gnoseologie di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e Marsilio Ficino*, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2014.

²³¹ See F. Lelli, *Umanesimo laurenziano nell'opera di Yohannan Alemanno*, pp. 59-66; F. Lelli, *Pico tra filosofia ebraica e «qabbalah»*, in P. Viti (ed.), *Pico, Poliziano e l'Umanesimo di fine Quattrocento*, pp. 196-223.

Alemanno's affiliations with both the local Jewish community and the Neoplatonic Florentine circle offer an opportunity to evaluate and discuss the extent of the dissemination of kabbalistic knowledge among Jews residing in or connected to the city of Florence. Alemanno, who had resided in Florence as a young scholar in the household of Yehiel ben Yitzḥaq (Vitale di Isacco) da Pisa, the wealthiest and most influential Jewish banker in the Florentine territories and possibly in Italy, returned to the city at the invitation of his former host²³². In Yehiel's household, he subsequently served as a teacher and mentor to his sons, Yitzḥaq and Shmuel²³³. The influence of Alemanno as a kabbalist on his students is evidenced by a correspondence between Yitzḥaq ben Yehiel da Pisa and the Sephardic kabbalist Yitzḥaq Mar Ḥayyim, dated approximately 1490-1492. In this exchange, Alemanno's pupil defends Neoplatonic interpretations of kabbalistic doctrines, akin to those of his teacher, against the prevalent rejection of rationalism and philosophy among Sephardic kabbalists²³⁴. Concurrently with this kabbalistic epistolary exchange, Eliyyah Ḥayyim ben Binyamin da Genazzano similarly adopted arguments rejecting philosophical interpretations of Jewish Law and Kabbalah in his composition of *Iggeret Ḥamudot* (The Precious Letter)²³⁵. This text is dedicated to David ben Binyamin da Montalcino, the director of the Florentine bank and pawnshop known as the "Quattro Pavoni", who is depicted as aspiring to enter the kabbalistic paradise²³⁶. While Genazzano's critique of philosophers in this letter is both vigorous and compelling, certain expressions, such as פילוסופים קדומים (the ancient philosophers), reminiscent of the Latin *prisci theologi*, along with the adopted argumentative structure, suggest a robust philosophical education and a profound understanding of humanist cultural developments²³⁷. By the end of the fifteenth century in fact, the notion that the philosophical and rhetorical insights of humanists could be integrated into the teaching of Jewish tradition had gained considerable traction among Italian Jewish communities. This was particularly evident through the cultural contributions of Yehudah ben Yehiel Messer Leon, who had Yohannan Alemanno as a student

²³² On the figure of Yehiel da Pisa, see U. Cassuto, *La Famiglia da Pisa*, in «Rivista Israelitica» VII/1 (1910), pp. 9-19; VII/2-3, pp. 72-86; VII/4, pp. 146-150; U. Cassuto, *Ancora sulla famiglia da Pisa*, in «Rivista Israelitica» X/2 (1913), pp. 48-60; D. Kauffman, *La famille de Yehiel de Pise*, in «Revue des Études Juives» XXVI/51 (1893), pp. 83-110; XXVI/52 (1893), pp. 220-239.

²³³ MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 103, fol. 21r: « יצחק והר' שמואל » וכובי תכונתיו כמהרר' יחיאל נכם מפיסה ושני בניו הרר' יצחק והר' שמואל ».

²³⁴ See A.W. Greenup, *A kabbalistic epistle by Isaac b. Samuel b. Hayyim Sephardi*, in «Jewish Quarterly Review» XXI (1931), pp. 365-375; M. Idel, *Iggerto shel R. Yitzḥaq mi-Pisa (?) be-shalosh nushoteah*, in «Qovetz 'al yad» X (1982), 161-214; Y. Nadav, *Iggeret ha-mequbal R. Yitzḥaq Mar Hayyim 'al torat ha-Tzeḥiḥut*, in «Tarbitz» XXVI (1957) pp. 440-458. See also, F. Lelli, *Introduzione*, in E. da Genazzano, *La Lettera Preziosa. Iggeret Ḥamudot*, ed. F. Lelli, Firenze-Nîmes, Giuntina-l'éclet, 2002, pp. 38-40.

²³⁵ E. da Genazzano, *La Lettera Preziosa*, pp. 125-284. See also, F. Lelli, *Pico, i da Pisa e 'Eliyya Ḥayyim da Genazzano*, in F. Lelli (ed.), *Giovanni Pico e la Cabbalà*, pp. 93-120.

²³⁶ E. da Genazzano, *La Lettera Preziosa*, p. 127:

שיר המעלות לדוד בן כ"ר מורנו הרב ר' בנימין מהר אלצינו נכתו"א

מאז גלית את אזני בכתב יד ימינך היותך משתוקק ליכנס לפרדס היה את לבבי אם פה אל פה אדבר לך לבלתי העלים ממך דבר מהמעט מזער אשר חנני ה' אעפ"י שאינו אפילו כחלק קטן מן הטפה שבים הגדול.

²³⁷ See F. Lelli, *Introduzione*, 43-83.

in his *yeshivah*²³⁸. An interesting letter by Messer Leon dated 1474 is however telling of the strict limits he meant to impose to the influence of humanist doctrines when it came to their integration with Jewish thought and the diffusion among Christians of the Jewish tradition²³⁹. Messer Leon's epistle was in fact addressed to Binyamin ben Yoav da Montalcino, father of the aforementioned David ben Binyamin, a banker, talmudist and sage, who had established a *yeshivah* in his residence in Florence, where many prominent members of the Jewish community residing in Italy, particularly in Tuscany, were instructed in the Jewish tradition²⁴⁰. In his letter, Messer Leon transitioned from addressing juridical matters to delivering a dramatic reprimand concerning the kabbalistic interests pursued by the local Jewish community, particularly when these interests were expressed through Neoplatonic interpretations²⁴¹. Messer Leon considered the dissemination of kabbalistic teachings beyond the Jewish esoteric communities for which they were originally intended to pose a significant threat to the survival of Italian Jewish communities. Such threat likely appeared particularly severe to members of the Florentine Jewish community, who, it seems, had narrowly avoided expulsion from the city in 1472. This fact is evidenced by a supplication from Shemaryah ben Abraham Yehiel, a copyist residing in Florence, and a letter from Yehiel da Pisa to Yitzḥaq Abravanel²⁴². These documents also appear to be connected to the contemporary censorship of passages in Hebrew manuscripts owned by Florentine Jews, deemed offensive to the Christian faith²⁴³. According to annotations on the censored volumes, the expurgation was mandated by the Otto di Guardia e di Balìa, the local security council responsible for overseeing matters related to the local Jewish community²⁴⁴. The censored sections of the manuscripts were authenticated and certified by a notary named Marchion, identified with Marchione di Marchione Donati. Marchione held the position of notary for the Eight and was appointed to this role within the city security council through his connections with Lorenzo de' Medici²⁴⁵. Furthermore, Marchione was tasked with issuing residential permits to the

²³⁸ On Messer Leon and his philosophy, see e.g. G. Busi, *Il Succo dei favi. Influssi italiani nella letteratura ebraica del Rinascimento*, in G. Busi (ed.), *L'Enigma dell'Ebraico nel Rinascimento*, Torino, Nino Aragno Editore, 2007, pp. 47-56; C. Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 403f.; M. Zonta, *The knowledge of Latin Philosophical literature among Jewish Philosophers in 15 Century Italy. Scholastic Sources in Yehudah Messer Leon's Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*, in G. Busi (ed.), *Hebrew to Latin. Latin to Hebrew*, Torino, Nino Aragno Editore, 2006, pp. 133-166.

²³⁹ This letter was published in S. Assaf (ed.), *Minḥah le-David Yellin*, Jerusalem, ha-Mimkar bi-yede R. Mas, 1935, p. 227.

²⁴⁰ U. Cassuto, *Gli Ebrei a Firenze*, pp. 246-248.

²⁴¹ See R. Bonfil, *Gli Ebrei in Italia nell'Epoca del Rinascimento*, Firenze, Sansoni Editore, 1991, pp. 157-160; M. Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy (1280-1510). A Survey*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 2011, pp. 160-163.

²⁴² See N. Pasternak, *Marchion in Hebrew manuscripts: State censorship in Florence, 1472*, in J.R. Hacker-A. Shear (eds.), *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, Philadelphia (PN), University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, pp. 26-55, esp. 46.

²⁴³ See N. Parsternak, *The Material Context of 15th-Century Hebrew Florentine Manuscripts: A Source of Information on Production, Ownership and Control of Hebrew Books in Their Christian Environment*, in S. Simonsohn-J. Shatzmiller (eds.), *The Italia Judaica Jubilee Conference*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2013, pp. 127-136, esp. pp. 130-136.

²⁴⁴ N. Pasternak, *Marchion in Hebrew manuscripts*, pp. 29-39.

²⁴⁵ See ASFi, *Mediceo Avanti il Principato*, filza 21 n. 83.

local Jewish population, highlighting his substantial involvement in matters pertaining to the Jewish community which is proven by his signature in the censored manuscripts²⁴⁶. Due to the absence of documentation concerning the actions of the Security Council of the Eight from 1472 to 1474, the exact nature of these events remains indeterminate. Similarly, the potential mediation by Lorenzo de' Medici, who was then in the early stages of consolidating his power in the town, cannot be definitively established. Despite the adversities previously faced however, Messer Leon's letter, written over a decade before Pico's arrival in Florence, or Alemanno's contributions to the local Neoplatonic and kabbalistic discourse, seems to portray a Florentine Jewish community in which some of its most prominent and affluent members had already formed connections and engaged in intellectual exchanges with local humanists. It also indicates that the Jewish community in Tuscany exhibited a notable interest in Kabbalah, as evidenced by at least a manuscript preserved in the Medicean Laurentian Library of Florence. MS Firenze, BML, Plut. II 37 is a copy of Gikatilla's *Sha'are Orah*, written in Sephardic cursive script and dated to the late fourteenth-early fifteenth century. A small piece of parchment on the back cover of the volume notes that this manuscript was owned by Yoav (Dattilo) da San Miniato after he divided his inheritance with his brothers Immanuel (Emanuele) and Mordekhai (Angelo)²⁴⁷. According to Umberto Cassuto's reconstruction, these three brothers were the offspring of Abraham da San Miniato, who, in 1437, was among the pioneering Jewish money-lenders to establish an associative bank in Florence²⁴⁸. In the context of the widespread dissemination of kabbalistic knowledge among Jewish notables in Florence, it is important to note that the families Da San Miniato, Da Pisa, and Da Montalcino were all closely interconnected, sharing a common ancestor in Mattatiah ben Shabbetai אל מן הכנסת או מבית אל, who had migrated from Rome to Tuscany²⁴⁹. The presence of a copy of *Sha'are Orah* in Tuscany, owned by members of the Da San Miniato family, who were closely associated with the city of Florence and connected to several notable Jewish figures within the Medicean circle, is also particularly noteworthy. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola had in fact likely searched for a copy of this text, which was recommended by Eliyahu del Medigo, around the time of Mithridates' kabbalistic translations and apparently never managed to obtain one²⁵⁰. The challenges faced by Giovanni Pico in acquiring kabbalistic texts already available in Florence can be

²⁴⁶ See Pasternak, *Marchion in Hebrew manuscripts*, pp. 48-55.

²⁴⁷ MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. II 37, back of the front cover: «הגיע לחלק ירושת כמ"ר יואב ז"ל כשחלקו: «הספרי עם ירושת כמ"ר עמנואל ועם ירושת כמ"ר מרדכי זלה"ה מ'ס מניאטו» (This came as part of the inheritance of our honored teacher R. Yo'av z"l, once they divided the books with the inheritance of the honored teacher R. Immanuel and with the inheritance of the honored teacher Mordekhai zlh"h da San Miniato). On fol. 1r: «בני ס מניאטו» (Children of San Miniato).

²⁴⁸ See U. Cassuto, *Sulla famiglia Da Pisa*, in «Rivista Israelitica» V/5-6 (1908), pp. 227-238, esp. pp. 236-237. According to Cassuto another manuscript involved in this inheritance is the three volumes Talmud MS Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.I.7-9. On this MS, see J. Olszowy-Schlanger, *Des Juifs, des Chrétiens et des Livres*, pp. 98-103.

²⁴⁹ See U. Cassuto, *Sulla famiglia Da Pisa*, pp. 228-231.

²⁵⁰ See *supra*, pp. 38; 48.

contextualized within the ongoing resistance from certain members of the different Jewish communities to the Neoplatonic and kabbalistic interactions occurring among the Medicean circle and local Jewish kabbalists²⁵¹. Subsequently, the aforementioned texts that around the end of the fifteenth century challenged the philosophical interpretations of Kabbalah mainly conceived in Florence, which were directed towards actual members of the Florentine Jewish community with connections to the Medicean circle, appear to be part of a broader discourse on Kabbalah, Neoplatonism, and philosophy, as well as the cultural exchanges they facilitated between Jews and Christians.

1.5.1 *Abraam*

On fol. 360v of manuscript BAV, Chigi A VI 190, Flavius Mithridates concludes his notably abridged Latin translation of *Perush Shimmushe Torah* with a distinctive colophon: «Abraham cut off the rest and there is no more [text]. Here ends what Mithridates has found»²⁵². Throughout Mithridates' translations, there is a series of critical annotations that highlight the erasures in the text the translator attributed to the scribe or revisor named Abraam, or Abraham, in the process of copying the Hebrew manuscripts Mithridates used as sources²⁵³. Given that the scribe is identified solely by his first name, it is plausible to deduce that both Mithridates and Giovanni Pico were likely personally acquainted with him. Moreover, it seems that the Count of Mirandola engaged this scribe to transcribe certain kabbalistic manuscripts in his possession, such as the text of *Shimmushe Torah*, or at least to examine them, as evidenced by instances where Mithridates notes his erasures. In light of our previous exploration of the nuanced relationship between Pico and Mithridates, alongside Mithridates' necessity to maintain his essential role to his patron, it is predictable to observe critical comments aimed at Pico's other Jewish collaborators. This includes the description of "imperfectus" ascribed to Eliyahu Del Medigo on fol. 102r of MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190, as well as the mentions of inadequate transcription efforts by the scribe known as Abraam. The remarks made by Mithridates against both Del Medigo and the scribe named Abraam may however be associated as well with an event that occurred in the Count of Mirandola's residence around the year 1485. A letter from Marsilio Ficino to Domenico Benivieni, undated but preserved among those definitively dated to 1485, details a

²⁵¹ G. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, p. 184: «Unde et nomen accepit, ut diceretur cabalistica et tempore Esdrae in plures libros fuerit redacta, qui dicuntur libri cabalae, quos ego libros summa impensa mihi conquisitos. Neque enim eos Hebraei Latinis nostris communicare volunt» (It derived its name from that, so that they were called kabbalistic. And those which are called books of Kabbalah were redacted at the time of Ezra in multiple volumes, which were acquired by me at the highest price. Indeed, the Hebrews do not want to share with us, the Latins).

²⁵² MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 360v: «reliquum abraam truncavit et non est ibi amplius. Finit quod Inventum [sic] est Mithridates».

²⁵³ See MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189, fol. 258v; MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190, fol. 392r. All of Mithridates' remarks regarding erasures and *lacunae* in his sources throughout his translations were signalled by Saverio Campanini in S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, p. 70 n. 57.

polemical dispute on whether or not the biblical prophecies could be related to the advent of Christ involving Mithridates for the Christian side and two Jewish physicians, Del Medigo and an individual named Abraam, which took place in Giovanni Pico's Florentine residence. There, Ficino describes the difficulties encountered by Mithridates in engaging in a substantive debate with two highly skilled Jewish opponents²⁵⁴. The stringent conditions for Mithridates' supposed victory may have prompted Mithridates to intensify his frequent criticisms of Pico's collaborators. The hypothesis that Abraam, who functioned as a copyist and reviser of kabbalistic manuscripts for Giovanni Pico, is the same individual who participated in the 1485 debate, appears plausible, especially when considering that the other participants, Eliyahu Del Medigo and Flavius Mithridates, were also engaged in Pico's translational projects. The hypothesis gains further validation upon examining the identification of the disputant in Pico's residence as Abraham ben Mordekhai Farissol, a copyist, intellectual, and *hazan* in the Jewish community of Ferrara²⁵⁵. Joseph Perles was the pioneering scholar to suggest this identification by citing a passage from Farissol's polemical and apologetic work, *Magen Avraham*, in which Farissol claims to have been in Florence in 1485 and to have observed a giraffe there²⁵⁶. Given that Abraham Farissol is recognized for his active participation in Jewish-Christian debates against local friars in Ferrara, particularly in the presence of the local Duke, Ercole I d'Este, in a date between 1487 and 1491, it seemed plausible to suggest that he might have also engaged in such a debate in Pico's house during his earlier visit to Florence in 1485²⁵⁷. The hypothesis that Marsilio Ficino may have conflated the descriptions of both Eliyahu Del Medigo, who was indeed a physician, and Abraham Farissol into one individual addresses the fact that Farissol was not a physician. David Ruderman has later further contributed details regarding the extensive medical training Farissol

²⁵⁴ M. Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, Basel, Ex Officina Henricpetrina, 1576, p. 873: «Interfuisti et tu disputationibus, quae in aedibus Ioannis Pici Mirandulensis ante alios admirandi, saepe tractatae sunt atque tractantur, ubi Helias et Abraam Hebraei medici atque peripatetici adversus Guilielmum Siculum disserunt. Oracula prophetarum ad Iesum minime pertinere sed alio quodam sensu dicta contendunt, convertentens aliorum omnia e manibusque nostris pro viribus extorquentes, neque facile convinci posse videntur, nisi divinus Plato prodeat in iudicium invictus religionis sanctae patronus» (You too were present at the disputations, which were and are usually handled in the mansions of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in front of others to admire, where Elia and Abraam, physicians and peripathetics, argued against Guglielmo the Sicilian. They claim that the oracles of prophets do not pertain by any means to Jesus, while they turn everything around stripping it away from our hands through their force. And they did not seem to be easily convinced if the divine Plato did not show up, invincible, in the trial, as protector of the saint religion).

²⁵⁵ See D.B. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew. The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol*, Hebrew Union College Press, Cincinnati 1991. On Farissol's works as a copyist, see E. Engel, *Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol: Sephardi Tradition of Book Making in Northern Italy of the Renaissance Period*, in «Jewish Art» XVIII (1992), pp. 158-163; Ead., *Ish ha-Renessans. Avraham ben Mordekhai Faritzol ve-sandnat kitve ha-iad shelo*, in H. Ishay (ed.), *Shirat Dvora. Matnat Yedidut ve-Hukarah le-Professor Dvora Bergman*, Be'er Sheva', Mosad Bialik, 2019, pp. 29-55.

²⁵⁶ See also F. Lelli, *Un testimone poco noto dell'Iggeret orhot 'olam di Avraham Farissol: il Ms Philadelphia*, *University of Pennsylvania, LJS 499*, in E. Abate-S. Campanini-J. Olszowy-Schlanger-G. Veltri (eds.), *Habent Sua Fata Fragmenta. Festschrift in Honour of Mauro Perani Offered by Friends and Colleagues*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2025, pp. 48-62, esp. p. 50.

²⁵⁷ J. Perles, *Les savants juifs à Florence à l'époque de Laurent de Médicis*, pp. 251-252. For Farissol's participation on a debate against Christian friars, see D.B. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew*, pp. 57-84.

received at his uncle's residence in Avignon, which may have led the broader public to perceive him as a physician²⁵⁸. Umberto Cassuto, however, refuted this identification by asserting that the appearance of the giraffe in Florence was dated to 1487, attributing the discrepancy in dates to a typographical error. According to Cassuto, Farissol appears to reference only a single short visit to Florence around 1487, rather than multiple visits, making it impossible to attest his presence at the debate in Pico's house in 1485. Consequently, the scholar proposed the name of Abramo di Moise da Prato²⁵⁹. David Ruderman has contested Cassuto's reconstruction, as an extensive examination of the extant manuscripts of Farissol's *Magen Avraham*, including one written in 1525 which appears to be autograph, all report the date of 1485. Given that the appearance of the giraffe definitively occurred in 1487, the discrepancy in the dates may serve as evidence of Farissol's multiple visits to Florence. After a lapse of forty years since the events he recounts in *Magen Avraham*, it is plausible that Farissol became confused between the date of his initial stay in Florence and the sighting of the giraffe²⁶⁰. Ruderman quoted the existence of a *Mahzor* copied by Farissol for Immanuel da Camerino in 1492, namely MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 4653 as another proof for Farissol's multiple stays in Florence²⁶¹. Giovanna Murano pursued this hypothesis and associates the "Abraham scriptor" mentioned in a 1492 document of the Florentine Security Council of the Eight with Farissol²⁶². However, the colophon of MS JTS, 4653 presents a challenge to this reconstruction, which must be thoroughly examined to ensure scholarly accuracy, even if the notion of Farissol's multiple stays in Florence is deemed highly plausible. The colophon on folio 547v of the manuscripts indeed states: «I, Abraham Farissol [...] wrote this *mahzor* [...] for [...] Immanuel da Camerino, the Florentine resident [...], and I completed it here in Ferrara on the 1st of Adar of the year [5]252»²⁶³. Immanuel da Camerino is identified as residing in Florence, which allows us to associate him with the previously mentioned director of Banco della Vacca, who was attacked by the Florentine mob in 1488 and subsequently defended by the Eight city council through the intervention of Lorenzo de' Medici. According to the scribe, the manuscript was completed not in Florence, but in Ferrara, where Farissol typically resided. Consequently, this manuscript cannot serve as evidence of Farissol's travel to Florence in 1492. While such travel is not impossible, as suggested by the mention of "Abraham scriptor" in Murano's document, it cannot be substantiated solely by the existence of this manuscript. Immanuel da Camerino in fact resided in Florence but maintained close contacts with fellow Jewish

²⁵⁸ D.B. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew*, pp. 6-11; 42.

²⁵⁹ U. Cassuto, *Gli Ebrei a Firenze nell'Età del Rinascimento*, pp. 317; 325-326. See also F. Bacchelli, *Giovanni Pico e Pier Leone da Spoleto*, p. 63.

²⁶⁰ D.B. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew*, pp. 41-43.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²⁶² G. Murano, *La Biblioteca Arabo-Ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 55-56.

²⁶³ MS JTS, 4653, fol. 547v: «אני אברהם פריצל [...] כתבתי המחזור [...] אל [...] עמנואל מקמירינו תושב פירנצי והשלמתי פה פירארא [...] דא' אדר שבשנת רנ"ב».

bankers in both the Marche and Emilia-Romagna regions, which can explain a commission of a manuscript from a scribe residing and copying in Ferrara²⁶⁴. This manuscript, however, serves as evidence of Farissol's connections with the city of Florence, not solely through his travels or potential public disputes, but also through his work as a scribe. Thus far, the data collected indicates that Abraham Farissol may have traveled to Florence multiple times between 1485 and 1487; that he was certainly engaged in public debates against Christians, even in the presence of local princes and renowned intellectuals; and that his activity as scribe was known in Florence, since a prominent local banker employed him for the copy of his *Mahzor*. Given these elements, the hypothesis that Abraham Farissol collaborated with Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, as both the scribe mentioned by Mithridates and the disputant in the 1485 debate, appears plausible. In support of the hypothesis regarding Farissol's collaboration with Giovanni Pico, I wish to highlight an additional detail that has not yet been addressed in the scholarly discourse on this matter. The collaboration between the Ferrarese scholar Pellegrino Prisciani, who served as a librarian for the Este family and possessed foundational knowledge of Hebrew, and Abraham Farissol constitutes documented evidence of scholarly research concerning Ferrara, the local Jewish community, and the Dukes of Este²⁶⁵. One of the most renowned outcomes of such collaboration is the *Roverella Altarpiece* by Cosmè Tura, painted circa 1470-1474, coinciding with the early period of Farissol's residence in Ferrara. The central element of this work conceived by Pellegrino Prisciani is a 2.39 x 1.02 m depiction of the *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, which is currently housed at the National Gallery in London. The throne upon which the Madonna is seated, holding her child, is embellished with the Ten Commandments inscribed in Hebrew. Notably, only the initial two words of each commandment are painted. However, in the case of the first commandment, the *Tetragrammaton* is deliberately omitted, a choice that aligns more closely with Jewish religious sensibilities than with Christian ones. As the altarpiece was originally intended for display in a church, such context might have rendered the inclusion of the *Tetragrammaton* potentially blasphemous to a Jewish intellectual, even if such an individual was otherwise willing to collaborate with Christians. The omission of the *Tetragrammaton* has been unanimously attributed to Abraham Farissol, who worked alongside Cosmè Tura and Pellegrino Prisciani. Therefore, Farissol deliberately chose not to include the *Tetragrammaton* in his rendition of the Commandments, which he provided to the painter, who was unable to verify the

²⁶⁴ See M. Toniazzi, *Nuovi documenti su Emanuele di Bonaiuto da Camerino*, pp. 124-126; 129.

²⁶⁵ See G. Busi, *Officina ebraica ferrarese*, in G. Busi (ed.), *L'enigma dell'ebraico nel Rinascimento*, Torino, Aragno, 2007, pp. 73-98, On Pellegrino Prisciani, see e.g. A. Rotondò, *Pellegrino Prisciani*, in «Rinascimento», XI, 1960, pp. 69-110. For an introduction to the Jewish experience in Ferrara during the Renaissance, see e.g. S. Greco, *Ebrei in Italia nel Rinascimento: una prospettiva sociologica, con esempi ferraresi*, in G. Busi-S. Greco (eds.), *Il Rinascimento Parla Ebraico*, pp. 46-57; M.G. Muzzarelli, *Ferrara, ovvero un porto placido e sicuro tra XV e XVI secolo*, in E. Fregni-M. Perani (eds.), *Vita e cultura ebraica nello Stato estense. Atti di Convegno*, Nonantola, Fattoadarte, 1993, pp. 235-257.

accuracy of the Hebrew text²⁶⁶. The discretion exercised in deciding which elements to omit and which to retain appears to be a consistent feature of the interventions attributed by Mithridates to the scribe named Abraam throughout his translations. For instance, in the colophon at the beginning of this chapter, Mithridates observes that the copyist significantly abridged the original text, a claim corroborated by comparing the length and content of the translation with the complete text of *Perush Shimmushe Torah*²⁶⁷. All other annotations indeed relate to erasures in the Hebrew text, to the extent that Mithridates conceded he could not even conjecture the deleted word²⁶⁸. Thus, the actions of a copyist collaborating with a Christian patron, while retaining an active role in determining which portions of the text could be disseminated to a Christian audience, appear to align with Farissol's approach of engaging in a combative yet open dialogue with Christianity and Christian intellectuals, such as his cultural contributions and debates in Ferrara. This activity, particularly in relation to his interactions in the city of Florence, may have led to the transcription or revision of certain kabbalistic manuscripts for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, as well as his participation alongside Del Medigo in the debate at the Count's residence.

1.6 Pier Leone da Spoleto

A comprehensive examination of the origins of kabbalistic studies among Christian humanists necessitates an analysis of the intricate figure of Pier Leone da Spoleto. Pier Leone da Spoleto was among the most eminent physicians of his time, offering medical care to nobility and high-ranking clergy in both Rome and Florence, where he notably treated Lorenzo de' Medici and his family²⁶⁹. His expertise as a physician, coupled with his innovative approach to medicine that emphasized Galenic principles and critiqued the prevalent Arabic medical writings, afforded him significant teaching opportunities and substantial salary benefits at the University of Pisa, where he served from 1475 to 1478 and again from 1482 to 1487, as well as at the University of Padua, where he held a position from 1490 to 1491. Through his most renowned patient, Lorenzo de' Medici, Pier Leone da Spoleto engaged with the Neoplatonic circle of Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and Angelo Poliziano, thereby becoming one of the most influential figures within this intellectual community²⁷⁰.

²⁶⁶ G. Busi, *Officina ebraica ferrarese*, pp. 76-86.

²⁶⁷ See *supra* n. 190. See also, M.S. Belea, *Sefer Shimmush Torah: a History of Textual and Material Transmission*, PhD Thesis, École Pratique des Hautes Études-Universität Hamburg, 2024. The thesis can be consulted at the following link: <https://theses.hal.science/tel-05026706v1>.

²⁶⁸ MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189, fol. 258v: «Hic deleuit Abraam nec possum divinare verbum» (Here Abraham erased a word and I cannot conjecture it).

²⁶⁹ For a complete biography on Pier Leone da Spoleto, see F. Bacchelli, *Leoni (Lioni), Piero (Pier Leone, Pierleone da Spoleto)*, pp. 606-610; M. Rotzoll, *Pierleone da Spoleto. Vita e Opere di un Medico del Rinascimento*, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2000.

²⁷⁰ M. Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, pp. 937f.: «In aetate vero mea iam matura familiares, non auditores [...] Angelus Politianus, Pierleonus Spoletinus, Ioannes Picus Mirandula» (In my by now mature age these men are my family, not my students: [...] Angelo Poliziano, Pier Leone da Spoleto, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola).

Pier Leone was significantly engaged in various translational endeavors, primarily focused on medicine, which involved collaboration with both Marsilio Ficino and Angelo Poliziano, and shared with Ficino an interest in astrology²⁷¹. However, the circumstances surrounding the death of Pier Leone, whether by suicide or murder, in connection with the demise of Lorenzo de' Medici, his most renowned patient, have historically led to a general neglect of the sources pertaining to this figure and his actual contributions to the humanist intellectual community of Late 15th century Italy²⁷². The relatively recently recovered collection of Pier Leone's extant scientific, philosophical, and mystical manuscripts provides a comprehensive profile of a physician and philosopher who was thoroughly aligned with and actively engaged in the discourses developed within the Medicean circle²⁷³. These manuscripts have facilitated a re-evaluation of Pier Leone's role in disseminating the doctrines of Raimon Llull and Nicolas of Cusa throughout Florence, Pisa, Rome, Padua, and Venice. Additionally, they have revealed Pier Leone's interest in Kabbalah, which prompted him to commission a translational project of kabbalistic texts from Hebrew into the Sicilian/Castilian vernacular, a task he appears to have assigned to at least two different translators²⁷⁴. The investigations into Pier Leone's kabbalistic endeavors have initiated an assessment of the extent of his contributions to kabbalistic discourse within the Neoplatonic Florentine intellectual circle, particularly in relation to the ideas and writings of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola²⁷⁵. While a comprehensive analysis of Pier Leone's *corpus* of translations exceeds the scope of this chapter and thesis, a more thorough understanding of kabbalistic studies in Florence during the collaboration between Giovanni Pico and Mithridates,

²⁷¹ See M. Rotzoll, *Pierleone da Spoleto*, pp. 28-32; 45-52. See also M. Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, p. 928: «Vide igitur Pierleone, mi alter ego, quam similem in plerisque sortis nacti sumus, disciplinae Medicem, in coelestibus eundem, ut conienctor, Saturnum ducem quoque Platonem, Patronum rursus eundem Laurentium Medicem, Platonicarum disciplinarum instauratorem, amicos prorsus eosdem» (You see then, Pier Leone, my *alter ego*, that we both received someone so similar in multiple occurrences of the fate: a practicing physician, in the skies, as I hypothesize, Saturn as our leader, and then Plato, and again the same patron Lorenzo de' Medici, one who re-establishes the Platonic studies, and certainly the same friends).

²⁷² See M. Rotzoll, *Pierleone da Spoleto*, pp. 7-10; 19-24. See also M. Capuano, *Inchiesta per la morte di Pietro Leoni, medico personale di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, in Id. (ed.), *Tempo e Immagini del Rinascimento Italiano*, Bari, La Vallisa, 1990; L. Frati, *La morte di Lorenzo de' Medici e il suicidio di Pier Leoni*, in «Archivio Storico degli Italiani» IV (1894), pp. 255-260.

²⁷³ See L. Dorez, *Recherches sur la bibliothèque de Pier Leoni, médecin de Laurent de Médicis*, in «Révues des bibliothèques» IV (1894), pp. 73-83; Id., *Recherches sur la bibliothèque de Pier Leoni, médecin de Laurent de Médicis (partie 2)*, in «Révues des bibliothèques» VII (1897), pp. 81-106; R. E. Lerner, *The Prophetic Manuscripts of the «Renaissance Magus» Pierleone of Spoleto*, in G.L. Potestà (ed.), *Il Profetismo Gioachimita fra Quattrocento e Cinquecento. Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Gioachimiti, S. Giovanni in Fiore, 17-21 settembre 1989*, Genova, Marietti, 1991, pp. 97-116; G. Murano, *Tra scienza, astrologia e magia. Un nuovo manoscritto di Pierleone da Spoleto*, in «Archivum mentis» VIII (2019), pp. 249-273; G. Radetti, *Un'aggiunta alla biblioteca di Pierleone Leoni da Spoleto*, in «Rinascimento» V (1965), pp. 87-99; J. Ruysschaert, *Nouvelles recherches au sujet de la bibliothèque de Pier Leoni, médecin de Laurent le Magnifique*, in «Bulletin de la classe de Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique» IV (1960), pp. 37-65.

²⁷⁴ See *infra*, pp. 68-70.

²⁷⁵ See *supra* n. 77.

which culminated in the *Conclusiones Nongentae*, requires the examination of the content of the kabbalistic or kabbalistically related manuscripts attributed to Pier Leone da Spoleto or his students.

1.6.1 MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 868

This manuscript was in the possession of the Florentine physician Mazzingo Mazzinghi, who was a disciple of Pier Leone da Spoleto in Pisa. Mazzinghi himself has annotated and transcribed several pages of this volume²⁷⁶. The presence of multiple variations in handwriting within the manuscript suggests a complex production process, indicating that it was likely composed for personal study, as evidenced by the extensive annotations. These changes in handwriting are particularly pronounced in the texts following the two blank pages on foll. 112r-113v. The initial page of the manuscript is composed of parchment and appears to have been subsequently affixed to a paper codex. It contains a concise summary of *Sefer Yetzirah* on fol. 1r. Foll. 1v-3r are left blank, and on fol. 3v, there is a partial index of the manuscript's contents²⁷⁷. The numbering of the content adheres to the more ancient enumeration of the manuscript, which is typically positioned above the stamped librarian numbering that will be utilized in this description. On folios 4r-11r, the manuscript contains Andalò del Negro's *De compositione astrolabii*, which is succeeded by his *Theorica planetarum* on folios 13r-28r, and his *Practica Astrolabii* on folios 29r-37r²⁷⁸. Item n. 44 in the inventory of Pier Leone's library, as published by Léon Dorez in 1897, contains a manuscript of works by Andalò de Nigro, aligning Mazzingo Mazzinghi with the primary interests of his mentor, Pier Leone²⁷⁹. An *Introduction to astrology* on foll. 38r-77r preceeds a small pamphlet on the solar and lunar eclipses between 1478-1506, followed by astrological tables (81v-82r) and a small text on the ephemeris (foll.

²⁷⁶ See P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. I, p. 180; see also F. Bacchelli, *Giovanni Pico e Pier Leone da Spoleto: tra Filosofia dell'Amore e Tradizione Cabalistica*, pp. 31-36.

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²⁷⁸ See M. Muccillo, *Di Negro, Andalò*, in «Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani» XL (1990). See also, A. di Negro, *Trattato sull'astrolabio di Andalò di Negro*, P.E. Fornaciari-O.P. Faracovi (eds.), Ospedaletto, Pacini Editore, 2005; Id., *Practica Astrolabii di Andalò di Negro, Parte I. Edizione critica*, Bergamo, Istituto Universitario di Bergamo, 1984; S. Gessner-B. Mota-D. Raynaud, *Andalò di Negro's De compositione astrolabii: a critical edition with English translation and notes*, in «Archive for History of Exact Science» LXXIII (2019), pp. 551-617.

²⁷⁹ L. Dorez, *Recherches sur la bibliothèque de Pier Leoni*, p. 10.

82v-83r). From fol. 41v, despite the blank spaces provided in the page, there is no further astronomical or astrological scheme or drawing. On foll. 84r-108v, the manuscript contains Pier Leone da Spoleto's *De urinis*. This volume is one of only two extant manuscript witnesses of this text, which was published in Venice in 1514²⁸⁰. The other, more extensive, copy of Pier Leone's *De Urinis* is located on foll. 74r-116v of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Ross. 672. This manuscript was copied and belonged to Francisco Argilagues of Valencia, another student of Pier Leone during his initial tenure as a professor of medicine in Pisa. In fol. 116v of manuscript BAV, Vat. Ross. 672, Argilagues records that he transcribed the text of *De Urinis* in Florence on January 18, 1478. This date serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the text²⁸¹. Maike Rotzoll has clarified that the Vatican manuscript contains two distinct versions of Pier Leone's *De Urinis*, of which only the second version was published in 1514. It is significant to note that only the second version of *De Urinis* is transcribed in Mazzinghi's manuscript under examination²⁸². On foll. 109r-111v, there is a copy of Gerardo of Cremona's Latin translation from Arabic of Galen's *De Malitia Complexionis Diversae*. A mutilated and anonymous treatise on poisons on foll. 114r-119v is followed by Arnaldo of Villanova's *Remedia venenorum* on foll. 120r-127r. This sequence, featuring a Galenic work followed by texts related to Arnaldo da Villanova, is analogous to the content of item n. 114 in Dorez's list of Pier Leone's manuscripts²⁸³. On foll. 127v-131r, Mazzingo Mazzinghi transcribed a Latin translation of *Sefer Yetzirah*. This represents one of the earliest attestations of the dissemination of kabbalistic, or at least Jewish, doctrines among intellectuals associated with the city of Florence, and particularly Pier Leone. It is noteworthy that, while the remainder of the manuscript was transcribed by two different scribes and only subsequently examined by Mazzingo Mazzinghi, this specific text was copied by the owner of the volume himself²⁸⁴. From fol. 137r the subsequent texts were transcribed by a different scribe than the initial section of the volume. Specifically, on foll. 132r-164v there is the Galenic *Tractatus de Pulsibus*, which Pier Leone references in his work *De Urinis*. This text is followed by Michele Savonarola's *De Lepra*, located on foll. 165r-189r. An anonymous and generic medical treatise concludes the composite anthology between foll. 190r and 208r. Additionally, foll. 209r to 210v, along with the back cover, are utilized for recording notes and Mazzingo Mazzinghi's horoscopes. Regarding the dating of this manuscript, a note on a paper sheet affixed to the back of

²⁸⁰ G. de Corbeil-P. da Spoleto, *Egidius de Urinis et Pulsibus. Petrus Leo de Urinis*, Venetiis, per Mucium Venantium, 1514. For a complete *disamina* on this treatise and its tradition, see M. Rotzoll, *Pierleone da Spoleto*, pp. 63-90, esp. 64-66.

²⁸¹ MS BAV, Vat. Ross. 672, fol. 116r: «florencie scripta sunt 1478 Januarii 18» (These things were written in Florence on January 18th 1478). See also M. Rotzoll, *Pierleone da Spoleto*, pp. 64f.

²⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 65.

²⁸³ L. Dorez, *Recherches sur la bibliothèque de Pier Leoni*, p. 12.

²⁸⁴ On the earliest Latin translations of *Sefer Yetzirah*, see F. Bacchelli, *Giovanni Pico e Pier Leone da Spoleto*, pp. 33-36; 98f.

the front cover written by the same extensor of Mazzinghi's horoscope on fol. 209r states: «De[...] Adi 26 dagosto 1483 aore 19 che sonava vespro» (On the 26th of August at 7 p.m. when the vesper bell was ringing). This sheet of paper features a distinct watermark in the form of an inverted tulip, resembling Briquet 6659, which was dated approximately between 1484 and 1486 (though now it should probably be anticipated) and is associated with either Pistoia or Lucca. The predominant watermark on the pages of this manuscript is a distinctive key symbol, resembling an inverted half-moon with pointed rays on its rounded part, followed by another key symbol, some sheets lacking a clear watermark, and a trident. The diverse types of paper employed may suggest a complex production process, potentially extending over several years, as initially suggested by Franco Bacchelli²⁸⁵.

1.6.2 MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 9425

This manuscript, which according to José Ruyschaert reconstruction entered the Vatican collection around 19th century, might be associated with item n. 66 of Dorez's catalog of the content of the volumes which belonged to Pier Leone da Spoleto²⁸⁶. The manuscript contains Nicolas of Cuse's works, *De Visione Dei* and *De Pace Fidei*, located on foll. 1r-18r and 18r-28v, respectively. MSS, BAV, Vat. Lat. 11520 (which might be linked as well to Dorez's item n. 66), and Ott. Lat. 1870 include additional works by the Bishop of Cuse, which were annotated and disseminated by Pier Leone himself²⁸⁷. Marsilio Ficino's *De Raptu Pauli* on foll. 29r-30v is preceded by a small summary of its content in Pier Leone's handwriting at the end of fol. 28v. Foll. 31r-38v contain a brief treatise addressing the errors and doctrines of the minor friars within the Catholic Church, which is succeeded by an anonymous commentary on Hesiod's *Works and Days* on foll. 39r-58v. Apart from the two works of Nicolas of Cusa transcribed by the same hand, each text in this volume was copied by a different scribe, with Pier Leone's handwritten annotations serving as their sole commonality. The final text in the collection, found on foll. 59r-65v, is a partial version of Abraham Abulafia's *Commentary on Sefer Yetzirah*, transcribed by Pier Leone da Spoleto himself from Mithridates' Latin translation, which is contained in MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191, foll. 12r-26r. Pier Leone's transcription terminates abruptly at line 19 of fol. 19r, similar to the case his aforementioned transcription of one of Mithridates' works for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, namely the Latin translation of Menaḥem

²⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 32.

²⁸⁶ J. Ruyschaert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 60. See also L. Dorez, *Recherches sur la bibliothèque de Pier Leoni*, p. 10.

²⁸⁷ On Pier Leone and the writings of Nicolas of Cuse, see M. Rotzoll, *Pierleone da Spoleto*, pp. 36-43. On the dissemination of Nicolas of Cuse's ideas in the Italian Quattrocento, see e.g. E. Garin, *Cusano e i platonici italiani del Quattrocento*, in *Niccolò da Cusa. Relazioni Tenute al Convegno Interuniversitario di Bressanone nel 1960*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1962, pp. 75-100.

Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*, located on foll. 117r-124r of MS Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX.29²⁸⁸.

1.6.3 MS BNF, Héb. 776

This manuscript is identified as the primary Hebrew source for the majority of vernacular translations of kabbalistic texts found in manuscripts attributed to Pier Leone da Spoleto, which will be further elaborated upon later in this work²⁸⁹. A complete quire consisting of twelve folios was added to the beginning of the manuscript to ensure the protection of its contents. These sheets of paper feature an eagle-shaped watermark, which, as noted by Cristina Ciucu, closely resembles Briquet 91 (Florence, 1491)²⁹⁰. On fol. 1r, a note indicates that the manuscript was acquired from an individual named Ya'aqov bar Asher ha-Lewi. The initial text of the kabbalistic anthology is Abraham Abulafia's *Imre Shefer*, spanning foll. 1r-94r, with folio 64v intentionally left blank. Foll. 95r-104v are also left blank, whereas folios 105r to 106v contain a *Sod ha-Merkavah*, which includes a secret pertaining to the name of the angel Metatron. Right after the end of the mystical secrets commences Abraham Abulafia's *Hayye ha-'Olam ha-Ba*, on foll. 106v-174r, followed by a series of practical spells and incantations on foll. 174v-175r. Foll. 176r-176v are intentionally left blank. An incomplete *Perush Shem ben-Arba' Otiot* is found on foll. 177r-179r. This particular text was incorporated into the renowned *Sefer ha-Peliah*, a complex kabbalistic and prophetic work, which also included Abraham Abulafia's *Gan Na'ul*²⁹¹. The text is succeeded by a series of divine names from Genesis, located on foll. 179v-182r, followed by a dissertation on the concealed and revealed divine names on foll. 182r-186r. On fol. 186v, there is a ten-line letter from a kabbalist addressed to his disciples, which mentions a false messenger, followed by two blank pages. As per the catalog description compiled by Cristina Ciucu, the section spanning foll. 189r-196v, which includes *Sod Gan 'Eden* from foll. 189r-193r, represents a distinct codicological unit that has been incorporated into the manuscript previously described. The initial and more extensive codicological unit is revisited on foll. 197r-200v with a *Commentary on Sefer Yetzirah*. This text is followed by Azriel of Gerona's *Commentary on Sefer Yetzirah*, spanning foll. 201r-207r. The initial codicological unit was

²⁸⁸ See *supra*, pp. 40f.

²⁸⁹ See *infra*, pp. 68-71. See also F. Buzzetta, *Traductions en sicilien de traités cabbalistiques*, pp. 62-64; C. Ciucu, *Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Hébreu 763 à 777. Manuscrits de Kabbale*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2014, pp. 209-222.

²⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 211.

²⁹¹ On *Sefer ha-Peli'ah* and its composition, see B. Netanyahu, *Le-virur zman chibburam shel sifre ha-Qanah we-ha-Peli'ah*, in *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume*, vol. III, Jerusalem, American Academy for Jewish Research, 1975, pp. 247-268; M. Kushnir-Oron, *Ha-Peli'ah we-ha-Qanah. Yesodot ha-Qabbalah she-bahem, 'Emdatam ha-Datit we-Derek 'Itzuvam ha-Sifrutit*, PhD Thesis, Jerusalem, Hebrew University, 1980. See also, I. Ta-shma, *Hekan nitchabberu sifre ha-Qanah we-ha-Peli'ah?*, in I. Etikes-Y. Salmon, *Studies in the History of Jewish Society in the Middle Ages and in the Modern Period Presented to Professor Jacob Katz on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1980, pp. 56-63. See also *infra*, pp. 132-137.

transcribed by two scribes, predominantly by a copyist named Yitzḥaq, who subtly references his name on foll. 20r, 20v, 44v, 79v, and 186r. Flavia Buzzetta has recently proposed an identification of this scribe with the translator named *Ysac* recurring in Pier Leone's vernacular translations²⁹². A series of blank pages precedes a later Hebrew note on Joseph and his brothers on fol. 212v. On fol. 213r, a medical recipe penned by Pier Leone da Spoleto appears as the Italian translation of his work, *Secretum pro Fistula*, which is housed in MS Los Angeles, Biomedical Library of the University of California, Benjamin ms. 13. In this manuscript, Pier Leone locates his composition of this medical advice to Pisa and dates it to the year 1475. This date might be used as a *terminus a quo*, suggesting that the vernacular translation was likely composed thereafter. Flavia Buzzetta examined the dating of the *Secretum pro Fistula* in relation to the potential dating of Mazzinghi's volume, specifically MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 868, which includes a Latin version of the *Sefer Yetzirah*. This analysis was prompted by the use of this BNF kabbalistic manuscript containing Pier Leone's Italian version of *Secretum pro Fistula* as a basis for the vernacular kabbalistic translations of MS Paris, BNF, it. 443 and MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8526. Buzzetta therefore proposed that Pier Leone's kabbalistic translational project should be dated to the period 1476-1478²⁹³. This hypothesis will be discussed at length later on. Immediately following the Italian version of the *Secretum* on fol. 213r, there appears a Hebrew note concerning the division of opinions. Saverio Campanini has identified in this annotation the transcription of a passage of Moshe of Narbonne's *Commentary on Ibn Tufayl's Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*²⁹⁴. Pier Leone's handwriting reappears on fol. 216v with a 17-line note in Italian addressing the division of souls. The initial two lines of this note were subsequently transcribed in Hebrew, erased, and later succeeded by a revised Hebrew translation of the text in a different handwriting²⁹⁵.

1.6.4 MS BNF, It. 443

This manuscript, initially attributed to Egidio da Viterbo and his intellectual circle, was later reassigned to Pier Leone da Spoleto by Franco Bacchelli. Bacchelli has conducted an extensive examination of the contributions made by Lorenzo de Medici's physician to the Florentine kabbalistic discourse and was the first to describe this volume²⁹⁶. The manuscript features two distinct handwriting styles alternating across its pages, identified as Copyist "A" and "B", accompanied by

²⁹² F. Buzzetta, *Lu Fatu de la Criacioni*, pp. 60.

²⁹³ F. Buzzetta, *Traductions en sicilien de traités cabbalistiques*, pp. 65f.

²⁹⁴ See S. Campanini, "Questa e la cabala certa et fortissima et miravigliosa". *Testi cabbalistici dalla biblioteca di Pierleone da Spoleto*, in S. Greco-J. Olszowy-Schlanger, *Counting the Miracles. Jewish Thought, Mysticism, and the Arts from Late Antiquity to the Present. Festschrift for Giulio Busi on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Berlin-Boston, De Gruyter, 2025, pp. 459-520, esp. p. 465.

²⁹⁵ See *Ibid.*, p. 465f.

²⁹⁶ F. Bacchelli, *Giovanni Pico e Pier Leone da Spoleto*, pp. 14-30.

study and translation notes that can be attributed to Pier Leone da Spoleto. Following Bacchelli's description of the manuscript, Copyist "A" has been palaeographically identified by Flavia Buzzetta as Yitzḥaq, the scribe responsible for transcribing at least some sections of MS BNF, Héb. 776. This scribe also identifies himself as *Ysac* using Latin characters within the pages of this volume. Bacchelli and Buzzetta hypothesized that this translator may be the same *Isaac rabi sinagogae* who converted to Christianity following the death of Pier Leone and subsequently became a friar at the Florentine convent of San Marco, adopting the name Clemente Abramo²⁹⁷. The manuscript, spanning foll. 1r-60r, commences with a vernacular translation of Abraham Abulafia's *Ḥayye ha-'Olam ha-Ba*, which corresponds to the text found on foll. 112r-174r of MS BNF, Héb. 776. Given the absence of the translation for the initial six folios of the Hebrew version, it is highly likely that MS BNF, it. 443 has lost its first quire²⁹⁸. Pier Leone has re-translated in the margins into Latin the vernacular text of foll. 36v; 58v; 59r. It is followed by a *Commentary on the Tetragrammaton* on fol. 60v. Foll. 61r-110v present *La Ordine Divina*, a vernacular rendition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* with frequent Latinizations in the margins by Pier Leone da Spoleto (foll. 61r-62r; 64r-65v; 77r-77v; 78v-79r; 81r-82r). As in the case of Mithridates' translation for Giovanni Pico, Pier Leone's version of *Ma'arekhet* is also incomplete, as evidenced by the discrepancy in the catchword at the end of fol. 110v compared to fol. 111r, where there is also a change in the translator/copyists, as the initial texts in this anthology were transcribed by Copyist "A"/Ysac. The peculiarity of two translations of the same text for members of the same intellectual circle, such as Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Pier Leone da Spoleto, has not gone unnoticed by scholars and will be examined in detail later in this chapter²⁹⁹. On foll. 111r-120v Bacchelli saw a mutilated *Commentary on the Divine Name* penned alternatively by Pier Leone and Copyist "B"³⁰⁰. Saverio Campanini has identified the translation of the *Perush 'al arba' otiyyot* on foll. 111r-111v, 114r-115v, and 117r-120v, noting a transition between Pier Leone's handwriting and that of copyist "B" in the middle of fol. 119v. This text corresponds to the *Commentary on the Name of Four Letters* found on foll. 177r-179r of manuscript BNF, Héb. 776. Copyist "B"'s transcription is found on foll. 112r-113v and 116r-116v, corresponding to the translation of the texts on foll. 179v-182r of MS BNF, Héb. 776. These texts include a *Commentary on the Name of God in Genesis* and a work titled *Ha-Qdamah*³⁰¹. On foll. 121r-150v, there exists an incomplete translation by Copyist "A"/Ysac of Moses of Narbonne's *Commentary on Ibn Tufayl's Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, followed by a vernacular rendition of passages from Averroes and Al-Ghazali, which are here

²⁹⁷ F. Buzzetta, *Lu fatu de la criacioni*, pp. 60-63, esp. p. 63.

²⁹⁸ See F. Bacchelli, *Giovanni Pico e Pier Leone da Spoleto*, p. 14. See also C. Ciucu, *Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Hébreu 763 à 777*, p. 214f.

²⁹⁹ See *infra*, pp. 71-73.

³⁰⁰ See F. Bacchelli, *Giovanni Pico e Pier Leone da Spoleto*, p. 15.

³⁰¹ See S. Campanini, *"Questa e la cabala certa et fortissima et miravigliosa"*, pp. 460f. and 474-514 for their edition.

attributed to Avicenna, on on foll. 151r-160v³⁰². On foll. 161r-182r, Copyist “A”/Ysac translated an epitome of Ibn Bajja’s *Tadbīr al-mutawanḥīd*, which was incorporated by Moses of Narbonne into his *Commentary on Ibn Tufayl’s Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. It is followed by Copyist “A”/Ysac vernacular translation of the last chapter of Ibn Tufayl’s *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, on foll. 182r-183r. Franco Bacchelli posits that the subsequent Latinization of this text was transcribed by Pier Leone on foll. 115v-116r of MS Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, A IX 29³⁰³.

1.6.5 MS Arsenal 8526

The manuscript was first attributed to Pier Leone da Spoleto by Flavia Buzzetta³⁰⁴. It was incorporated into the collection of the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal in Paris in 1794, following its tenure at the Bibliothèque des Minimes of Paris. The manuscript in question features the same two scribes and translators identified by Franco Bacchelli in MS Paris, BNF, it. 443, with an extended presence of Copyist “B”³⁰⁵. On foll. 1r-138r, Copyist “B” penned *Trattati Belli*, the Sicilian/Castilian rendition of Abraham Abulafia’s *Imre Shefer*, which is found on foll. 1r-94r of MS Paris, BNF, Hébr. 776. Some sections of this translation (foll. 16v; 19r; 19v; 20v-21r; 22r; 23r-23v; 26r; 28r) were re-translated from vernacular into Latin by Pier Leone, a practice that is also evident among the translations in MS BNF, it. 443. Between foll. 138v and 140r, the final two-column poem that concludes and titles Abulafia’s *Imre Shefer* is transcribed in Hebrew directly from the antigraph. On foll. 141r-292r, the volume is completed by *La Glosa de Scepher Yecira*, which is the vernacular translation of Yosef ben Shalom Ashkenazi’s *Commentary on Sefer Yetzira*. Notably, the original Hebrew antigraph of this work has yet to be recovered. This commentary is followed by *Lu Fatu de la Criacioni*, a Sicilian rendition of *Ma’ase Bereshit*, on foll. 292v-302r³⁰⁶. The volume concludes on foll. 302v-314r with an untitled text comprising seven chapters, referred to at the end as *Li Palacia*, the vernacular translation of *Massekhet Hekalot*³⁰⁷. The final three texts in the volume appear to have been authored once more by Copyist “A”/Ysac. Pier Leone’s handwriting is prominently featured on numerous pages of this manuscript, indicating his extensive engagement with these materials. Nevertheless,

³⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 15f.; see also F. Buzzetta, *Traductions en sicilien de traités cabbalistiques*, pp. 63f., esp. n. 9.

³⁰³ See *supra* n. 103.

³⁰⁴ F. Buzzetta, *Traductions en sicilien de traités cabbalistiques*, pp. 62-76.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

³⁰⁶ See F. Buzzetta, *Lu fatu de la criacioni*, pp. 64-72 for an introduction and an edition of this text and its relative bibliography.

³⁰⁷ For an introduction to hekalotic literature, see P. Schäfer, *Tradition and Redaction in Hekalot Literature*, in «Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period» XIV/2 (1983), pp. 171-181; Id., *Hekhalot Studien*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebek Verlag, 1988; P. Schäfer-M. Schlüter-H. von Mutius, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebek Verlag, 1981.

these pages do not exhibit a high level of proficiency in Hebrew on the part of the physician. In addition to Pier Leone, Flavia Buzzetta identifies three readers who have annotated this manuscript³⁰⁸.

1.6.6 Considerations on the Kabbalistic Resources Available to Pierleone and Their Chronological Assessment

Within the collection of extant manuscripts attributed to Pier Leone or his students, there exist approximately ten kabbalistic texts that the physician commissioned for translation. Additionally, a Hebrew kabbalistic manuscript served as the source for approximately four of these extant translations. Except for a small intervention on the copy of the text on foll. 111r-120v, where he alternates the transcription of the translation with Copyist “B”, Pier Leone seems not to have actively participated in the translation from Hebrew to vernacular of the texts contained in MS BNF, it. 443 and MS Arsenal 8526. It appears that the majority of these translations were independently produced by two copyists/translators of Sephardic origin, likely from either Sicily or Castile, who had undergone subsequent scribal training. Pier Leone conducted an in-depth examination of these texts only upon their completion, highlighting a collaborative process that closely resembles the translational methodology utilized by Giovanni Pico and Flavius Mithridates. In this process once again, a wealthy patron commissioned and studied each translation according to their cultural preferences and the materials available to them, while the collaborators provided a copy of the text in a language comprehensible to the patron. In response to the challenges posed by the vernacular translations provided by the physician’s collaborators, Pier Leone’s decision to re-translate certain sections of the texts he commissioned into Latin appears to have been intended to facilitate their study and eventual recollection. The possibility that Copyist “A”/Ysaac/Yitzḥaq also served as the scribe for certain sections of MS BNF, Hébr. 776, which was utilized as source for subsequent vernacular translations, suggests a sustained and strategically organized collaboration between the translator and Pier Leone, his patron. The specific texts attributed to Pier Leone’s *corpus* of translation are indicative of his cultural preferences and requests. The particular interest of Pier Leone and his associates in the *Sefer Yetzirah* and its commentaries is evidenced by the Latin translation of the *Sefer Yetzirah* found in Mazzingo Mazzinghi’s manuscript, the translation of Yosef ben Shalom Ashkenazi’s *Commentary on Sefer Yetzirah*, and the two commentaries on the text that conclude MS BNF, Hébr. 776. This interest is further underscored by Pier Leone’s transcription of Mithridates’ translation of Abraham Abulafia’s *Commentary on Sefer Yetzirah*. An interest in Abulafian materials, such as *Imre Shefer* and *Hayye ha-’Olam ha-Ba*, may have been facilitated by the two Sicilian/Castilian translators. Additionally, the ease of access to Abulafian materials is further evidenced by the content of

³⁰⁸ F. Buzzetta, *Traductions en sicilien de traités cabballistiques*, p. 62.

Mithridates' translations for Giovanni Pico, which heavily features texts by Abraham Abulafia³⁰⁹. The analysis of Mithridates' translations for Giovanni Pico, alongside their content, compared to the works produced in Pier Leone's circle seems to suggest a sort of competitive dynamic between the two translational kabbalistic endeavors related to the Medicean circle. It is noteworthy that two fragments of Mithridates' translations for Pico are indeed found within Pier Leone's manuscripts, while a note by Mithridates on fol. 445r of MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190, indicates that Pier Leone declined to lend his volumes to Giovanni Pico³¹⁰. The dual translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and the presence of multiple works by Pier Leone on Ibn Tufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, which Giovanni Pico also claimed to have translated around 1491, suggests a significant degree of independence between the two scholars, despite their association with the same intellectual circle. Based on the details and information regarding Pier Leone's activities, as gathered from his manuscripts, Flavia Buzzetta has recently posited that Pier Leone's kabbalistic endeavors were not only independent from the works of Giovanni Pico and Mithridates on Kabbalah but also preceded them by at least a decade³¹¹. Such chronological determinations are derived from the analysis of the following data: MS Biblioteca Riccardiana 868, which contains a Latin translation of *Sefer Yetzirah* copied by Mazzingo Mazzinghi, a student of Pier Leone. This manuscript is believed to have been composed in the early 1480s, a hypothesis supported by a note on the manuscript's front back cover, dated 26 August 1483³¹². As previously discussed, the 1475 Latin version of the *Secretum pro Fistula* has been utilized by Buzzetta as a *terminus a quo* for dating the vernacular recipe on fol. 213r of MS BNF, Hébr. 776, which serves as the Hebrew antigraph for most of Pier Leone's translations. Given that Mazzingo Mazzinghi was a student of Pier Leone during his initial tenure in Pisa from 1474 to 1478, the period between the composition of the *Secretum Pro Fistula* and the transcription of MS Biblioteca Riccardiana 868, specifically the years 1476-1478, has been identified as the timeframe in which Pier Leone commenced his kabbalistic endeavors³¹³. This chronological assessment remains however inconclusive. Notably, the vernacular translation of Pier Leone's medical recipe for fistulas lacks a date, preventing its attribution to a specific year within Pier Leone's career. It is plausible to surmise that the physician undertook the translation to address a patient afflicted with fistulas, a condition prevalent among members of the Medicean family over the years³¹⁴. As noted by Cristina Ciucu in her catalog, a potential cause of this condition during Pier Leone's era could have also been a plague

³⁰⁹ See *supra*, p. 49.

³¹⁰ See MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190, fol. 445r: «In hoc passu habui litteras tuas quod Petrus Leo noluit accomodare libros» (on this matter I received your letters where Pier Leone refused to loan you the books).

³¹¹ See *supra*, p. 69 n. 293.

³¹² See *supra*, pp. 64-66, esp. p. 66.

³¹³ See *supra*, n. 308.

³¹⁴ See S. Campanini, "*Questa e la cabala certa et fortissima et miravigliosa*", p. 468.

outbreak, which occurred in Florence around 1486³¹⁵. The elements discussed clearly illustrate the speculative nature of the hypotheses regarding the dating of this vernacular recipe. Consequently, in the absence of a specific date, neither this recipe nor the fact that its original Latin version was composed in 1475 can be considered definitive evidence for dating the translations derived from MS BNF, Héb. 776³¹⁶. The sole date that might appear to slightly precede translational endeavors from Hebrew concerning the figure of Pier Leone to the period before Giovanni Pico's arrival in Florence in 1484 is Mazzingo Mazzinghi's manuscript containing the Latin translation of *Sefer Yetzirah*, which could be dated around 1483, unless we assume a much more stratified composition process of that manuscript. As previously demonstrated, by 1483, Flavius Mithridates had commenced his work for several affluent patrons who were interested in his translations from Hebrew and Arabic across Italy and Germany. Additionally, certain sources appear to suggest interactions between the Medicean circle and members of the Jewish community, some of whom were likely kabbalists, associated with the city of Florence in the years preceding the arrival of both Giovanni Pico and Mithridates in the city³¹⁷. The burgeoning interest in Hebrew sources among Italian intellectuals, particularly those based in Florence during the late 15th century, appears to have culminated in the study or at least the awareness of Jewish mystical doctrines by the early 1480s. This scholarly engagement likely facilitated the translation of the *Sefer Yetzirah*, as evidenced by its presence in MS Biblioteca Riccardiana, 868. Although this translation, discovered in a manuscript authored by one of Pier Leone's students which predominantly comprises scientific works, might suggest an intellectual engagement with mystical Jewish traditions among scholars associated with Florence slightly before Pico's arrival in the city, it does not conclusively demonstrate that Pier Leone da Spoleto had commenced his systematic translation of kabbalistic texts, such as those evidenced by MS BNF, it. 443 and MS Arsenal 8526, prior to the collaboration between Giovanni Pico and Mithridates.

1.7 Christian Kabbalistic Genealogies in the context of Giovanni Pico's kabbalistic primacy

The reconstruction of a the broader kabbalistic discourse held in Florence during the Medicean period aims to contextualize Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's translation project commissioned to Flavius Mithridates and the subsequent incorporation of kabbalistic doctrines into his *Conclusiones Nongentae* and his later writings. The conceptual and theoretical framework of Kabbalah as an ancient Jewish mystical doctrine that supports Christian dogmas, as conceived and disseminated by Giovanni Pico, was instrumental in initiating a scholarly movement focused on Hebrew and kabbalistic thought.

³¹⁵ C. Ciucu, *Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Hébreu 763 à 777*, p. 217.

³¹⁶ For a more comprehensive overlook on this hypothesis, see also S. Campanini, "*Questa e la cabala certa et fortissima et miravigliosa*", pp. 464-470.

³¹⁷ See *supra*, pp. 56f.

The notion that the Count of Mirandola was the pioneering intellectual who unveiled the authentic Christian interpretations of Kabbalah became a widely accepted and shared belief among those humanists interested in Hebrew and Kabbalah shortly after Giovanni Pico's death. Johannes Reuchlin's principal kabbalistic works, specifically *De Verbo Mirifico*, published in 1494 in Basel, and *De Arte Cabalistica*, published in Pforzheim in 1517, were instrumental in advancing the ideas of Giovanni Pico and in establishing the Count of Mirandola as the first renowned Christian kabbalist³¹⁸. While *De Verbo Mirifico* indeed initiated a public discourse on Giovanni Pico's theses, as articulated in the *Conclusiones Nongentae*, even during a period when their circulation was still prohibited, a passage from *De Arte Cabalistica* ultimately acknowledges Giovanni Pico's foundational role in the development of Christian kabbalistic thought³¹⁹. Two years before Reuchlin's public discussion on Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's influence in the inception of the Christian kabbalistic movement, Paolo Ricci appended a letter to 1515 edition of his *Isagoge*, a text intended as an introduction to Kabbalah for a broader Christian audience³²⁰. This letter addresses an intriguing objection raised among other matters by a certain "presbyter Stephanus". Among the various concerns on the nature and utility of Kabbalah that the convert and imperial physician Paolo Ricci had to

³¹⁸ See J. Reuchlin, *Liber de Verbo Mirifico*, Basel, Johannes Amerbach, 1494. For more bibliography on this book and its author, see C. Zika, *Reuchlin's De verbo mirifico and the Magic Debate of the Late Fifteenth Century*, «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 39 (1976), pp. 104-138; J. Reuchlin, *Band I,1: De verbo mirifico. Das wundertätige Wort (1494)*, eds. W.W. Ehlers-L. Mundt-H.G. Roloff-P. Schäfer, Stuttgart, Frommann-Holzboog Verlag, 1996. See also J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica Libri Tres Leoni X Dicati*, Hagenau, apud Thomam Anshelmum, 1517. On this book, see also M. Goodman-S. Goodman (eds.), *On the Art of the Kabbalah. De arte cabalistica*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln 1993; J. Reuchlin, *L'Arte Cabbalistica. De Arte Cabalistica*, eds. G. Busi-S. Campanini, Firenze, Opus Libri, 1995; J. Reuchlin, *Band II,1: De arte cabalistica libri tres (1517). Die Kabbalistik*, eds. W.W. Ehlers and F. Felgentreu, Stuttgart, Frommann-Holzboog Verlag, 2010. On Johannes Reuchlin and the significance of his kabbalistic endeavours, see e.g. J. Dan, *The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin and its Historical Significance*, in Id. (ed.), *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and Their Christian Interpreters*, Cambridge, Harvard College Library, 1997, pp. 55-95; F. Posset, *Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522): A Theological Biography*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2015; F. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*, pp. 44-70.

³¹⁹ See J. Reuchlin, *De arte cabalistica*, XIII P: «Simon: [...] ac nostra aetate a latinis, autore Ioanne Pico Mirandulano Comite, ante quem nomen eorum Romanae linguae incognitum erat Cabaliste aut Cabalici dicuntur» (While in our era they are called either Kabbalists or Kabbalicals, thanks to the author Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, before whom their name was unknown in the Latin language). As per Johannes Reuchlin's elaboration on Giovanni Pico's ideas, see e.g. S. Campanini, *The Hebrew Names of Jesus in Renaissance Christian Kabbalah*, in F. Cadeddu (ed.), *EuAre Lectures. Ex Nihilo and First Annual Conference (2017-2018)*, Bologna, Fondazione per le Scienze Religiose, 2019, pp. 15-48; M. Mantovani, *Il Cristo di Reuchlin*, in F. Buzzetta (ed.), *Cahier Cabbala I, «Accademia» XI (2018)*, pp. 43-60; R.J. Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God. From the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century*, Leiden, Brill, 2015, pp. 318-323. See also S. Campanini, «In magna obscuritate rerum admirabilis». *Das Bild Pico della Mirandolas in Reuchlins Werken*, in T. Wegner-W. Polleichtner-M. Morgenstern (eds.), *Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522) Neu Gelesen. Ein Württembergischer Rat und Gelehrter im Europäischen Kontext*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2025, pp. 271 - 284

³²⁰ The first edition of this text was P. Ricci, *Pauli Israelitae Aphoristicae in Cabalistarum Eruditionem cum Digressionibus Isagoge*, Papie, per Magistrum Bernardinum de Saraldis, 1509. The edition here considered is P. Ricci, *In cabalistarum seu allegorizantium eruditionem Isagoge*, Augusta Vindelicorum, per Henricum Stayner, 1515. On Paolo Ricci's biography, see M. Mantovani, *Il Cabbalista Aristotelico. Paolo Ricci fra Rinascimento e Riforma*, Roma, Viella Editrice, 2024. See also M. Mantovani, *La versione latina di Paolo Ricci del Sefer Ša'are-Orah*, in «Materia Judaica» XXIII (2018), pp. 317-331. See also, S. Campanini, *Il Commento alle Conclusiones Cabalisticæ nel Cinquecento*, in F. Lelli (ed.), *Giovanni Pico e la Cabbalà*, pp. 167-230, esp. pp. 177-182.

address in his public response in fact, the necessity to justify his divergences from the doctrines on Kabbalah as disseminated by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola is particularly significant³²¹. This issue serves as evidence of an ongoing process of authoritative standardization of Kabbalistic content among Christians, based on the theses and writings of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, which would later culminate in the publication of Arcangelo da Borgonovo's *Commentary on Giovanni Pico's Kabbalistic Conclusions*³²². As elucidated by Saverio Campanini, this commentary originated from the teachings on Giovanni Pico's theses delivered to his students towards the end of his life by the influential Venetian Franciscan Observant, Francesco Zorzi³²³. Zorzi, with his 1525 *De Harmonia Mundi Cantica Tria* or his 1536 *In Scripturam Sacram Problemata*, was a pivotal figure in the dissemination of Christianized kabbalistic doctrines in the first half of the sixteenth century³²⁴. As we shall further explore, within the distinctive context of the early sixteenth century, the perception that Giovanni Pico della Mirandola was the inaugural Christian kabbalist gained widespread acceptance among those who followed his approach in the study and translation of kabbalistic doctrines within Christian circles. An exemplary figure among these intellectuals is the General Prior of the Augustinian Order and later Cardinal, Egidio Antonini da Viterbo. As will be explored in the subsequent chapter, Egidio da Viterbo embarked on an extensive project involving the collection of manuscripts, translations, and the study of kabbalistic thought throughout the most significant years of his political and cultural activity as a high-ranking member of the Catholic Church. The General Prior of the Augustinian Order and Cardinal, who did not publish his kabbalistically inspired writings during his lifetime, was nevertheless able to disseminate them among the most influential members of the Church³²⁵. In one of his most compelling works, the *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*, which will be examined in detail subsequently, Egidio presented a noteworthy kabbalistic genealogy. He in fact identified Giovanni Pico, followed by Paolo Ricci, and ultimately Johannes Reuchlin as his predecessors in the study and dissemination of kabbalistic doctrines for the benefit of the Catholic

³²¹ P. Ricci, *Isagoge*: «[...] argumentando hanc quam ysagoges nostra tradidit non esse veram cabalam: quia alium dat modum et formam eam assequendi, quam Picus docuerit» [...] by stating that what our ysagoge transmits is not the true Kabbalah, since it gives a way and a form of pursuing it which differs from the one that Pico has taught».

³²² A. da Borgonovo, *Apologia Fratris Archangeli de Burgonovo Agri Placentini Ordini Minorum pro Defensione Doctrinae Cabalae contra Reverendum D. Petrum Garziam Episcopum Ussellensem Mirandulam Impugnantem et Minime Laedentem & Conclusiones Cabalisticæ Numero LXXI Secundum Opinionem Propriam Eiusdem Mirandulae ex Ipsius Hebraeorum Sapientum Fundamentis Christianam Religionem Maxime Declarantem per Eundem Fratrem Archangelum Acutissime Declarate et Elucidatae*, Bononiae, per Alexandrum Benaccium, 1564; A. da Borgonovo, *Cabalistarum Selectiora Obscurioraque Dogmata a Ioanne Pico ex Eorum Commentationibus Pridem Excerpta, et ab Archangelo Burgonouensi Minoritano Nunc primum Luculentissimis Interpretationibus Illustrata* [...], Venetiis, apud Franciscum Franciscium Senensem, 1569. See S. Campanini, *Il Commento alle Conclusiones Cabalisticæ*, pp. 167-184.

³²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-210.

³²⁴ F. Zorzi, *De Harmonia Mundi Cantica Tria*, Venetiis, In Aedibus Bernardini de Vitalibus Chalcographi, 1525; F. Zorzi, *In Scripturam Sacram Problemata*, Venetiis, Bernardinus Vitalis, 1536. For a complete account on Francesco Zorzi's major works and bibliography, see F. Zorzi, *L'Armonia del Mondo*, ed. S. Campanini, Milano, Bompiani, 2010, esp. XI-CXX.

³²⁵ See *infra* pp. 77-152.

Church³²⁶. This kabbalistic genealogy, inclusive of Egidio da Viterbo himself and Cardinal Agostino Giustiniani, was reiterated in 1518 in Pietro Colonna “Galatino”’s work, *De Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis*, an extensive, kabbalistically inspired polemical text, which also incorporated elements from Ramon Martí’s *Pugio Fidei* and the convert Pablo de Heredia’s *Epistula de Secretis*, published in Ortona a Mare by Gershom Soncino³²⁷. These few instances underscore the significant influence of Pico della Mirandola’s works and ideas in motivating other Christian scholars to pursue a kabbalistic education. Moreover, they emphasize the influence of his perspectives on the manner in which these intellectuals engaged with the study and, at times, the systematic translation of kabbalistic texts.

³²⁶ MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5808, fol. 2v/MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 3146, fol. 20r, *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*: «Soli qui per chabala: hoc est patrum traditionem quasi per manus acceperere: magna vi librorum aggressi id sunt: sicut Picus nobis primus innuit: deinde Paulus israelita: silvam adiit: Denique Iohannes Capnio non parum sacrae materiae in sacra aedificia comportavit» (Only those who have intimately engaged with it through kabbalah, the tradition of the forefathers, can truly access its depths through the profound power of books. In this manner, Pico first beckoned us, followed by Paolo the Israelite, who ventured into that realm, and finally Johannes Capnio [i.e. Reuchlin], who amassed a significant collection of sacred studies within the sacred edifice.).

³²⁷ P. Colonna “Galatino”, *Opus totius christianae Reipublicae Maxime Utile de Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis* [...], Orthonae Maris, per Hieronymum Suncinum, 1518, foll. 21r: «Nam Ioannes quidem Picus primus de ea quasi e longinquo aliqua suspicari coepit. Deinde Paulus israelita initia quaedam tradidit. Postmodum Augustinus Iustinianus Nabiensis Episcopus in psalteri scholiis nonnulla latius retexit. Capnio quoque noster in tribus libris quos de arte cabalistica ad Leonem hodiernum Pontificem Maximum elegantissime inscripsit. Egidius etiam ille Viterbensis [...] ab initio rem orsus in libello de litteris sanctis elegantissimo quodam stylo mirifica huius divinae sapientiae fundamenta iecit [...]. Postremus omnium ego». (In fact Giovanni Pico was the first who started supposing such things about that topic almost from afar. Then, Paolo the Israelite reported some of its introductions. After that, Agostino Giustiniani the Bishop of Nebbio revealed at length a good amount of these things in the commentary to the Psalter. Our Capnio [i.e. Reuchlin] too wrote about it in the most elegant way in the three books on the kabbalistic art directed to our present High Pontiff Leo. The famous Egidio da Viterbo as well [...], addressing this topic from the beginning, with his very elegant style laid the wondrous foundations of this divine wisdom in his booklet on the sacred letters [...]. And last of all I). See also, S. Campanini, *Le prefazioni, le dediche e i colophon di Gershom Soncino*, in G. Tamani (ed.), *L’Attività Editoriale di Gershom Soncino. 1502-1527*, Soncino, Edizioni dei Soncino, 1997, pp. 31-58.

2. Studying Kabbalah among Christians in the Renaissance: Part 2

2.1 Egidio da Viterbo: a kabbalistic biography

The renowned Egidio da Viterbo, a man of exceptional eloquence and masterful expression, cultivated in every literary genre, was recently elevated to the rank of Cardinal by our reigning High Pontiff Leo, owing to his numerous virtues and merits. From the outset, with his elegant style, he laid the remarkable foundations of this divine wisdom in his booklet on sacred letters. He clearly demonstrated that he is poised to reveal far more profound insights than anyone who has previously written on this subject, insights that will illuminate this obscure matter with the utmost clarity³²⁸.

Egidio Antonini da Viterbo was a prominent intellectual and political figure among the higher echelons of the Catholic Church in the early sixteenth century³²⁹. Having joined the Augustinian order at a very young age, Egidio gained extensive knowledge in philosophy and philology, with a focus on both Latin and Greek, through his studies in cities such as Padua and Florence. Egidio da Viterbo always combined his cultural and political actions to achieve the spiritual reform of the Catholic Church of his time. His scholarly publications significantly enhanced his reputation as a distinguished humanist among his eminent contemporaries³³⁰. This recognition led to his active membership in intellectual circles such as the Neapolitan Accademia Pontaniana, where Egidio was even hommaged as the protagonist of highly cultivated literary work, Giovanni Pontano's *Aegidius*³³¹. Upon joining the Observant branch of his order, specifically the devout Congregation of Lecceto, Egidio da Viterbo embarked on efforts to progressively reform the Catholic Church from within. His active participation in the internal reform processes of the Augustinian Order led to his appointments as their secretary and subsequently as General Prior³³². In the context of his involvement in the movement advocating

³²⁸ P. Colonna "Galatino", *Opus toti christianae Reipublicae maxime utile de arcanis catholicae veritatis* [...], fol. 21r: «Aegidius etiam ille Viterbensis vir utique eloquentissimus ac disertissimus omnique litterarum genere apprime eruditus quem Leo hodiernus Pontifex maximus, ob eius multiplices virtutes, ac merita ad Cardinalatus dignitatem nuper sublimavit ab initio rem orsus in libello de literis sanctis elegantissimo quodam stylo mirifica huiusce divinae sapientiae fundamenta iecit ut palam ostendere a se longe plura longeque altiora quam ceteri omnes hactenus hac de re scripserint cito esse proditura quae rei tam obscurae clarissimam afferent lucem».

³²⁹ For major works on Egidio's biography, see G. Signorelli, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo. Agostiniano, Umanista e Riformatore (1469-1532)*, Firenze, Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1929; J. W. O' Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform. A Study on Renaissance Thought*, Brill, Leiden 1968; F. X. Martin, *Friar, Reformer and Renaissance Scholar. Life and Work of Giles of Viterbo (1469-1532)*, Augustinian Press, Villanova (PA) 1992. See also, M. Chiabò-R. Ronzani-A.M. Vitale (eds.), *Egidio da Viterbo, Cardinale Agostiniano fra Roma e l'Europa del Rinascimento*, Roma, Centro Culturale Agostiniano "Roma nel Rinascimento", 2014.

³³⁰ See da Viterbo E., *The Commentary on the Sentences of Petrus Lombardus*, ed. D.J. Nodes, Leiden, Brill, 2010 for the latest edition of Egidio's main published work. See also, D.J. Nodes, *Humanism in the "Commentarium ad Mentem Platonis" of Giles of Viterbo*, in «Augustiniana» XLV/3-4 (1995), pp. 285-298.

³³¹ See G. Pontano, *Aegidius. Dialogo*, ed. F. Tateo, Roma, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2013. See also, S. Pasti, *Le fonti della Visione di Ezechiele di Raffaello: l'Historia Viginti Saeculorum di Egidio da Viterbo e il De Partu Virginis di Jacopo Sannazaro*, in «Accademia Raffaello. Studi e Atti» I/2 (2016), pp. 8-32.

³³² See F. X. Martin, *Friar, Reformer and Renaissance Scholar*, pp. 61-118. On the Augustinian Order and the theological perspectives of its members at Egidio's time, see also E.L. Saak, *Augustinian Theology in the Later Middle Ages. Volume I: Concepts, Perspectives, and the Emergence of Augustinian Identity*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2022.

for internal reform within the Church, Pope Julius II assigned Egidio the task of delivering the opening address at the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517)³³³. The speech, which included a compelling call for high-ranking Catholic clergy to undertake spiritual and subsequently practical reforms of the Church, was subsequently printed and disseminated to facilitate wider distribution among the laity³³⁴. On July 1, 1517, Egidio's cultural and political contributions, along with his adept management of the complex affairs of the Augustinian Order across its various provinces, including Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and the Balkans, were duly recognized when Pope Leo X appointed him as Cardinal³³⁵. Following the onset of the Reformation and the involvement of the German Augustinian Order, to which Martin Luther belonged, Egidio da Viterbo, as a Cardinal, was still entrusted with significant diplomatic missions and roles³³⁶. As will be discussed subsequently, Egidio was regarded as a prominent candidate for the papacy during the conclave that elected Pope Adrian VI *in absentia*. He later emerged as a notable supporter of the Medici faction during the papal election of Clement VII³³⁷. The political activities that Egidio promoted as a Cardinal during the papacy of Clement VII, his leadership of an army intended to rescue the Pope during the traumatic events of the Sack of Rome, and his participation in the negotiations that culminated in the coronation of Charles V in Bologna were all intricately connected with the intellectual studies and cultural endeavors he was simultaneously pursuing, culminating with the composition of his *Scechina*³³⁸. As will be examined in detail in the following pages, from 1513 onwards, Egidio da Viterbo aligned the majority of his activities as a reformer, cardinal, and influential member of the upper echelons of the Roman papal curia with his Hebrew studies, particularly those focused on Kabbalistic traditions³³⁹. Egidio da

³³³ On the proceedings of this Council, see e.g. N.H. Minnich, *Concepts of reform proposed at the Fifth Lateran Council*, in «Archivum Historiae Pontificiae» VII (1969), pp. 163-25; Id., *The Participants at the Fifth Lateran Council*, in «Archivum Historiae Pontificiae» XII (1974), pp. 157-206; Id., *Julius II and Leo X as presidents of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517)*, in F. Alazard-F. La Branca (eds.), *La Papauté à la Renaissance. XLVIe Colloque International d'Études Humanistes*, Paris, Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2007, pp. 153-166.

³³⁴ E. da Viterbo, *Oratio Prima Synodi Lateranensis habita per Egidium Viterbiensem Augustiniani Ordinis Generalem*, Romae 1512. See also C. O'Reilly, "Without Councils we cannot be saved". *Giles of Viterbo addresses the Fifth Lateran Council*, «Augustiniana», XXVII (1977), pp. 166-204.

³³⁵ E. da Viterbo, *Aegidii Viterbensis O.S.A. Registrum Generalatus 1514-1518*, ed. A. De Meijer, Romae, Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 1984, p. 250: «[...] Hora XVIII mittit ad nos nuncium Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo decimus, iubetque nos consistorio intrare statim, quo cum adivimus, Deo volente, et Leone Papa agente, et collegio cardinalium annuente, cetui cardineo una cum aliis triginta sumus ascripti [...] Et hac die tantum birretum accepimus» (At the 18th hour, our most Holy and Reverend Leo X dispatched a messenger to summon us to the consistory. Upon our arrival, in accordance with God's will, the actions of Pope Leo X, and the approval of the College of Cardinals, we, along with thirty others, were appointed to the cardinalate. [...] On this day, we received such hat).

³³⁶ See G. Signorelli, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo*, pp. 85-97; J. W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform*, pp. 6f.

³³⁷ See F. X. Martin, *Friar, Reformer and Renaissance Scholar*, pp. 182f. See also, *infra* pp. 111f.

³³⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 184f.

³³⁹ See e.g. F. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*, pp. 106-126; E. Abate, *Filologia e Qabbalah. La collezione ebraica di Egidio da Viterbo alla biblioteca Angelica di Roma*, in «Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà» 26 (2013), pp. 409-446; S. Campanini, *Dal sacco di Roma alla fine del mondo. Profezie cabbalistiche fra le carte di Egidio da Viterbo*, in G. Busi-S. Greco (eds.), *Rinascimento Plurale. Ibridazioni Linguistiche e Socioculturali tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, FPBP, Castiglione delle Stiviere (MN) 2022, pp. 71-99. For the study of Hebrew during the Renaissance

Viterbo's engagement with kabbalistic studies in fact definitely represented a fundamental component of his intertwined political and cultural endeavors. While this distinctive aspect of Egidio's work was well-known among his contemporaries, such as Pietro Colonna "Galatino", whose reference to Egidio's kabbalistic studies introduces this chapter, it has only fairly recently attracted substantial scholarly attention³⁴⁰. This study is particularly concentrated on Egidio da Viterbo's significance and his contributions to the advancement of Jewish studies and printing endeavors within the Catholic context of the early sixteenth century. Consequently, the aim of the following pages is to provide an analysis and comprehensive contextualization of Egidio da Viterbo's kabbalistic studies, including their content, objectives, and, most importantly, their outcomes.

2.1.1 Studying Kabbalah in Rome: from the late XIII century to Antonio Flaminio Biaxander

In August 1279, the kabbalist Abraham Abulafia attempted to meet with Pope Nicholas III. However, he was reportedly detained following the sudden death of the Pope, which was attributed to apoplexy³⁴¹. This event, along with Abulafia's contemporary and subsequent prophecies on the matter, marked what appears to be the introduction of the kabbalistic discourse in the city of Rome of the late thirteenth century³⁴². During the subsequent decade, a collection of manuscripts comprising kabbalistic anthologies predominantly featuring Sephardic materials was produced in a context traditionally associated with the city of Rome. These include MS Paris, BNF, Hébr. 763 (1284); MS London, BL, 756 (1284); and MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 2784, originally a single composition together with MS New York, JTS, 8124 (1286)³⁴³. This latter manuscript, now divided, has emerged as a central topic of scholarly discussion regarding the origins of Kabbalah in Italy. This is due to its scribe, who identifies himself as Menaḥem ben Binyamin, sharing a name with the kabbalist

and the Reformation Era, see also, S.G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500-1660): Authors, Books, and the Transmission of Jewish Learning*, Leiden, Brill, 2012; R. Van Rooy-P. Van Hecke-T. Van Hal, *Trilingual Learning. The Study of Greek and Hebrew in a Latin World*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2022.

³⁴⁰ On the interesting figure of Pietro Galatino as polemist and Christian kabbalist, see G. Bartolucci, *Pietro Galatino, Francesco Stancaro, lo studio dell'ebraico e le aspirazioni di riforma nell'Europa del '500*, in «Materia Giudaica» XXVI/2 (2021), pp. 295-304; S. Campanini, *Quasi post vindemias racemos colligens. Pietro Galatino und seine Verteidigung der christlichen Kabbala*, in W. Kühlmann (ed.), *Reuchlins Freunde und Gegner. Kommunikative Konstellationen eines Frühneuzeitlichen Medienereignisses*, Ostfildern, Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2010, pp. 69-88.

³⁴¹ See M. Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy 1280-1510. A Survey*, pp. 43-45. See also, M. Idel, *Abraham Abulafia on the Messiah and the Pope*, in «Religions» XVI/3 (2015), n. 273.

³⁴² See M. Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy 1280-1510. A Survey*, pp.45-47. See also, M. Idel, "The Time of the End". *Apocalypticism and its spiritualization in Abraham Abulafia's eschatology*, in A. Baumgarten (ed.), *Apocalyptic Time*, Leiden, Brill, 2000, pp. 155-186.

³⁴³ See M. Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy 1280-1510. A Survey*, pp. 91-98. On MS Paris, BNF, Hébr. 763, see also C. Ciucu, *Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Hébreu 763 à 777*, pp. 36-50; G. Corazzol, *Osservazioni paleografiche sul ms. hébreu 763 della Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, in <https://books.openedition.org/ephe/3139?lang=en>, 2021; M. Sebban (ed.), *Sefer Yetsirah, fac simile et traduction du manuscrit Heb. 763. Édition numérotée*, Paris, Beit ha-Zohar, 2021. Emma Abate has recently elaborated on these manuscripts and the scribal kabbalistic context in which they were produced in her recent presentation titled "The Making of Kabbalistic Manuscripts in Italy: The Earliest Scribal Workshops (13th-14th C.)" delivered at the Rome Kabbalah Symposium held in Rome from the 20th to the 22nd of May 2025. The proceedings are forthcoming.

Menaḥem ben Binyamin of Recanati, who was active in transmitting zoharic doctrines to the kabbalistic circles of the Italian Peninsula during the period when this volume was transcribed³⁴⁴. Giulio Busi has acknowledged Menaḥem ben Benyamin as a prominent figure within the Roman scribal family of the 'Anaw, who was mentioned in the colophons of other illustrious roman scribes such as his relative Paola bat Avraham 'Anaw³⁴⁵. The cultural role of Menaḥem ben Binyamin as scribe of a complex kabbalistic anthology, alongside other manuscripts dealing with philosophy and *halakah*, exemplifies the diverse intellectual pursuits prevalent among the Italian, and particularly Roman, Jewish community in the late 13th century³⁴⁶. The considerable cultural impact of at least one member of the 'Anaw family within a group of kabbalists active in late 13th-century Rome presents new avenues for research into the transmission of kabbalistic doctrines in Central Italy over the centuries. It is in fact important to remember that a branch of the broader 'Anaw family, specifically the *Min ha-Knesset/Mi Beit-El* (or Da Scola/Da Synagoga), migrated around the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century to the regions of Marche, Romagna, and particularly Tuscany³⁴⁷. In this latter context, the local branches of the Da Pisa, Da Montalcino, and Da San Miniato families were established, which, as previously analyzed, played a pivotal role in the dissemination of Kabbalistic and Neoplatonic doctrines among the Italian Jewish community during the late 15th and early 16th centuries, as well as among Christian humanists³⁴⁸. While Florence was undoubtedly the initial city where humanists and Christian intellectuals began to earnestly engage with Hebrew and Kabbalah studies, a pivotal scholar in the dissemination of philosophical and even mystical studies in Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic took up residence in Rome. This scholar was the Sapienza professor of Sicilian origin, Antonio Flaminio "Biaxander"³⁴⁹. Although Flaminio did not publish the findings of most of his extensive research, his expertise as both a humanist, and especially an orientalist, together with the ample proportions of his library were well-known among his contemporaries³⁵⁰. Upon his death in 1513, Flaminio's extensive collection of Hebrew and Arabic

³⁴⁴ See B. Richler-M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma. Catalogue*, Jerusalem, Hamakor Printing, 2001, pp. 314-316. See also M. Idel, *R. Menaḥem Recanati ha-Mequbbal*, pp. 55-65; Id., *Kabbalah in Italy 1280-1510. A Survey*, p. 98.

³⁴⁵ See G. Busi, *Menaḥem Finzi da Recanati: The true name of an old acquaintance*, pp. 213f. See also, G. Busi, *Libri e Scrittori nella Roma Ebraica del Medioevo*, Rimini, Luisè, 1990.

³⁴⁶ Menaḥem ben Binyamin 'Anaw also copied the following manuscripts: MS Paris, BNF, Hébr. 1221; MS London, BL, Or. 6712; MS Cambridge, University Library, Add. 173; MS Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, Z-86-25. On the crucial importance of the 'Anawim family in the context of Roman Jewish Culture of the late XIII century, see G. Busi, *Libri e Scrittori nella Roma Ebraica del Medioevo*, pp. 33-57, esp. p. 54.

³⁴⁷ See H. Vogelstein-I. Broydé, *Anaw*, in C. Adler (ed.), *Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1906, pp. 566f.; U. Cassuto, *Sulla famiglia Da Pisa*, pp. 228-236.

³⁴⁸ See *supra* pp. 52-59.

³⁴⁹ See M. Vattasso, *Antonio Flaminio e le Principali Poesie dell'Autografo Vaticano 2870*, Roma, Tipografia Vaticana, 1900, pp. 5-23, esp. pp. 12-15.

³⁵⁰ See e.g. P. Colonna "Galatino", *Opus totius christianae Reipublicae maxime utile de arcanis catholicae veritatis* [...], fol. 100r: «Haec nomina divisa ego sic omnino punctata pluribus in locis inveni, et praesertim in Romae in Bibliotheca summi Pontificis, eo in loco, ubi libri Flaminei viri quondam trium linguarum peritissimi, reconditi servantur» (Therefore,

manuscripts garnered significant cultural interest among intellectuals, including Popes. Given that a substantial portion of Flaminio's collection was incorporated into the Vatican Library, it is plausible to conclude that the papacy may have appropriated his manuscripts after his passing³⁵¹. This reconstruction appears to be corroborated by the later ownership records of MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 72. This remarkable example of a decorated Bible, complete with commentaries and *Targumin*, can be traced through annotations dispersed throughout its pages to the collection of Antonio Flaminio "Biaxander". However, an inscription on fol. 7r indicates that this volume was owned by Friar Egidio da Viterbo, having been gifted to him by Pope Leo X around 1515³⁵². While this remarkable exemplar is indeed noteworthy, it is not the only volume from Flaminio's collection that has come into the possession of Egidio da Viterbo. MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 45, a compilation of treatises and commentaries on the *Sefer Yetzirah*, consists of two codicological units, conceived, copied, and assembled in Sicily. On fol. 201r this volume contains a note of ownership inscribed in uncertain Hebrew by Antonio Flaminio, which was later amended by Egidio da Viterbo³⁵³. The MSS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2755; 3061; 3086; 3087; 3091; 3098; 3104; 3105 are also part of Flaminio's collection, which became part of Egidio's Hebrew, and particularly kabbalistic, holdings after the former orientalist passing. As reconstructed by Margherita Palumbo, the majority of these manuscripts resulted from a process of dismemberment and restoration, which three original volumes belonging to Egidio da Viterbo underwent after being entrusted to the Casanatense Library³⁵⁴. Specifically, MSS Casanatense 2755, 3061, 3091, and 3098 were originally part of the same volume. The kabbalistic and midrashic texts dispersed throughout these manuscripts are typically of significant philological value, or at least of stemmatical interest, demonstrating the meticulous selection made by Antonio Flaminio of the exemplars he procured for his personal collection³⁵⁵. As numerous additional manuscripts attributed to this figure are currently emerging in the Vatican Library, a more comprehensive examination of their content, and consequently the cultural and particularly kabbalistic activities of Antonio Flaminio, should be undertaken. At present,

I found these names completely punctuated in multiple passages, and especially See also P. Daffinà, *I primordi della scuola orientalistica romana*, in «Rivista degli Studi Orientali» LXVII/1-2 (1993), pp. 1-26, esp. 9f.

³⁵¹ See U. Cassuto, *I Manoscritti Palatini Ebraici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana e la Loro Storia*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935, pp. 71-74; G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla Formazione del più Antico Fondo dei Manoscritti Orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1939, pp. 160f.

³⁵² MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 72, fol. 7r: «Fr. is Aegidii Viterbiensis Leonis Decimi Munus» (Belonging to Fr. Egidio da Viterbo, a gift from Leo X). See also, E. Abate, *Tra filologia e qabbalah*, pp. 440f.

³⁵³ See E. Abate, *Tra filologia e qabbalah*, pp. 443-445.

³⁵⁴ See M. Palumbo, *I codici postillati di Egidio da Viterbo dal Sant'Uffizio alla Casanatense*, in M. Chiabò-R. Ronzani-A.M. Vitale (eds.), *Egidio da Viterbo, Cardinale Agostiniano fra Roma e l'Europa del Rinascimento*, pp. 299-322, esp. pp. 308-315.

³⁵⁵ See e.g. A. Bar-Asher, *Sefer ha-Bahir-Nosah, Seder u-Mivnah*, pp. 77-225.

it is crucial to reiterate the apparent primacy of Antonio Flaminio's kabbalistic manuscripts among Christian Hebraists residing in Rome during the early sixteenth century.

2.2 Egidio da Viterbo and his scribal atelier: from translations to political action

2.2.1 The collaborative process of composing translations in Egidio's scribal atelier

While some sources suggest that Egidio da Viterbo possessed a substantial understanding of Hebrew in the early 16th century, the earliest documented evidence of his engagement with kabbalistic studies is found on fol. 118r of MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 598, dated May 10, 1513³⁵⁶. Annotations on foll. 496v and 527v of MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 527/2 indicate that the translation of *Sefer ha-Peliah* in those same pages occurred between the end of 1515 and the early months of 1516³⁵⁷. Within the span of these dated annotations, there are approximately 750 folios of subsequent Hebrew-to-Latin translations, completed over a period of approximately two and a half years. Subsequently, on fol. 348v of MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 527/1, another note suggests that the translation of *Sefer ha-Temunah* is dated to 1523, particularly around the time of the conclave that elected Pope Clement VII³⁵⁸. Between this note and the one contained in MS BNF, Lat. 527/2 dated 1516, there exist approximately 500 folios of Hebrew to Latin translations, apparently composed over a period of seven years, followed by an additional 218 folios of subsequent works. The data and calculations provided thus far reveal a significantly rapid pace in the production of these works. However, this progress seems to have been hindered by Egidio's appointment as cardinal in 1517. The development of these works was facilitated through a series of collaborative translational processes, involving multiple contributors with various roles, including Egidio himself, particularly in the transcription and copying stages of these texts. The colophon on fol. 65r of MS BNF, Lat. 598 clearly elucidates the characteristics of this collaboration, resulting in translations that embody such complex activities.

[Fol. 65r] Finis Decem sephirot: quas notavimus saltu: non sua serie ut dicuntur: sed que visa sunt: raptim: et confuse currente lingua dictantis: emendatione egent: scissa enim ubique sunt: det Dominus ut scehina nos trahat de mizraim: propter nomen suum: Gratias tibi deus in quo hec sita sunt: et qui secreta Tua amicis revelas: et hostibus ascondis et separas: gratias parenti fonti omnium: gratias Unigenito: gratias aspiranti amori: gratias misericordissime deus qui incerta et occulta sapientie Christi manifestasti mihi: scripsi que fas putavi: alia obticui: da non temeritate audenti: veniam: sed tui cognoscendi incendio deflagranti ·

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³⁵⁶ See *infra* pp. 131f.

³⁵⁷ See *infra* pp. 132-137.

³⁵⁸ See *infra* pp. 141f.

Frater Egidius Viterbensis: eremita · ut fas · (End of the Ten Sefirot, which we annotated jumping as they appeared abruptly and chaotically in the vernacular language of the one dictating: these words require emendation. Indeed, they are dispersed throughout. The Lord ordained that the *Shekhinah* would lead us out of *Mitzraim* in His Name. I offer my gratitude to You, God, in whom all these things reside, You who reveal Your secrets to Your friends and conceal and separate them from Your enemies. Thanks to the parent who is the source of all, thanks to His only begotten, thanks to the aspiring love. Thank You, most merciful God, who has unveiled to me the uncertainties and hidden secrets of Christ's wisdom. I wrote what I deemed appropriate, and for other matters, I remained silent. Grant Your forgiveness not to the one who dares out of temerity, but to the one who burns with the fire of knowing You. ׀׀. Friar Egidio da Viterbo, the hermit, as is fitting)³⁵⁹.

The term “notare” refers to the distinctive annotative process underlying these Hebrew to Latin translations, which often resemble the concise notes of a kabbalistic lesson rather than a literal word-for-word translation. The collaborative nature of these compositions is evidenced not only by the numerous changes in handwriting present in nearly all of the translations preserved throughout Egidio's manuscript but also by the reference in the preceding colophon to an individual described as “currente lingua dictans”, indicating someone who dictated the translation in the Italian vernacular³⁶⁰. The consistent presence of an individual dictating the initial draft translation of each text, subsequently annotated and transcribed in Latin by Egidio and his collaborators, is evident over the years. This is corroborated by a note on fol. 395v of MS BNF, Lat. 527/1, associated with a translation of *Sefer ha-Temunah* dated circa 1523, which states: «Ita confuse dictatus fuerat hic locus: ut ne sibille quidem legi possit: tentavi ad verbum fere transferre: ut licuit acceleranti» (This passage was dictated in such a confused manner that even through sibylline oracles it is impossible to read it. I attempted to translate it almost word by word, as it was possible to someone who hastens)³⁶¹. The significance of vernacular intermediation in the translational activities of Egidio's scribal and kabbalistic atelier is evidenced by a collection of extant manuscripts containing vernacular translations from Hebrew. These texts were either re-translated or translated from independent sources into Latin, such as in the case of *Sode Rezzaya/Sefer Raziel*, or at least studied and annotated by Egidio, who commissioned them³⁶². As numerous scholars have observed, Egidio da Viterbo was an active reader who annotated his

³⁵⁹ An excerpt of this colophon was published in E. Abate, *Hebrew Divine Names into Latin and Italian, Shi'va Shemot and other Samples from Egidio da Viterbo's Workshop*, in Y. Harari-G. Necker-M. Frenschkowski (eds.), *Magic and Language: Perspectives on Jewish and Christian Magic in Early Modern Europe*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2024, p. 75.

³⁶⁰ See E. Abate-M. Mottolese, *La Qabbalah in volgare: Manoscritti dall'atelier di Egidio da Viterbo*, in S. Baldassarri-F. Lelli (eds.), *Umanesimo e Cultura Ebraica nel Rinascimento italiano*, Firenze, Angelo Pontecorvoli Editore, 2016, pp. 15-40. See also, F. Buzzetta, *La cabbale vulgarisée au XVIe siècle: Niccolò Camerario, un cabbaliste oublié*, in «Accademia: Revue de la Société Marsile Ficin» XVI (2014), pp. 121-134; Ead., “Et vocatum est nomen eius IESVS”. *L'onomastique divine dans la pensée cabbalistique chrétienne de Niccolò Camerario*, in «Mediterranea» III (2018), pp. 111-127. See also *infra* pp. 143-147.

³⁶¹ This excerpt was published in E. Abate, *Hebrew Divine Names into Latin and Italian*, p. 69.

³⁶² See E. Abate, *Raziel a Roma, le copie di Egidio da Viterbo (1469–1532)*, in Ead., *L'eredità di Salomone*, pp. 119-142.

translations with summaries, comments, and explanations of the obscure kabbalistic theories he studied repeatedly over the years³⁶³. The Latin translation of *Sefer ha-Bahir*, located on foll. 151r-170v of manuscript BNF, Lat. 527/2, which we will present in the subsequent discussion, includes several significant passages that illuminate the nature of Egidio's annotations accompanying each translation. These passages underscore the extensive study that Egidio appears to have engaged in over the years.

[Fol. 151r] Quomodo intelligitur plenum benedictione dei: nisi quod locus unde venit ב · est braha ut dicitur: benedicat deus Salomonem: et Deus dedit sapientiam Salomonis et · ב · est braha et hocma idem. Proverbium: Rex qui dedit uxorem filiam suam filio suo: et dat munus: fiat ut voluntas sua:	Benedictio: sapientia: ב Salomoni benedicat: Sapientiam dat Filius regis · scilicet · Salomon

This intricate and seemingly incestuous Bahiric doctrine, wherein the king bestows his daughter in marriage to his son, is elucidated and even cauterized in Egidio's annotations³⁶⁴. The notes start in fact with the simple equation between blessing (benedictio), wisdom (sapientia), and the letter ב. Egidio then notes that God imparted His blessing, and consequently His wisdom, to Solomon, thereby granting him His ב. By equating the son of the king with Solomon, Egidio's interpretation engages with the homography (בתו) between the king's daughter and his ב, reiterating the preceding passages in an abstract expression. This example elucidates the intricate relationship between these annotations and the main text, emphasizing that a comprehensive understanding of Egidio's translations and kabbalistic studies necessitates an in-depth consideration of such paratexts.

[Fol. 153r] Dixerunt ·ei quid הָ. Iratus est: et dixit · Nonne dixi vobis Non interrogetis me de re posteriore: et inde post priorem: Dixerunt ei et הָ · est posterior scripta: meruit scribi · הָ · scilicet ante dalet, et cur scribitur · גַּד · quod ipse debuit scribi:	הָ · quid · Ne interrogetis Pythagore הָ posterior הָ debebat scribi in ordine גַּד

³⁶³ See e.g. S. Campanini, *Dal sacco di Roma alla fine del mondo*, pp. 78-84; pp. 87-90; E. Abate-B. Rebiger, *The Christian Reception of Keter Shem Tov: Egidio da Viterbo's Annotations in MS London, British Library, Harley 5510*, in B. Rebiger-G. Necker (eds.), *Editing Kabbalistic Texts. New Philological and Digital Approaches*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2024, pp.187-198, See also, J. Whittaker, *Greek Manuscripts from the Library of Giles of Viterbo, at the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome*, in «Scriptorium», XXXI (1977), pp. 212-239, esp. pp. 214f.; A. Grafton, *The Footnote. A Curious History*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 1997; Id., *Inky Fingers. The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 2020.

³⁶⁴ See e.g. S. Campanini, *Problemi metodologici e testuali nell'edizione del Sefer ha-Bahir*, pp. 37f.

הָ Quare cur scribitur igitur · גַּל? Dixit eis mutare sunt ג · loco ה · ַ in capite loco ה idest ante · ַ	הָ גַּל ה ג Mutate ordine sunt ³⁶⁵

In this particular instance, one of Egidio's collaborators appears to have annotated the text of permutations in an incorrect sequence. Upon Egidio's subsequent examination of these pages, he appended a note to alert future readers to this error. His reference to Pythagoras also situates Egidio's interests within the context of Pythagorean humanistic doctrines, which were revived by figures such as Johannes Reuchlin during that same period³⁶⁶. Egidio was indeed a cultivated humanist scholar who consistently integrated his subsequent kabbalistic studies with his prior humanist knowledge in Platonism and philosophy, as evidenced by the mention of Plato's *Republic* even in the colophon of *Sefer ha-Zohar*, on fol. 298r of MS BNF, Lat. 527/1.

[Fol. 298r] [...] Frater Egidius valetudinem auditoribus suis et charitatem ·

Quod si minus intelligis: boni consule: Latere enim divina necesse est: que quam nec intellegi: tunc propalari nolunt · Sed dum in spelunca sumus: ut 7^o de republica · plato vult · cum Sol lateat: umbras sicut fas est: secretari iuvat. Sed servator dixit: venturum spiritum sanctum: post tempora et docturum omnia. (Friar Egidio extends his wishes for health and favor to his listeners. If you find yourself understanding less, seek what is good. It is indeed necessary for divine matters to remain concealed; thus, those that do not wish to be understood also do not wish to be revealed. While we dwell in a cave, as Plato describes in the seventh book of the Republic, with the Sun hidden, it is fitting for the shadows to remain secret. Yet, the Saviour proclaimed that the Holy Spirit will come at the end of time and will teach all things).

The examples presented thus far, along with the forthcoming analysis of the manuscripts produced within Egidio's scribal and kabbalistic atelier, aim, among other objectives, to demonstrate how this extensive translation project was facilitated through the collaboration of various individuals who worked closely with the General Prior of the Augustinians and subsequently Cardinal. The contributors encompassed individuals who facilitated and organized the reproduction of Hebrew manuscripts, translators who rendered these texts into vernacular languages and elucidated the meanings of the most obscure kabbalistic passages, as well as copyists who supported Egidio in his

³⁶⁵ In the lower margin of fol. 153r of MS BNF, lat. 527/2, all annotations are once again transcribed and interconnected, indicating a subsequent phase in the examination of this text.

³⁶⁶ On Pythagoreanism in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance Period, see e.g. I. Caiazzo-C. Macris-A. Robert (eds.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Boston-Leiden, Brill, 2021, and esp. D. J. J. Robichaud, *Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism in the Renaissance. Philosophical and Religious Itineraries from Pico to Brucker*, pp. 417-486; J. P. Brach, *Pythagorean Number Mysticism in the Renaissance. An Overview*, pp. 457-488.

endeavors to transcribe and translate the works into Latin. Nonetheless, the majority of individuals engaged in these processes remain largely anonymous or at least unidentifiable through their handwriting, particularly among those who, alongside Egidio da Viterbo himself, transcribed the Latin and vernacular translations described thus far. In the context of Egidio da Viterbo's acquisition of essential kabbalistic manuscripts, evidence from within the Augustinian Order and Egidio's personal network indicates that, particularly in the formative phase of his kabbalistic exploration, pivotal roles were played by Gabriele della Volta, the Venetian prior of the Augustinians, whom Egidio commissioned to secure copies of the *Sefer ha-Peliah* and *Sefer ha-Zohar* circa 1514³⁶⁷. Furthermore, Felice da Prato, a convert and member of the Augustinian order who was closely associated with the printer Daniel Bomberg, announced around 1515 the translation of significant kabbalistic texts such as *Sefer ha-Temunah*, and may have played a crucial role in the acquisition of Hebrew books for Egidio's circle³⁶⁸. Regarding the copyists who transcribed Hebrew manuscripts under the direct commission of Egidio da Viterbo, two otherwise unknown individuals are identified: Yitzḥaq ben Avraham Ibn Keliliah and Yitzḥaq ibn Zerah of Segovia³⁶⁹. The former transcribed MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2971, a copy of *Sefer ha-Zohar*, in 1513, while the latter copied MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3154, which contains *Sefer ha-Peliah*, around 1514. In 1515, Eliyyahu Baḥur ha-Levi Ashkenazi, better known as Eliyyahu Levita, transcribed MS London, BL, Add. 27199, a compilation of mystical materials linked to the doctrines developed by the *Hasside Ashkenaz*, particularly those of El'azar of Worms, along with additional Ashkenazi speculations on *Sefer Yetzirah*³⁷⁰. Eliyyahu Levita, renowned for his contributions to Hebrew and Aramaic grammars and lexicons, started composing most of his praised works while collaborating closely with Egidio da Viterbo³⁷¹. In the same year in which he copied the aforementioned manuscript, Levita arrived in Rome and took residence in Egidio's mansion, only to depart from Rome following the Sack of 1527. Levita is widely regarded as the most distinguished instructor of Hebrew and Aramaic for Egidio da Viterbo, towards whom he developed profound gratitude and admiration, as evidenced in his writings even years after Egidio's passing³⁷². Among the individuals who are believed to have assumed the

³⁶⁷ See E. Abate, *Tra filologia e qabbalah*, pp. 423; 426; S. Campanini, "Ben Hacane Liber qui dicitur Pelia". Egidio da Viterbo's kabbalistic excerpts, in K. Kogman-Appel-I. Steimann (eds.), *Premodern Jewish Books, their Makers and Readers in Era of Media Change*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2024, pp. 395-400.

³⁶⁸ See *infra* pp. 92f.

³⁶⁹ See *infra*, pp. 132-135; pp. 137f.

³⁷⁰ See G.E. Weil, *Elie Lévi, humaniste et massorète*, Leiden, Brill, 1963, pp. 70-110; E. Abate, *Raziel a Roma*, pp. 119-122.

³⁷¹ On Egidio da Viterbo and Eliyyahu Levita, see G.E. Weil, *L'Archétype du Massoret ha-Massoret d'Elie Lévi*, in «Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses» XLI/2 (1961), pp. 147-158; E. Attia, *Les manuscrits n. 3-4 de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon au regard des autres versions manuscrites du Sefer ha-Zikhronot: nouveaux éléments*, in «Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance» LXXII/3 (2010), pp. 575-592; E. Abate, *Elias Levita the Lexicographer and the Legacy of Sefer ha-Shorashim*, in «Sefarad» LXXVI/2 (2016), pp. 289-311. See also, *infra* pp. 150f.

³⁷² See E. Abate, *Elias Levita the Lexicographer and the legacy of Sefer ha-Shorashim*, pp. 296-299.

role of Egidio da Viterbo's instructors in Hebrew and Kabbalistic studies, Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter identified Barukh da Benevento, who imparted to the Augustinian knowledge of Zoharic doctrines, or perhaps even assisted in translating the *Sefer ha-Zohar*³⁷³. Mikael Zumat, a Sephardic refugee of Sicilian descent, appears to have collaborated with Egidio da Viterbo on his kabbalistic endeavors³⁷⁴. The diary of the pseudo-prophet and prince David Reuveni finally references a certain R. Yosef Ashkenazi as Egidio's teacher, whom Lea Sestieri equates with R. Yosef ben Avraham Hagri, an illustrious member of the Roman rabbinical court³⁷⁵. As will be examined in detail subsequently, significant Christian intellectuals, including the Archpriest of Benevento and convert, Niccolò Camerario, and the Hebraist Sante Pagnini, contributed to the development of kabbalistic and Hebrew studies within Egidio's intellectual circle³⁷⁶.

2.2.2 Faith, supersessionism, and the reform of the Catholic Church

Egidio da Viterbo frequently concluded the Latin translations of texts transcribed in his manuscripts with brief colophons and prayers, which reaffirmed the motivations behind his persistent scholarly endeavors³⁷⁷. Since the translation of Menaḥem of Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah* was identified by Egidio as a pivotal moment in his kabbalistic studies, he even juxtaposed two eucologies before the beginning of the main translation between foll. 163v-164r of manuscript BNF, Lat. 598, which we shall subsequently analyze.

[Fol. 163v] Hactenus domine isagogas seminaque percurrimus: sulcisque rudi vomere commisimus: ac solis in preludiversati sumus. Nunc ad pulverem: quod aiunt: et Solem progrediendum: nunc maturis frugibus adhibenda falx: nunc in horrea condende sunt messes: que sicuti et ipsi cernimus: et tuus dixit filius: ut sunt plurime: ita messori aut pauci: aut fere nulli. Nam bone deus que de te: que de prole: que de sancto spiritu in campo horum scriptorum invenimus. Quam alti: quam profundi: quam Arcani: quam inexpectati sunt sensus scripturarum sacrarum: quot dictionis eiusdem significationes: quot syllabarum: Litterarum punctorum intelligentie: quante opes: quot arcana: quanta lux: Da supplico videam: in his quinque libris legis: quid Iota cum litteris: quid apex ille tuus punctaque sint. **[Fol. 164r]** Da Domine mihi Lumen: ut per castra ingressus hostium: te duce: iter intelligam: que legis tue aperiant secreta intelligam: que contraria confutem: ut fas mihi sit hostium armis cincto ea scrutari de lege tua: mira testimonia: que christianorum: oculus vidit nec auris audivit. (O Lord, until now, we have navigated through introductions and the small seeds, which we unearthed

³⁷³ See *infra* n. 579.

³⁷⁴ See A. Scandaliato, *From Sicily to Rome. The cultural route of Michele Zumat, physician and rabbi in the 16th Century*, in S. Simonsohn-J. Shatzmiller (eds.), *The Italia Judaica Jubilee Conference*, pp. 199-211.

³⁷⁵ L. Sestieri, *David Reuveni. Un ebreo d'Arabia in Missione Segreta nell'Europa del '500*, Genova, Marietti, 1991, p. 107. See also *infra* pp. 112-121.

³⁷⁶ See e.g. E. Attia, *Annotazioni in latino ed ebraico di Sante Pagnini nel manoscritto di Elie Levita*, in «Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance» LXXIV/1 (2012), pp. 119-134. See also *supra* n. 371; *infra* pp. 149f.

³⁷⁷ The longer and more detailed colophons in Egidio's manuscripts of Latin translations are: MS BNF, Lat. 598, foll. 65r; 376v; MS BNF, Lat. 527/2, foll. 148r; 170v; 203v; 580v; MS BNF, Lat. 527/1, foll. 298r; 404v.

from their roots with a simple ploughshare. Yet, we are only beginning to stir. Now, as they say, both the dust and the sun must emerge, and our sickle must be aimed at the ripe fruits. It is time to store the crops in the barn, the very crops we discovered, which your son described as plentiful, though the harvesters are few, or nearly nonexistent. Indeed, O good God, what beautiful doctrines we have uncovered about you, your child, and the Holy Spirit in the writings of these authors. How lofty, profound, secret, and unexpected are the interpretations of the sacred scriptures: how numerous are the meanings of its pronunciation, its syllables, and the interpretations of the points in the letters, the works, the secrets—how much light! Please, grant me the ability to discern in these five books of the Law, what the iota with the letters signifies, what your top and your punctuations might be. Grant me, O Lord, a light, so that when I enter the encampment of the enemies with you as my guide, I may find the way; so that I may comprehend the secrets that unlock your laws, and be able to refute what opposes you; so that finally, armed with the weapons of the enemies, I may investigate these marvelous evidences of your Law, which no Christian eye has seen before, nor ear heard).

As can be inferred from these prayers personally transcribed by the Augustinian General Prior at the outset of his translation of Recanati's *Commentary*, Egidio's profound faith evidently guided his investigation of the kabbalistic doctrines he studied. Nevertheless, the idea that he could, through the study of kabbalistic texts, reveal affirmations of Christian doctrines and biblical interpretations, which were ostensibly concealed by the Jewish authors he was translating, clearly reflects the ambiguities inherent in the supersessionist approach to Kabbalah initiated among Christian intellectuals by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola³⁷⁸. In the introductory section of his kabbalistic treatise, the *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*, addressed to Pope Leo X, Egidio explicitly acknowledges the influence of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Paolo Ricci, and Johannes Reuchlin in his study of kabbalistic texts. He especially underlines their common objective of unveiling kabbalistic secrets so that they could identify, as previously discerned from the colophons and prayers examined, confirmations and allusions to Catholic dogmas. The numerous crosses interspersed throughout Egidio's kabbalistic translations and annotations function to associate specific kabbalistic passages with the figure of Christ, thereby constructing a kabbalistic representation of Jesus that warrants further exploration in dedicated scholarly studies. Additionally, comments such as "Ecce: Trinitas clara" (Behold: the Trinity is clear) and "Trinitas hic aperte" (Here the Trinity is in the open), found within his manuscripts, attest to Egidio's active engagement with the texts under his study³⁷⁹. When examined in conjunction with the frequent remarks in many of his colophons concerning the exploration of an adversary's domain, as well as the derogatory terms such as "Impii hebrei" (Wicked Jews) scattered throughout these texts, these comments underscore the profound ambiguity inherent

³⁷⁸ See *supra* pp. 31-36.

³⁷⁹ See MS BNF, Lat. 598, foll. 75v; 149v.

in the research and study process undertaken by Egidio³⁸⁰. The approach to kabbalistic and Talmudic doctrines, motivated by the intention and even conviction of uncovering Christian dogmas purportedly concealed within Jewish texts, resulted in the appropriation and transformation of the original meanings of these texts from the perspective of their Christian readers, and specifically by Egidio, who used them in his original kabbalistically inspired works. Despite the significant role played by Jewish copyists, teachers, and translators within the kabbalistic and scribal atelier established around Egidio da Viterbo, the fascination cultivated by the Augustinian General Prior and later Cardinal did not, however, lead to a re-evaluation of the pervasive anti-Jewish prejudice prevalent among the Christian majority of that era, nor did it seem to fully acknowledge the importance of the Jewish people in the composition, preservation, and transmission of ancient doctrines. In his approach to kabbalistic and Hebrew texts, the supersessionist perspective adopted by Egidio da Viterbo was primarily focused on the potential contribution their doctrines could make to the broader cultural, spiritual, and consequently political reform of the Catholic Church during his era. The colophon located on fol. 170v of MS BNF, Lat. 527/2, at the conclusion of the Latin translation of *Sefer ha-Bahir*, serves as a quintessential summary of all the primary characteristics and objectives of Egidio's kabbalistic translation works mentioned thus far by encapsulating them succinctly in a few lines:

[Fol. 170v]: Raptim ut licuit: transtuli ubi clam maximam secretorum partem innuit cautus auctor: atque ita offecisse permisit: ut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam.

Frater egidius viterbiensis eremita: ut fas fuit sanctissime et beatissime trinitatis: et aliorum que in sancta et ineffabili essentia sunt: vestigia umbrasque secutus: lumen sanctum arcanorum ab impiorum eripui manibus: medioque ex hoste recepi ad Christi et ecclesie catholice laudem et honorem. (With all possible haste, I have translated where the cautious author has merely hinted at numerous secrets, allowing them to be veiled much like one might see, or even believe to see, the moon through the clouds. I, Friar Egidio da Viterbo, the hermit, by the will of the most holy and beatific Trinity and all those who dwell in the holy and ineffable essence, have, by following tracks and shadows, wrested the holy light of these secrets from the hands of the wicked and gathered it in the midst of the enemy's field to the praise and honor of Christ and the Catholic Church).

This colophon is notable for its unique configuration, consisting of two interconnected triangles that converge at their shared apex. This design seem to be meant to supersede, even in a graphical sense, the decorative triangular-shaped colophons commonly found in Hebrew manuscripts³⁸¹. The term “raptim”, which initiates these verses attached to the end of the translation of *Sefer ha-Bahir*, serves as evidence of the swift execution of translational endeavors within Egidio's kabbalistic and scribal

³⁸⁰ See MS BNF, Lat. 598, fol. 115v.

³⁸¹ See e.g. MS BNF, Hébr. 763, fol. 34r.

workshop. The analogy of the concealment of kabbalistic doctrines within the translation to the moon obscured by clouds subtly alludes to Jb 37,21, the biblical verse referenced at the beginning of *Sefer ha-Bahir*. Egidio likely intended this allusion to underscore his purportedly profound and more accurate comprehension of Bahiric esoteric secrets from a Christian perspective. This hypothesis appears substantiated by the reference to the “lumen sanctum arcanorum”, the holy light of the secrets he claims to have personally seized (*eripui*) and collected (*recepi*) from the hands of the wicked amidst the enemy’s field (*manus impiorum/in medio hoste*)³⁸². These expressions once again openly present the ambiguities, particularly towards the Jewish people, intertwined with Egidio’s kabbalistic studies. The concluding reference to the praise and glory of Christ and the Catholic Church (*ad Christi et ecclesie catholice laudem et honorem*) as the objective of Egidio’s exploration and works on kabbalistic doctrines elucidates the purpose of his translation efforts in fostering a deeper understanding and exaltation of Christ and the Catholic Church. The intricate motivation underlying Egidio da Viterbo’s engagement with Kabbalah and Jewish doctrines, which integrates their study and comprehension with the pursuit of the highest good for the Catholic Church, appears to have subsequently influenced his cultural and political endeavors as General Prior of the Augustinian Order, and later influential Cardinal throughout the papacies of Leo X and Clement VII.

2.3 *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*

Given that Egidio da Viterbo perceived his humanistic and later kabbalistic studies as integrally connected to his role in advocating for the cultural and political reform of the Church, it is unsurprising that between 1513 and 1517, coinciding with his appointment as Cardinal, he utilized the insights gained from his cultural endeavors to author two seminal treatises, the *Historia XX Saeculorum*, a historical and prophetic work on the history of the past and future Church, and the *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*, a kabbalistically inspired *pamphlet*. These two works, one of which remains unpublished and the other was edited for a broader audience only in the last century, are essential for comprehending how the study of Kabbalah became a primary influence on Egidio’s actions and positions as both the General Prior of the Augustinian Order and a Cardinal in the early decades of the XVI century³⁸³. As we shall further explore, notable references to Kabbalah and kabbalistic doctrines began to appear in Egidio’s *Historia XX Saeculorum* during a later stage of its composition, particularly in the section composed around 1517 dedicated to Pope Leo X³⁸⁴.

³⁸² See Vergil, *Aeneid*, VI, 111: «Eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi». On the spiritual and even kabbalistic value Egidio attributed to the *Aeneid*, see B. Copenhaver-D. Stein Kokin, *Egidio da Viterbo’s Book on Hebrew Letters: Christian Kabbalah in Papal Rome*, in «Renaissance Quarterly» LXI/1 (2014), pp. 1-42, esp. pp. 30-35.

³⁸³ See E. da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, ed. F. Secret, Roma, Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici, 1959, pp. 23-55; while the *Historia XX Saeculorum* remains unpublished.

³⁸⁴ See *infra* pp. 105-109.

Therefore, to better comprehend the circumstances that may have prompted this shift in the composition of his historical-prophetical work, it is crucial to first examine the kabbalistically inspired treatise that Egidio da Viterbo meant to disseminate within the higher echelons of the Catholic Church, the *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*. This text, identified in Pietro Galatino's *De Arcanis* as Egidio's most significant contribution to the Christian kabbalistic discourse, is preserved in its draft form on foll. 1r-26v of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3146, and in its final form in MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5808 (foll. 2r-50v). Given that both versions of this text attribute the title "Generalis" to Egidio in their dedication, it can be deduced that the *Libellus* was composed prior to Egidio's elevation to Cardinal³⁸⁵. More specifically, a collection of letters transcribed by Egidio's secretary on foll. 27r-33v of MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 3146, suggests that the preceding draft of the text was likely composed in the months between 1516 and 1517³⁸⁶. The *Libellus* is in fact dedicated to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who subsequently ascended to the papacy as Pope Clement VII, addressed as *vicecancellarius*, a position he assumed following his appointment by Leo X on March 9, 1517³⁸⁷. However, the ultimate recipient of the text contained in MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5808, was intended to be Leo X, as this manuscript features exquisite illuminations with gold leaf and silver ink on foll. 2r and 16r, as well as his lavishly adorned and illuminated coat of arms on fol. 1v. These elaborate illustrations were well-suited to the ambitious content of this concise *pamphlet*. From its introduction, Egidio da Viterbo indeed encouraged the Pope to exercise his authority over Western Christendom, thereby utilizing his political and cultural influence to initiate a reform of the Latin alphabet by incorporating the Hebrew letters ן ,ה, ע.

[MS BAV, 5808, fol. 13v] Cumque eo sit ventum: eoque incurie collapsa res sit: ut non modo alia quae numero carent: sed ne ipsum quidem (ut diximus) nominum omnium sacratissimum IESU nomen: sciamus vel scribere: vel referre: iubeat talis tantusque pontifex: si linguam universam difficile putaverit: at rem omnium facillimam et levissimam duas illas ac viginti litteras discere: unius hore laborem: aut si ne id quidem delicari possumus: tres [14r] saltem aut duas addat latinis litteras: ה · ן · ע : he: heth: ain: divinis scribendis legendis: intelligendis: oppido necessarias: fecere: quos supra enumeravi. (Given that everything reached such point, and the situation has deteriorated to such an extent that we are unable to write or even repeat not only the numerous other things that are missing, but also the very name of JESUS, the most sacred of all names, a great and excellent Pontiff

³⁸⁵ MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 3641 fol. 19r «Ad Reverendissimum Patrem Cardinalem de Medicis: Sancte Romane Ecclesie Vicecancellarium Frater Egidius Viterbensis: Generalis: Salutem Dicit» (The General, Friar Egidio da Viterbo greets the most reverend father, Cardinal de Medici, vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church). MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5808, fol. 2 «Reverendissimo: in Christo Patri ac Deo Domino Iulio: Cardinali: de Medicis ac Romanae Ecclesiae Vicecancellario. Domino colendissimo Frater Egidius Viterbiensis Generalis indignissimus Salutem Dicit» (The most unworthy General, Friar Egidio da Viterbo greets the most honorable sir and most reverend Cardinal in Christ, the Father and God, Sir Giulio de Medici, vicechancellor of the Roman Church). E. da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, vol. 1 p. 23.

³⁸⁶ See *infra* pp. 103f.

³⁸⁷ See *supra* n. 386.

shall decree that, if adopting a universal language proves too challenging, the simplest and most straightforward task would be to understand the 22 letters, a task that requires merely an hour's work. Alternatively, if we cannot clarify even this, he shall propose adding three or at least two letters—ע, ה, א (he, heth, ain)—to the Latin alphabet, as these are crucial for writing, reading, and comprehending divine matters. Those who I elencated before already did that)³⁸⁸.

To achieve the reform of the Latin alphabet he envisioned, Egidio emphasized the necessity of understanding the Hebrew letters that should have been incorporated, and, most importantly, the broader implications embedded within the Hebrew alphabet as a whole. Consequently, Egidio devoted the central pages of this pamphlet to elucidating the form of Hebrew letters, drawing on the doctrines of the kabbalistic treatise known as *Sefer ha-Temunah*.

[MS BAV, 5808, fol. 17r] Extat super ea re liber: qui Sepher themunot: liber figurarum inscribitur: latissime is quidem abytha mysteria recensens: Ea ego omnia vobis, ita iubentibus, silentio sacro involvens: figuras tantum perstringo sanctarum litterarum: eius linguae: qua utraque legem: illam Deus Mosi: hanc apostolis Dei filius tradens, est locutus. (There exists a book titled *Sefer Temunot*: the Book of Figures, which alone extensively elucidates the obscure mysteries. I, in response to your request, shrouding them in sacred silence, merely touched upon the figures of the sacred letters of His language—the language in which He pronounced both Laws: the first which God gave to Moses, and the second which the Son of God bestowed upon the Apostles)³⁸⁹.

As will be further examined, Egidio da Viterbo and his scribal atelier translated *Sefer ha-Temunah* on foll. 1r-2r; 298v-404v; 561r-566v of MS BNF, Lat. 527/1. However, a colophon on fol. 348v suggests that the production of this translation and its study occurred at a later period, specifically around the latter months of 1523³⁹⁰. The incorporation of doctrines from this kabbalistic treatise into the *Libellus*, composed circa 1516, clearly indicates a previous engagement with these materials over the years. The employment of the plural form *Sepher Themunot* in Egidio's *Libellus*, which can also be found at the beginning of his subsequent Latin translation of this text on fol. 309r of MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 527/1, alongside its singular form, may provide insights into the context of Egidio's initial encounters with this particular text. In 1515, Felice da Prato, a convert and Augustinian friar with close ties to Egidio, communicated with the Venice city council through a letter, announcing the translation of certain kabbalistic texts into Latin, including the *Sefer ha-Temunah*, referred to in this noteworthy

³⁸⁸ E. da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, vol. 1 p. 31. See also MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 3146, foll. 25v-26r. There is no difference between the text of this passage in the two manuscripts.

³⁸⁹ E. da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, vol. 1 p. 36. See also MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 3146, fol. 1v.

³⁹⁰ See *infra* pp.111f. See also, P. Gardette, *Prolégomènes concernant l'apport de la kabbale judéobyzantine à la Renaissance humaniste italienne: Gilles de Viterbe et le Sefer ha Temunah*, in «Byzantinoslavica» 1/2 (2009), pp. 291-330.

plural form of *Sefer Temunot*³⁹¹. This translation was part of a larger initiative in Hebrew and kabbalistic publishing efforts spearheaded by Daniel Bomberg, with the assistance of Felice da Prato, under the significant patronage of Egidio da Viterbo, who, in the meantime, was also engaged in acquiring valuable kabbalistic manuscripts in the city of Venice³⁹². In this context, it is plausible that Egidio da Viterbo obtained a personal copy of this translation, which he might have subsequently utilized for study and further elaboration in the composition of the *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*. Given that Felice da Prato's translation is now lost, a thorough evaluation of its influence can only be inferred from possible indirect references by other Christian kabbalists to his work. Consequently, Egidio's utilization of Felice da Prato's translation remains speculative. An additional detail that may however support this reconstruction is the observation that another Christian Kabbalist, the Venetian Franciscan Francesco Zorzi, in his work *De Harmonia Mundi Cantica Tria*, published in 1523, references the *Sefer ha-Temunah* using the plural form *Temunot*³⁹³. This usage appears to align with the variant of the title preferred by the Augustinian convert, and consequently by Egidio da Viterbo. As both Francesco Zorzi and Egidio utilized *Sefer ha-Temunah*, potentially even the same Latin translation, in their kabbalistically inspired works aimed at a Christian audience, it is noteworthy that they arrived at divergent conclusions on a pivotal topic central to the discourse among most Christian kabbalists: the kabbalistic Name of Jesus. In the introduction previously analyzed in fact, Egidio da Viterbo emphasized the necessity of the alphabetical reform he was advocating by highlighting that the lack of understanding of the Hebrew alphabet and its complexities prevented Christians from being able to write, read, or pronounce the most sacred of names, that of Jesus³⁹⁴. Subsequently, within the pages of his treatise, Egidio revisited this subject and provided further elucidation, by saying:

[MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5808, fol. 36r] Nam si mentis attollimus oculos, ad Pythagoreorum et sacrorum seriem numerorum: videbimus, sicut scribit Theologus, has duas litteras · ָ · ם · per has duas comunes partes: illi divinissimo iungi nomine: cui necesse est, teste Apostolo, omne genuflectatur: est enim in sacro Iesu nomine: magnum illud a deo traditum nomen: ubi non modo divina altitudo: sed carnis quoque copulatio: divinarumque nuptiarum arcanum significandum fuit: unica littera quattuor est adiecta: ut nomen quod deum, a re omni [36v] alia omnino seiunctum, prius monstrabat: iunctum deinde homini demonstraret: de hac re occultissima scripsit

³⁹¹ S. Campanini, "Ben Hacane Liber qui dicitur Pelia", pp. 398-400.

³⁹² *Ibid.*; See also S. Campanini, "Elchana Hebraeorum doctor et cabalista". *Le avventure di un libro e i suoi lettori*, in S.U. Baldassarri-F. Lelli (eds.), *Umanesimo e Cultura Ebraica nel Rinascimento Italiano*, Firenze, Angelo Pontecorvoli Editore, 2016, pp. 91-114.

³⁹³ See F. Zorzi, *L'armonia del Mondo*, ed. S. Campanini, Milano, Bompiani, 2010, pp. XCVI; CXIII; 196; 1402; 1616.

³⁹⁴ See S. Campanini, *The Hebrew Names of Jesus in Renaissance Christian Kabbalah*, pp. 15- 47; On Egidio da Viterbo's fascination with the theme of the Divine Names, see also E. Abate, *Hebrew Divine Names into Latin and Italian*, pp. 62-81.

Capnio primus omnium christianorum: quod viderim: accuratissime elegantissimeque: de adiecte littere ratione nihil scripsit. (Indeed, if we direct our attention to the series of Pythagorean and sacred numbers, we observe, as the Theologian notes, the presence of these two letters: ם ן. These letters, through their shared components, are connected to the most divine name, to which, as attested by the Apostle, all things must bow. In the sacred name of Jesus, there resides the great name bestowed by God, signifying not only divine transcendence but also the union of the flesh, thereby representing the mystery of the divine nuptials. A single letter is added to the original four, so that the name that previously depicted God as separate from all else, could then reveal Him united with humanity. The first Christian scholar to address this very obscure doctrine was Capnio [*i.e.* Johannes Reuchlin]. Though, I happen to see it most accurately and elegantly, he did not say anything about the reason behind the addition of the letter)³⁹⁵.

Egidio's perspective on the doctrine concerning the name of Jesus, which renders the Tetragrammaton pronounceable, explicitly quotes Johannes Reuchlin's concept of the Pentagrammaton as articulated in his 1494 work, *De Verbo Mirifico*.

Therefore, as the Son of God got incarnated, His very name is IHSUH, which is nothing but the name of God expressed through the Tetragrammaton with the addition of an "S" [*i.e.* ן]. S flows, plunges, and soaks the second syllable with the divinity of the first, symbolizing the human nature imbued with the anointing oil. We have previously elucidated what is about the name and the oil. Notably, in the Jewish tradition, both "Shem", meaning "name", and "Shemen", meaning "oil", begin with the letter "S", which makes entire name IHSHU pronounceable³⁹⁶.

Reuchlin's concept of a Pentagrammaton, which renders the Tetragrammaton pronounceable solely through the addition of a ן, represents the divine aspect of God united with the human aspect of the incarnation within the very name of Jesus³⁹⁷. As thoroughly elucidated by Saverio Campanini, this

³⁹⁵ E. da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, vol. 1 pp. 47f. See also, MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 3146, fol. 11r: «nam si mentis attollimus ~~his~~ oculos: ad pythagoraeorum et sacrorum seriem numerorum: videbimus, sicut scribit Theologus: has duas litteras · ן · ם · per has duas comunes partes: illi divinissimo iungi nomine: cui necesse est, teste Apostolo, omne genuflectatur: est enim in sacro ihesu nomine: Magnum illud a deo traditum nomen: ~~eui-cum~~ ubi non modo divina altitudo: sed carnis quoque copulatio: divinarumque nuptiarum arcanum significandum fuit: unica littera quattuor est adiecta: ut ~~idem~~ nomen quod Deum a re omni alia omnino seiunctum prius monstrabat: ~~poestea eundem Idem~~ ~~eami-iuncto~~ iunctum deinde homini demonstraret · de hac re occultissima scripsit Re Capnio primus omnium christianorum: quod viderim: accuratissime ~~eopio~~ elegantissimeque: de adiecte littere ratione nihil scripsit». On the interpretation of the numerical riddle constituted by the letters ן and ם, see B. Copenhaver-D. Stein Kokin, *Egidio da Viterbo's Book on Hebrew Letters*, pp. 23f.; 27-30.

³⁹⁶J. Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, Liber III, Col. g5r: «Idem ergo Dei Filius incarnatus: est ipsum nomen suum IHSUH: quod non est aliud a nomine Domini Tetragrammato: nisi unius · S · litterae assumptione: quae secundam syllabam deitate primae syllabae perfundat: mergat et intingat: id est humanam naturam oleo effuso imbibitam: Unde et nomen oleum id esse supra ostendimus. Utrunque enim apud Hebraeos ab · S · incipit Sem: id est nomen: et Semen: id est oleum: quo totum IHSUH nomen enunciabile fit».

³⁹⁷ See e.g. M. Mantovani, *Il Cristo di Reuchlin*, in in F. Buzzetta (ed.), *Cahier Cabbala I*, «Accademia» XI (2018), pp. 43-60.

concept essentially represents Johannes Reuchlin's proposed solution to the conundrum posed by two of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's conclusions dedicated to this theme³⁹⁸.

Conclusio Cabalistica numero VI secudum opinionem propriam

Someone with a deep knowledge of Kabbalah can understand, by a wondrous assigning of features, that God's three great quaternary Names which are in the secrets of Kabbalists should pay tribute to the Trinity's three persons, so that the Name אהיה belongs to the Father, the Name יהוה to the Son, the Name אדני to the Holy Spirit³⁹⁹.

Conclusio Cabalistica numero XIV secundum opinionem propriam

By the letter *shin* which is in the middle of the name Jesus, the meaning for us from Kabbalah is that the world was completely at rest, as if in its fulfillment, when *iod* was joined with *vau*: this was done in Christ, who was the true Son of God and a human⁴⁰⁰.

Upon the comparison between these two conclusions, it becomes apparent that both the Tetragrammaton and the derogatory form of Jesus's name, ישו, as utilized in kabbalistic and talmudic sources, are identified by Giovanni Pico as the authentic representations of Christ's name⁴⁰¹. This double identification has consequently initiated an extensive discourse among Christians with an interest in Kabbalah, aimed at resolving this apparent contradiction⁴⁰². Therefore, in 1494, Johannes Reuchlin, and later Egidio da Viterbo around 1516, attempted to unravel this enigma using the concept of the Pentagrammaton. In contrast, Francesco Zorzi offered an alternative solution to the same issue in his 1523 work, *De Harmonia Mundi*, drawing however on the same doctrines found in *Sefer ha-Temunah* that Egidio had previously reflected upon to support Reuchlin.

In fact, in the book titled *Sefer Temunot*, it is demonstrated that through the same ה, the verb and the divine are intended to unite with the flesh, and from this union Jesus is formed. In him, the power of God's great name is so diffused that it nearly concedes to the name of Jesus to the point that it is now only through this name that it is given to men to be saved, and to us achieve the marvels once accomplished by the power of that great

³⁹⁸ S. Campanini, *The Hebrew Names of Jesus*, pp. 20-36.

³⁹⁹ G. Pico della Mirandola, *900 Conclusions*, pp.153-155 preceded by Pico's Latin thesis on pp. 152-154: «Tria magna Dei Nomina quaternaria, quae sunt in secretis Cabalistarum, per mirabilem appropriationem tribus personis Trinitatis ita debere attribui ut Nomen אהיה sit Patris, Nomen יהוה sit Filii, Nomen אדני sit Spiritus Sancti, intelligere potest qui in scientia Cabalae fuerit profundus».

⁴⁰⁰ G. Pico della Mirandola, *900 Conclusions*, p. 157, preceded by Pico's Latin thesis on p. 156: «Per litteram ש, id est *scin*, quae mediat in nomine *Jesu*, significatur nobis Cabalistiche quod tum perfecte quieuit, tamquam in sua perfectione, mundus cum *iod* coniunctus est cum *vau*, quod factum est in Christo, qui fuit verus Dei Filius et homo».

⁴⁰¹ S. Campanini, *The Hebrew Names of Jesus*, pp. 20-31.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.* pp. 31-47.

four-letter name, as explained elsewhere. Thus, in an admirable sequence, three other utterances follow, whose first three letters, when arranged correctly, form the name יהוה, Jesus⁴⁰³.

Later on in his work, Zorzi explicitly mentions his opposition to Reuchlin's Pentagrammaton by saying:

The name of our redeemer shall be written solely through the three letters of His profound mystery, namely יהוה. There is no letter that needs to be combined with ה, as some might believe, because those two letters, as we have explained, are already transformed within the letter ו⁴⁰⁴.

As the broader debate over the correct kabbalistic name of Jesus persisted among Christian scholars in the ensuing years and even centuries, the inclusion of Egidio's ideas on this subject, especially when compared with those of his contemporaries, becomes particularly noteworthy in contextualizing his kabbalistic endeavors. Between 1513 and the period during which he composed *his Libellus de Litteris Sanctis* around 1516-1517, Egidio da Viterbo had already produced and examined approximately one thousand pages of kabbalistic translations. Concurrently, in 1513, the astrological and kabbalistic book by Agostino Ricci *De Motu Octavae Sphaerae* was published in Trino; while in June 1516, Paolo Ricci's Latin translation of Gikatilla's *Sha'are Orah*, entitled *Portae Lucis*, was printed in Augsburg, a year after his aforementioned kabbalistic *Isagoge*⁴⁰⁵. This publication was followed in the month of October of the same year by Agostino Giustiniani's multilingual *Psalterium* with Zoharic commentaries⁴⁰⁶. In 1517, Johannes Reuchlin released his *De Arte Cabalistica* in Hagenau, while Pietro Galatino's *De Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis* was published in Ortona a Mare by Gershom Soncino in 1518. Finally, Francesco Zorzi published *De Harmonia Mundi Cantica Tria* in Venice in 1523, followed by *In Scripturam Sacram Problemata* in 1536⁴⁰⁷. While significant differences persist among these intellectuals regarding the correct Christian interpretations of kabbalistic doctrines, such as in the previously examined case of the Name of Jesus, it is crucial to evaluate how their publications facilitated a wider dissemination of Hebrew knowledge, and

⁴⁰³ F. Zorzi, *L'armonia del Mondo*, p. 1402: Nam per illud ה probant in eo libro, qui dicitur sepher temunot, verbum et divinitatem uniendam cum carne, ex qua unione constituitur Iesu, in quem virtus magni nominis Dei diffunditur, ut quasi videatur cedere Iesu, quo solo nomine datur nunc homines salvos fieri, et datum est nobis operari ea mirabilia, quae solebant fieri in virtute illius magni nominis quadrilitteri, sicut alibi diximus. Hinc mirando ordine sequuntur aliae tres dictiones, quarum primae literae debito ordine collocatae constituunt nomen יהוה Iesu. See also, S. Campanini, *The Hebrew Names of Jesus*, pp. 38-43.

⁴⁰⁴ F. Zorzi, *L'armonia del Mondo*, p. 1614: «Et nomen redemptoris nostri scribi deberet tribus literis tantummodo ipsius plenis mysteriis scilicet יהוה. Nec addenda est litera ה combinata, ut aliqui opinati sunt, quia illae iam (ut diximus) conversae sunt in ו».

⁴⁰⁵ A. Ricci, *De Motu Octavae Sphaerae*, Oppidum Tridini, in edibus domini Joannis de Ferrariis, 1513; P. Ricci, *Portae Lucis*, Augustae Vindelicorum, excusa in officina Milleriana, 1516. See also *supra* n. 321.

⁴⁰⁶ A. Giustiniani, *Psalterium Hebraeum, Graecum, Arabicum, & Chaldaicum, cum Tribus Latinis Interpretationibus & Glossis*, Genuae, impressum per Petrum Paulum Porrum in aedibus Nicolai Iustiniani, 1516.

⁴⁰⁷ See *supra* n. 324. See also pp. 73-76.

especially Kabbalah, among a broader Catholic audience. Consequently, Egidio da Viterbo, who—as will be demonstrated—maintained personal relationships with most of these scholars, engaged in the study and translation of kabbalistic texts within the context of this broader intellectual movement interested in the Christian doctrinal implications of Kabbalah. Through the private dissemination of his kabbalistically inspired works among the upper echelons of the Catholic hierarchy, Egidio leveraged his position as General Prior of the Augustinian Order to politically advance and, most importantly, safeguard the studies of the broader intellectual movement of Christians interested in Hebrew and Kabbalah to which he belonged. These scholars, who primarily based their cultural activities upon the Christianized approach to Kabbalah promoted by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola—who was, however, excommunicated for his conclusions on this subject—faced suspicion, condemnation, and occasionally even challenges with the Inquisition similar to those encountered by their ideological predecessor. In this context, Egidio’s advocacy for kabbalistic studies assumed a distinctly political dimension.

2.4 Egidio da Viterbo’s intervention in the Inquisition trials against Johannes Reuchlin

As discussed in the preceding chapter, Egidio da Viterbo frequently expressed profound admiration for Johannes Reuchlin’s kabbalistic studies in his *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*. Given that the composition of this text, its dedication to Cardinal Giuliano de’ Medici, and its presentation to Pope Leo X can be dated to approximately 1516, it is crucial to elucidate the cultural, political, and especially religious implications of such declarations directed towards the highest echelons of the Catholic Church. At the moment of the dissemination of Egidio’s *Libellus* is fact, Johannes Reuchlin was in fact undergoing deep scrutiny from the Inquisition for his doctrinal positions and activities as Hebraist.

2.4.1 The *Judenbücherstreit*

On 19 August 1509, following an extensive printed campaign denouncing the Jewish community, their perceived obstinacy, and the allegedly blasphemous content of their texts, convert Johannes Pfefferkorn obtained an edict from Emperor Maximilian I, known as the Padua mandate⁴⁰⁸. This edict authorized him, in conjunction with local German authorities and clergy, to confiscate, scrutinize, and potentially destroy all Hebrew books deemed to contain blasphemies against the Christian faith. In a series of confiscations of Hebrew books that occurred in the cities of Frankfurt,

⁴⁰⁸ See J. Adams-C. Heß (eds.), *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews: Johannes Pfefferkorn and Christian Writings about Jewish Life and Literature in Early Modern Europe*, Berlin-Boston, De Gruyter, 2017. On the Padua Mandate and the following imperial edicts on the matter, see A. Shamir, *Christian Conceptions of Jewish Books: The Pfefferkorn Affair*, Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, 2011, pp. 17-35.

Worms, and the small villages of the Rhineland, it became evident that Pfefferkorn's ultimate aims extended beyond the imperial mandate⁴⁰⁹. His objective was to restrict the local Jewish communities to the sole possession of the Hebrew Bible, thereby rendering the practice of their religion nearly unfeasible, and effectively coercing them towards conversion or emigration⁴¹⁰. In response to a series of petitions and disputes from Jewish communities, as well as from religious and municipal authorities, objections were raised against the authority granted to Pfefferkorn and the limits of his mandates. Consequently, a succession of conflicting imperial mandates was issued to either reinforced Pfefferkorn's authority, or to order the restitution of the confiscated books. Ultimately a final edict led to the establishment of a commission of experts, tasked with examining the contentious Jewish books and providing a series of recommendations regarding their appropriate disposition. The commission was constituted by theologians from the imperial universities of Cologne, Mainz, Erfurt, and Heidelberg, alongside three experts: the Prior of the German Dominicans and Chief of the German Inquisition, Jacob Hoogstraaten; a converted missionary priest named Victor of Carben; and the foremost authority in Hebrew studies and philology within the imperial territories, Johannes Reuchlin⁴¹¹. In contrast to the majority of assessments issued by universities and experts, which predominantly relied on anti-Jewish prejudice and stereotypes to justify the confiscation and burning of Hebrew books—including the University of Mainz's proposal to seize Hebrew Bibles and Hoogstraten's advocacy for employing the Inquisition in heresy trials against Jews who refused to renounce the content of their religious books—Reuchlin's recommendation was notably distinct⁴¹². In the confidential document he prepared for the Emperor, he not only opposed the confiscation and burning of Hebrew books on the grounds of their purported utility in affirming Christian doctrines and converting the Jewish population, but also, as a legal expert, he criticized the legal inaccuracies, overextensions, and bureaucratic issues associated with these mandates and confiscations⁴¹³. In conjunction with the negotiations undertaken by the local Jewish community with the Emperor, the robustness of Reuchlin's arguments effectively precluded any further legal enforcement of edicts akin to those that had been issued on the matter. Therefore, Pfefferkorn, who had been appointed as the solicitor responsible for collecting the experts' Gutachten, exploited his early access to Reuchlin's

⁴⁰⁹ See A. Shamir, *Christian Conceptions of Jewish Books*, pp. 37-54; 108-111.

⁴¹⁰ On the complex history of the Jewish population in Germany during the Late Middle Ages, see A. Maimon-M. Breuer-Y. Guggenheim (eds.), *Germania Judaica. Band III: 1350-1519*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2003.

⁴¹¹ For an introduction with bibliography to the life and works of Johannes Reuchlin, see e.g. S. Campanini, *Vi sono scuole anche a Bisanzio. Vita di Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522)*, in J. Reuchlin, *L'Arte Cabbalistica. De Arte Cabalistica*, G. Busi-S. Campanini (eds.), Opus Libri, Firenze 1995, pp. XXV-XXIX; S. Campanini, *Contro la "peste sofistica"*. Le opere di Johannes Reuchlin, *ibidem*, pp. XXXI-XLI; F. Posset, *Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522). A Theological Biography*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2015. On Reuchlin's biography up until the moment of the commission, see also, D. H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 14-94.

⁴¹² See A. Shamir, *Christian Conceptions of Jewish Books*, pp. 55-74.

⁴¹³ See D. H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books*, pp. 114-134.

report by publishing his inflammatory anti-Jewish rebuttal, the *Handtspiegel*⁴¹⁴. In response, Reuchlin felt compelled to publish another pamphlet, the *Augenspiegel*, which included his recommendations and their defense, along with a direct critique of Pfefferkorn and the legal and cultural authority of the vehemently anti-Jewish theologians who had been instrumental in advocating for the confiscations⁴¹⁵. The theologians who supported Pfefferkorn's initiatives, particularly inquisitor Jacob Hoogstraaten, exhibited a rabid reaction against Reuchlin both through their writings, and their deliberations against the Humanist's orthodoxy⁴¹⁶.

2.4.2 Reuchlin's trials

On 15 September 1513 Jacob Hoogstraaten, serving as the principal inquisitor within the German territories summoned Reuchlin to appear before the court of Inquisition of Mainz on the charge of heresy and excessive philo-Judaism⁴¹⁷. Challenging the authority of a court where Hoogstraaten held the dual roles of judge and prosecutor, Reuchlin submitted an appeal directly to Rome, seeking the intervention of Pope Leo X. The papal response decreed that the humanist's case should be adjudicated by the Bishop of Speyer. Following an extensive trial, during which Hoogstraaten succeeded in obtaining a public condemnation of Reuchlin's writings from the University of Cologne prior to the conclusion of the proceedings—thereby challenging the authority of the papally appointed court—on 24 April 1514, the Bishop of Speyer publicly announced a ruling in favor of Reuchlin. This decision upheld Reuchlin's defense against the accusation of heresy and excessive philo-Judaism concerning the *Augenspiegel* and condemned Hoogstraaten to bear the costs of the trials. The Dominican inquisitor chose to challenge this decision in Rome. Concurrently, he successfully obtained a public condemnation of Reuchlin's ideas from several prominent European universities, including Leuven, Mainz, Erfurt, and most notably, Paris. The overt conflict that emerged at the Sorbonne between the theologians, who condemned Reuchlin, and the humanists, such as Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaple, who actively participated in his public defense, marks a pivotal moment in the broader interpretation of Reuchlin's challenges involving the Inquisition⁴¹⁸. As the latter was recognized as a pioneer in Greek and Hebrew studies within the imperial territories, an Inquisition trial accusing him of excessive philo-Judaism and heresy was perceived by humanists such as

⁴¹⁴ J. Pfefferkorn, *Handt Spiegel*, Mainz, Johannes Schöffner, 1511.

⁴¹⁵ J. Reuchlin, *Augenspiegel*, Tübingen, Thomas Anshelm, 1511. See also, D. O'Callaghan (ed.), *The Preservation of Jewish Religious Books in Sixteenth-Century Germany. Johannes Reuchlin's Augenspiegel*, Leiden, Brill, 2016; J. Reuchlin, *Les Besicles (Augenspiegel). Suivi de Philip Melanchton Vie de Reuchlin*, ed. J.C. Saladin, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2022.

⁴¹⁶ See D. H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books*, pp. 140-156.

⁴¹⁷ See *Ibid.* pp. 156-163.

⁴¹⁸ For more information on the Parisian side of Reuchlin's case, see F. Giacone-G. Bedouelle, *Une lettre de Gilles de Viterbe (1469-1532) à Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaple (c. 1460-1536) au sujet de l'affaire Reuchlin*, in «Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance» XXXVI/2 (1974), pp. 335-345.

Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaple as a direct assault on the fundamental principles of their cultural movement, which was advocating for the rediscovery of the Classics, the classical languages, and an overall philological approach the Scriptures⁴¹⁹. In this context, Pope Leo X's decision to establish a commission to review Hoogstraaten's appeal against Reuchlin, with Cardinal Domenico Grimani—who had recently acquired the entire library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola—serving as its president, was deemed particularly advantageous for the Humanist cause⁴²⁰. The protracted and contentious works of the commission however, extended well into the summer of 1516. In the meantime, the commission itself was gradually expanded to include members both supportive of Reuchlin's cause, such as Girolamo Aleandro or Egidio da Viterbo, and those aligned with Hoogstraaten, such as the *magister sacri palatii* Sylvester Prierias. Between 19 June and 2 July 1516, four sessions were convened to reach a final verdict on Reuchlin's case. Prior to the final vote however, when the commission appeared to be strongly leaning towards Reuchlin's absolution, Pope Leo X intervened by suspending its proceedings. He then decided to defer his final decision on the matter, while temporarily upholding the decision of the Bishop of Speyer. Though this temporary (non)resolution impeded to clear once and for all Reuchlin's name, the outcome of the commission's proceedings was saluted positively by the humanist's supporters, such as Egidio da Viterbo, who in fact announced it triumphantly in a letter directed to Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaple, now preserved on fol. 27r of MS BAV, 3146⁴²¹. During the commission's meetings in fact, particularly in the second session dedicated to addressing the accusations against Reuchlin, Egidio da Viterbo had emerged as the most vigorous defender of the humanist's works and ideas. In a context where Reuchlin's ordeal with the Inquisition commenced with his defense of Hebrew books against indiscriminate destruction, Egidio in fact decided to utilize his esteemed position as General prior of the Augustinian Order to publicly extoll the significance of Hebrew books, Kabbalah, and even the Talmud for the greater benefit of the Catholic Church⁴²². Despite being cognizant of the risks associated with publicly expressing such views before Hoogstraaten and a commission that included members with strong anti-Jewish

⁴¹⁹ See e.g. J.C. Saladin, *La Bataille du Grec à la Renaissance*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2000. See also D. H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books*, pp. 164-192.

⁴²⁰ See *supra* n. 142.

⁴²¹ F. Giaccone-G. Bedouelle, *Une lettre de Gilles de Viterbe (1469-1532) à Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaple (c. 1460-1536) au sujet de l'affaire Reuchlin*, pp. 337-339.

⁴²² See J. Reuchlin, *Briefwechsel. Band III (1514-1517)*, eds. M. Dall'Asta-G. Dörner, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Friedrich Frommann Verlag-Günther Holzboog, 2007, n. 291, 12 September 1516, pp. 316-347, esp. p. 325: «Interfuit frater Aegidius, praestantissimus Carmelitarum antistes, tui honoris amator constantissimus. Multa quidem perquam egregie, copiose et erudite, ut solet, omnia de thaludicis cabalisticisque libris, disseruit, impudenter emulis oblatrantibus, sed non mordentibus» (Then, Fr. Egidio, the most distinguished leader of the Carmelites and a steadfast advocate of your honor, stepped in. As is his custom, he spoke with great eloquence, depth, and erudition on a wide range of topics, particularly focusing on everything about the Talmudic and kabbalistic books. Meanwhile, our adversaries shamelessly barked, though they did not bite: p. 338 n. 50 elucidates the potential sequence of errors that resulted in Egidio being identified as a Carmelite rather than an Augustinian hermit). See also p. 331.

sentiments, Egidio nevertheless opted to engage with these highly contentious topics. He in fact believed that more significant issues were at stake should a condemnation of Reuchlin be realized. In a letter addressed to Reuchlin in the following month of October, the General prior of the Augustinians articulated:

Indeed, in the trial where last Summer we laboured with such dangerous passion, we understand that it was not you, but the Law to be saved and defended, not the Talmud, but the Church; not Reuchlin thanks to us, but us thanks to Reuchlin⁴²³.

As elucidated in the preceding chapters, Egidio da Viterbo had, prior to delivering his address to the papal commission convened to adjudicate Reuchlin's case, embarked upon an extensive initiative involving the translation of kabbalistic and even Talmudic texts, which he considered fundamental to facilitating a comprehensive cultural and spiritual reform within the Catholic Church. Therefore, a potential public condemnation of Johannes Reuchlin as a heretic, stemming from his advocacy and defense of Jewish culture, would likely have jeopardized Egidio's own kabbalistic endeavors, rendering them potentially more contentious and subject to heightened scrutiny by the Inquisition. In this context, the promotion of the utility and even necessity of Hebrew, and particularly kabbalistic studies, among Christians became the distinctive characteristic of Egidio and other Christian kabbalists' public and private efforts to advocate for Reuchlin's exoneration⁴²⁴. Many of his contemporaneous humanists, in fact, defended Johannes Reuchlin for his philological achievements and his role in advancing the study of Greek and Hebrew within the imperial territories, while often disregarding or even viewing with suspicion his endeavors in the study of Kabbalah⁴²⁵. Indeed, Egidio

⁴²³ MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 3146, fol. 32r: «Denique in hoc iudicio ubi haec aestate periculoso aestu laboravimus: non te: sed legem: non Thalmud sed ecclesiam: non Reuclin per nos: sed nos per Reuclin servatos et defensos intelligimus». On Egidio da Viterbo's correspondence with Johannes Reuchlin, *Illustrium Virorum Epistolae*, Hagenau, per Thomam Anshelmum, 1519, fol. B4r; see also L. Geiger (ed.), *Johann Reuchlin. Briefwechsel*, Tübingen, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 1875, pp. 260f. nn. 227-228; J. Reuchlin, *Briefwechsel. Band III*, n. 300, 25 October 1516, pp. 380-388.

⁴²⁴ See e.g. M. Mantovani, *Il Cabbalista Aristotelico*, pp. 101-141.

⁴²⁵ See e.g. R.A.B. Mynors-D.F.S. Thomson (eds.), *The Correspondence of Erasmus. Letters 594-841 (1517-1518)*, Toronto, Toronto University Press, 1979, pp. 347f.: «Optarim te propensioem ad Graeca quam ista Hebraica, licet ea non reprehendam. Video gentem eam frigidissimis fabulis plenam nihil fere nisi fumos quosdam obicere; Talmud, Cabalam, Tetragrammaton, Portas Lucis, inania nomina. Scoto malim infectum Christum quam istis neniis. Italia multos habet Iudaeos, Hispania vix habet Christianos. Vereor ne hac occasione pestis iam olim oppressa caput erigat. Atque vtinam Christianorum Ecclesia non tantum tribueret Veteri Testamento! quod, cum pro tempore datum umbris constet, Christianis litteris pene antefertur» (A translation of this passage is in D. H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books*, p. 180: «I could wish you were more inclined to Greek than to that Hebrew of yours, with no desire to criticize it. I see them as a nation full of the most tedious fabrications, who spread a kind of fog over everything, Talmud, Kabbalah, tetragrammaton, *Gates of Light*, words, words, words. I would rather have Christ mixed up with Scotus [i.e., the scholastic theologian] than with that rubbish of theirs. Italy is full of Jews, in Spain there are hardly any Christians. I fear this may give that pestilence that was long ago suppressed a chance to rear its ugly head. If only the church of Christians did not attach so much importance to the Old Testament! It is a thing of shadows, given us for a time; and now it is almost preferred to the literature of Christianity»). See also, N. Ron, *Erasmus and the "Other". On Turks, Jews, and Indigenous Peoples*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

da Viterbo, while acknowledging Reuchlin's contributions to humanism and upholding humanist principles regarding the significance of philology towards a broader spiritual reform of the Church, specifically defended Reuchlin for his profound commitment to promoting and defending the study of Kabbalah among a Christian audience.

2.4.3 *The aftermath of the 1516 commission: Martin Luther and the final condemnation of Reuchlin's writings*

The ambiguous resolution of the proceedings of the Roman papal commission led to the emboldenment of both factions, which continued to publish inflammatory treatises and arguments against each other, sometimes even disregarding the papal order that mandated the suspension of the discussion until Pope Leo X's final decision⁴²⁶. In 1517, Johannes Reuchlin published his work, *De Arte Cabalistica*, in Hagenau, dedicating it to Pope Leo X, followed a year later by *De Accentibus et Orthographia Linguae Hebraicae*⁴²⁷. These texts highlighted Reuchlin's philological advocacy for Hebrew and kabbalistic studies, while also publicly calling for a conclusive judgement on his case, which could exonerate both his name and his works⁴²⁸. The appointment of one of his most ardent advocates, Egidio da Viterbo, as Cardinal, and the 1520 papal *imprimatur* granted by Pope Leo X to Daniel Bomberg for the printing of the Talmud, might have appeared as particularly promising developments aimed at a favorable resolution of Reuchlin's controversies⁴²⁹. Despite the apparent increase in support for his cause among universities within the imperial territories however, a series of political factors altered the perception of his case within the Roman Curia. In April 1517, the exposure of a conspiracy to assassinate Pope Leo X, orchestrated by Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci, resulted in the appointment of 31 additional cardinals to recalibrate the balance of power within the Roman court. Among these appointees were Egidio da Viterbo, but also the Dominican Tommaso de Vio (Caetano for his tenure as archbishop and Cardinal of Gaeta), and Adriaan of Utrecht, the Aragonese inquisitor and confessor to Charles V who, as rector of the University of Leuven, had publicly condemned Reuchlin's positions at the commencement of his Inquisition proceedings⁴³⁰. The increasingly unfavorable stance towards Reuchlin's cause within the College of Cardinals convened in Rome became more apparent with the subsequent emergence of the Reformation

⁴²⁶ D. H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books*, pp. 194-221.

⁴²⁷ J. Reuchlin, *De Accentibus et Orthographia Linguae Hebraicae*, Hagenau, per Thomam Anshelmum, 1518. See also *supra* n. 318.

⁴²⁸ See e.g. A.M. Piattelli, *New Documents Concerning Bomberg's Printing of the Talmud*, in S. Glick-E.M. Cohen-A.M. Piattelli (eds.), *Mehevah le-Menaḥem. Studies in Honor of Menaḥem Ḥayyim Schmelzer*, Jerusalem, The Schocken Institute for Jewish Research, 2019, pp. 171-199; J.S. Penkower, *The First Books Published by Daniel Bomberg*, in «La Bibliofilia» CXXIII/2-3 (2021), pp. 303-328.

⁴²⁹ See e.g. J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica Libri Tres Leoni X Dicati*, Liber III pp. XC-XCI.

⁴³⁰ On the role of Adriaan of Utrecht, later Pope Adrian VI, and the Reformation movements, see *infra* pp. 109-111.

Movement, following Martin Luther's posting of the *95 Theses*⁴³¹. Although Reuchlin consistently demonstrated allegiance to the Pope and the Catholic Church and distanced himself from Martin Luther and his associates, including his relative Philip Melanchthon, many intellectuals, both supportive and critical of his cause, perceived his persecution by the Inquisition as a prelude to this broader intellectual, religious, and ultimately political crisis. In this context, it is particularly noteworthy that Pope Leo X rendered his final judgment against Reuchlin on 23 June 1520, merely eight days following the issuance of his inflammatory condemnation of Luther's movement through the Bull *Exsurge Domine* (Rise, o Lord!)⁴³². In the years leading up to that decision, particularly between the end of 1519 and the beginning of 1520, Reuchlin, cognizant of the escalating risks associated with his still uncertain status and aware that some of his adversaries in Rome were attempting to invalidate his previous absolution from the bishop of Speyer, sought to prevent such an adverse outcome through both legal and cultural strategies. In 1519 in fact, right before attempting to negotiate a legal agreement with the Dominicans of Cologne, Reuchlin sought to promote his cause by publishing the *Illustrium Virorum Epistolae*, which included letters from his most esteemed supporters, such as Erasmus, Johannes Oecholampadius, or more interestingly Egidio da Viterbo⁴³³. Indeed, the Cardinal had become Reuchlin's most trusted advocate in Rome, even in the month leading up to Pope Leo X's verdict against the humanist⁴³⁴. In the context of a curia increasingly suspicious of the humanist and the Reformation movements, Egidio seemed to have leveraged his influence to continue advocating for the study of Hebrew and Kabbalah, with the aim of reforming the Church, even amid the political upheaval preceding Reuchlin's condemnation. This is evidenced by the intriguing section dedicated to Pope Leo X's papacy in Egidio's *Historia XX Saeculorum*, which will be explored in the next chapter, and by a notable detail in MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 3146. This manuscript comprises Egidio's draft of the *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis* (foll. 1r-26v), a compilation of his letters transcribed by his secretary, which focus on the reformation of the Augustinian Order and the advocacy for Reuchlin's cause (foll. 27r-33v)⁴³⁵, a 1517 address to the Augustinian Order dedicated to the Reform and the Fifth Lateran Council (foll. 34r-37r), as well as a letter from early

⁴³¹ See e.g. G. Pani, *Le 95 Tesi di Lutero del 1517: storia di un mancato dialogo*, in «Analecta Augustiniana» LXXX (2017), pp. 1-26. On the history of the Reformation, see e.g. E. Cameron, *The European Reformation*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.

⁴³² See D. H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books*, pp. 202-221.

⁴³³ J. Reuchlin (ed.), *Illustrium Virorum Epistolae, Hebraicae, Graecae et Latinae ad Iohannem Reuchlin Phorcensem*, Hagenau, per Thomam Anshelmum, 1519.

⁴³⁴ L. Geiger, *Briefwechsel*, p. 336: «Er möge nun, mit hülfe des Ägidius von Viterbo, für eine seine unschuld bezeugende ausfertigung des breve sorgen».

⁴³⁵ On fol. 27r, Egidio's letter to Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaple is found, conveying the thus-far positive outcome of Reuchlin's Roman Commission. On fol. 30v, there is an almost encomiastic letter addressed to Cardinal Domenico Grimani. Finally, on foll. 31v-32r, there is the aforementioned kabbalistic-themed letter published by Reuchlin (see *supra* p. 101 n. 423), in which Egidio affirmed that through the defense of the Talmud, it was the Church that was being defended.

1518 addressed to the apostolic nuncio at the court of the Catholic King, likely Charles V. Zanobi Acciaiuoli, a Florentine Dominican from the Convent of San Marco and the librarian of the Papal collection, also appended his translation of a Platonic passage at the conclusion of this manuscript (foll. 42r-46v)⁴³⁶. These materials, which may initially appear to be randomly assembled among Egidio's drafts, can be further contextualized through an examination of the bibliographic notes left by Acciaiuoli on foll. 1r, 27r, and 34r. Among the three annotations, the initial one, which attributes the subsequent draft of the *Libellus* and its copy to Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, is of apparent utmost importance, as it is dated to 1519⁴³⁷. In the previous chapter it was explained that the designation of Egidio as "Generalis" in the introduction of this text, along with the dates of the letters compiled in the subsequent pages, indicates that this draft was composed prior to his appointment as Cardinal, most likely in the first half of 1516⁴³⁸. Consequently, the dating of this annotation to 1519 seems to identify the moment in which this anthology of Egidian materials was incorporated into the papal collection. Considering that MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5808, which contains the more refined version of the *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*, had already been presented to the Pope by the time Egidio was appointed Cardinal, it might be speculated that the materials contained in MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 3146 were deliberately compiled around 1519 for further dissemination among the higher echelons of the Catholic Church⁴³⁹. As previously discussed, during that year, tensions surrounding Reuchlin's case and, more broadly, the Reformation were gradually approaching a critical juncture, culminating in the issuance of the 1520 papal bull *Exsurge Domine* and the unfavorable verdict against Reuchlin. Consequently, the compiling of an anthology of Egidian texts, which underscored the importance of kabbalistic studies, the reform, and the favorable resolution of Reuchlin's affair, as well as the manner of the dissemination of these texts among the volumes included in the papal collection, may have been intended to garner additional support for these causes. At a minimum, it might also have been designed to facilitate a more nuanced discussion of these specific topics by leveraging Egidio's position as Cardinal, even while, in that same year, he was in Spain conducting an embassy for Leo X⁴⁴⁰.

⁴³⁶ See M. Maiorino, *Il bibliotecario-archivista di Leone X: Zanobi Acciaiuoli (1518-1519)*, in A.M. Piazzoni (ed.), *Studi in Onore del Cardinale Raffaele Farina*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2013, pp. 639-662.

⁴³⁷ The note of fol. 27r while reiterating the date of the first letter on 21 July 1516, reaffirms Cardinal Egidio's authorship of the subsequent letters, even if they were composed prior to his appointment, and clarify that these epistles were transcribed by his scribe. The third note on fol. 34r solely dates the subsequent discourse to 1517.

⁴³⁸ See *supra* p. 91.

⁴³⁹ See *supra* n. 438. Egidio is still identified as "Generalis" in this particular copy.

⁴⁴⁰ MS St. Andrews (UK), St. Andrews University Library, 236 (BS 1158 H4 D2 C2), was transcribed in 1519 during Egidio's diplomatic mission in Saragozza. It can be inferred that this meticulously crafted copy of Qimḥi's *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, known as *Liber Radicum*, was part of this same initiative to advance the study of Hebrew and Jewish culture within the Catholic Church. See also, E. Abate, *Elias Levita the Lexicographer and the Legacy of Sefer ha-Shorashim*, pp. 293f., 304f.; G. Corazzol, *À propos du ms 236 de St Andrews: notes d'un carnet de voyage*, in

2.5 *Historia XX Saeculorum* through Kabbalah: the call to action to Pope Leo X against the Ottoman Empire

MSS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 502, and Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Lat. IX B 14 contain, respectively, the draft version and a more refined, though not apparently final, copy of Egidio da Viterbo's prophetically inspired historiographical work on the history of the Salvation of humanity and the Church, titled *Historia XX Saeculorum*⁴⁴¹. Egidio commenced the composition of this treatise circa 1513 and, as evidenced by a series of annotations on the last folios of this work, completed its final extensive section dedicated to the papacy of Leo X in 1517⁴⁴². The preceding chapters have demonstrated that this period was pivotal for Egidio's kabbalistic education and the emergence of a broader kabbalistic movement among Christian intellectuals. Concurrently, this era was equally significant for the emergence of internal opposition and suspicion within the Church towards Hebrew and kabbalistic studies, which became closely associated with Reuchlin's Inquisition challenges. A critical annotation on fol. 192v of MS Napoli, BN Vittorio Emanuele III, Lat. IX B 14 appears to allude to the trial, wherein Egidio asserts:

«Ita dicunt: in ea Chabala quam nostri tam temere ~~inaudita~~ indicta causa damnant» (They reference this in the same Kabbalah, which is condemned by ours without even ~~hearing~~ stating a reason)⁴⁴³.

Nevertheless, in the section dedicated to Pope Leo X, composed in the first half of 1517, Egidio notably referenced the term “Chabala” and its doctrines more frequently than in any other part of this treatise. From a statistical perspective, considering only the marginal notes that accompany and summarize the reading of the text on foll. 1r-185r of MS BN Vittorio Emanuele III, Lat. IX B 14, there are in fact just 11 occurrences of Hebrew words or topics, most of which are inscribed in red ink, serving to correct or enrich the preceding text (foll. 4v; 11v; 13v; 18v; 58v; 86r. Other occurrences related to Hebrew and kabbalistic arguments are seemingly found on foll. 5r, 32r, 62v-63r; 161v; 162v). The section dedicated to the papacy of Leo X on foll. 189r-231v indeed features on fol. 190v the first explicit citation of Kabbalah in the book, followed by references on foll. 192v-193v; 204v;

<https://shorashim.hypotheses.org/618#more-618>, 2022; F.X. Martin, *The Writings of Giles of Viterbo*, in «Augustiniana» XXIX (1979), pp. 141-193.

⁴⁴¹ For the reception of Egidio da Viterbo's *Historia XX Saeculorum*, see S. Pasti, *Le fonti della Visione di Ezechiele di Raffaello: l'Historia Viginti Saeculorum di Egidio da Viterbo e il De Partu Virginis di Jacopo Sannazaro*, in «Accademia Raffaello. Studi e Atti» 1/2 (2016), pp. 8-32. See also, L. D. Ettlinger, *The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo. Religious Imagery and Papal Primacy*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1965; F. Lelli, *Mosè Mago nel Rinascimento fra Ebraismo e Cristianesimo*, in E. Abate (ed), *L'Eredità di Salomone. La Magia Ebraica in Italia e nel Mediterraneo*, pp. 99-118.

⁴⁴² MS BN Vittorio Emanuele III, Lat. IX B 14, fol. 201v: «Hic est MDXVII»; see also MS BN Vittorio Emanuele III, Lat. IX B 14, fol. 216v: «MDXVII · anno: Cairum Thurca occupat». A marginal annotation on fol. 225v, inscribed in Egidio's handwriting, reads: «Cardinalatus». This notation appears to more precisely date this section to a period subsequent to Egidio's appointment as cardinal on July 1, 1517.

⁴⁴³ It is important to note that the Latin term “causa” may also be interpreted as “trial”, thereby rendering this critique even more significant.

205v-209r; 211v; 222v; 223v. Through a comprehensive examination of this section of the *Historia XX Saeculorum*, it becomes evident how the explanation of kabbalistic doctrines, and the understanding Egidio derived from his study of these sources, gradually became intertwined not only with the spiritual reform initiatives he advocated within the Church but also with the political actions he encouraged Pope Leo X to undertake. Through these pages in fact, Pope Leo X is depicted from the beginning as a providential figure:

[MS Lat. IX B 14, fol. 189r]: In decime aetatis initio: que a te, Leo decime, auspicia sumit: decimum de more psalmum enarrabimus. In quo sunt, deo volente, versus decem: decemque ad pontificum principem pertinentes sententie · in denario vero finem numeri statuunt Archana arameorum: simul et pythagoreorum [...] Est itaque psalmus unus omnium de pontificia dignitate: quam absolutissimus pontificum auctor: in absolutissimo denarii numero sitam esse voluit [...] Sane sacerdotes ac pontifices: angelorum appellationem adsequuntur: id quod Dionysius ex Iohannis apocalypsi demonstrat: ubi septem episcopos: septem angelos vocat. (At the dawn of the tenth age, which takes its omens from you, Leo X, we shall expound upon the tenth psalm concerning custom. This psalm, by God's will, comprises ten verses and ten sentences that relate to the dignity of pontiffs. Indeed, in the tenth, the secrets of the Arameans and simultaneously those of the Pythagoreans have established the end of the number [...] Among all, there is one psalm dedicated to papal dignity, which the absolute author of the popes intended to be placed within the most absolute number of ten [...] It is fitting that priests and pontiffs are equated with the title of angels, as Dionysius illustrates from John's Apocalypse, where he refers to the seven bishops as seven angels.

In this passage, the reference to the number 10, along with the secrets of the Arameans and the Pythagoreans, hints at the sefirotic doctrine. This notion, together with the *nomina divina*, will be repeatedly mentioned throughout the following pages to explain the signs that should prophetically guide Leo X's political action. The subsequent reference to the equivalences between popes and angels appears to allude to the medieval, millenarian myth of the Angelic Pope—a redemptive figure destined to lead Christianity toward ultimate salvation⁴⁴⁴. Egidio's association or even subtle identification of this figure with Leo X can be understood within the context of a revival of millenarian and Joachimite expectations at the beginning of the 16th century⁴⁴⁵. The movement that discussed the prophetic texts of Gioacchino da Fiore also included other notable figures of the

⁴⁴⁴ See e.g. M. E. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A Study in Joachimism*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969; A. Morisi-Guerra, *The "Apocalypsis Nova": A Plan for Reform*, in Reeves M. E., *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 27-50; A. Marini, *Celestino V e le origini del mito del papa angelico*, in «Studi Storici» XLI/4 (2000), pp. 1001-1022.

⁴⁴⁵ See M. E. Reeves, *Cardinal Egidio of Viterbo and the Abbot Joachim*, in G.L. Potesta (ed.), *Il Profetismo Gioachimita tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, Genova, Marietti, 1991, pp. 139-155. On the theme of millennialism in the Renaissance period, see e.g. G. Tognetti, *Note sul profetismo nel Rinascimento e la letteratura relativa*, in «Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo» LXXXII (1970), pp. 129-157; C. Vasoli, *L'immagine sognata: il "papa angelico"*, in L. Floriani-A. Prosperi (eds.), *Roma, la Città del Papa*, Torino, G. Einaudi Editore, 2000, pp. 75-109.

Catholic Church, such as Agostino Giustiniani, the bishop of Nebbio, who was knowledgeable in Kabbalistic and Hebrew studies, and undoubtedly collaborated with the intellectual circle of Egidio da Viterbo before the conspiracy against Leo X led by his patron Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci⁴⁴⁶. The possible reworking of notions discussed with Giustiniani, along with the initial reference to the Aramean and especially Pythagorean secrets — a topic revived at the time by Johannes Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica* — once again situates Egidio's writings within the broader Christian kabbalistic movement of the early sixteenth century. It also demonstrates that Egidio's engagement with these shared ideas was creative and, as we will explore in the following passage, aimed at fostering both cultural and, particularly, political action within the Church.

[MS Lat. IX B 14, fol. 203v]: Quem igitur divinus spiritus deligat: quem vocet: quem designet: pontificem decimi seculi: vel caput: vel ducem? [...] Et quoniam adverse res ad virtutem: secunde ad socordiam, et voluptates invitant: omnium candidatorum te solum exaudiet deus: inquit vates: in die tribulationis: quem multa adversa tolerasse: patria multos per annos caruisse: domus larium praediorum avitarum direptionem rerum: et longi exilii incommoda: animadvertite et diem tribulationis etatis inter adverse tela consumptum: sed quamquam versus primus adversis orditur: ne tamen terroris: ne non letissima idemque faustissima speraris: in illo ipso primo versu: sinisteris dextera: molestis iucunda: iniquis felicia: anteposuit: ut instructus armis multo pocioribus quam vulcaniis: tutus proferres: ad bellum praesidia: ad pugnam umbones: ad vulnera medicinam. Neve medicae esses opis indignus: non aliae e familia quam Medica accersendam putavit: opem vero quae fortunae vulneribus medetur non humanam: divinus plato docuit, sed divinam. (Therefore, whom might the divine spirit select, call, or choose as the pontiff of the tenth century, the chief and leader? [...] And since unfavorable circumstances encourage virtue, while favorable ones lead to inaction and self-indulgence, among all the candidates, God chose you. Indeed, the wise man says: in the day of tribulation, seek the one who has endured many adversities, who has been absent from home for many years, who has suffered the pillage of his house, his Lares, and his inherited estates, who has spent the day of tribulation amidst the darts of a difficult age. Yet, even though the first verse is sewn with adversities, do not be afraid; hope for the most prosperous and auspicious outcomes: in that very first verse, sinister things precede the right ones, troublesome before pleasant, unfair before fortunate, so that you, armed with weapons far more powerful than the vulcans, can safely provide aid in war, shields in battle, and medicine for wounds. You would not be unworthy of the healing power, and indeed, God chose to bestow this upon no other family than the Medici. Truly, the divine Plato taught that this power, whose fortune it medicates from adversities, is divine rather than human).

Egidio's flattering and providential account of the trials faced by the Medicean family, and consequently by Leo X, suggests that these adversities were intended to strengthen the future Pope's

⁴⁴⁶ See S. Campanini, *Dal sacco di Roma alla fine del mondo*, pp. 83-85, esp. p. 84. In that article it is also mentioned Pietro Galatino's involvement with early Renaissance millenarian movement (*ibid.* p. 83 n. 35). See also A. Morisi, *La Guerra nel Pensiero Cristiano. Dalle Origini alle Crociate*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1960.

character, making him adept and resolute in his duties. This narrative also subtly introduces the military aspect of the action that Egidio was urging Leo X to promote at this juncture of his prophetically inspired historical work. In the pages before the passage here analyzed (foll. 201v-203r) Egidio had in fact started to portray the conflict between Christianity and Islam, along with the tribulations and adversities of the contemporary era, with the aim of urging Leo X to spearhead a collective Christian military action against the Ottoman Empire. As previously mentioned, numerous annotations scattered throughout the pages of this manuscript confirm that Egidio da Viterbo was composing this particular section of the *Historia XX Saeculorum* in 1517, with a note on fol. 216v which specifically conveys the news of the Sultan Selim I's conquest of Cairo, which came around a year after his previous occupation of Syria⁴⁴⁷. An examination of the numerous references to the Ottoman Empire in this section of the *Historia XX Saeculorum* indicates that Egidio perceived and depicted this rising power as a tangible, imminent, and existential threat to Christianity, which he urged the Pope to address accordingly⁴⁴⁸.

[MS Lat. IX B 14, fol. 216r] Sed et altera res superest: hostis barbarus imminet: non phari: non nili: non egypti modo: sed et asie et Europe partis late princeps: arma parat: classem armat: exercitum ducit: cui nisi bonitas obsistat tua: actum de nobis est: votati alii sunt: solus ulysses superest poliphemo: timuere praedecessores tui Turcharum vires: sed iure timuerunt: quem viderant semper vincere: manum conserendo: numquam vinci. Quomodo nunc res nostra perducta est? Thurca tunc nec syriam: nec egyptum tenebat: nunc utramque (But something else remains: the barbarian enemy is imminent. The prince readies his weapons not only against Pharus, the Nile, or Egypt, but also against a significant portion of Asia and Europe. He arms his fleet and leads his army, and unless your excellence stands against him, it will be the end for us. Others have been rejected, only Ulysses stands against Polyphemus. Your predecessors feared the violence of the Turks, and they rightly believed that someone they had always seen winning could not be defeated by merely tying his hand. And now, where did our action bring us? At that time, the Turk neither possessed Syria nor Egypt; now, he has both).

As mentioned before, throughout several sections of this treatise, particularly the one preceding the passage above, Egidio engaged with kabbalistic doctrines, such as the *nomina divina* and the elucidation of the *sefirot*, to substantiate and interpret the purported signs intended to persuade Pope Leo X to undertake a successful campaign against the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, these sections of the *Historia XX Saeculorum* constitute the earliest recorded instance in which Egidio employs the explanation of kabbalistic doctrines with an explicit political objective, as opposed to pursuing the spiritual or cultural reform of the Roman Church, which had been the focus of his writings examined

⁴⁴⁷ See e.g. A. Mikhail, *L'Ombra di Dio. Selīm il Sultano, il suo Impero Ottomano e la Creazione del Mondo Moderno*, Torino, Einaudi, 2021.

⁴⁴⁸ See MS Napoli, BN Vittorio Emanuele III, Lat. IX B 14, foll. 201v-202r; 216r-217r; 221v-222r; 227v-231v.

thus far. As will be further analyzed in the subsequent chapters, this close intersection between kabbalistic studies and political endeavors will remain a constant feature of Egidio's political activities as a Cardinal, following his appointment to this role by Pope Leo X while apparently he was in the process of completing the final pages of this very text. Egidio's handwritten annotation in the margins of a passage from MS Napoli, BN Vittorio Emanuele III, Lat. IX B 14 fol. 225v, which is dedicated to the spiritual and providential support Pope Leo should receive for the successful outcome of his endeavors, reads in fact: «Cardinalatus» (cardinalate). This note seemingly alludes to his recent appointment, while also implying Egidio's providential perception of his political role within the Church. The absence of any reference to another significant event of 1517, specifically the onset of the Reformation, throughout this work suggests that these passages dedicated to Leo X may have been composed either prior to its emergence or during a period when Egidio believed that this crisis could have been contained⁴⁴⁹. As previously discussed regarding the outcome of Reuchlin's controversy, during the subsequent years of Leo X's papacy, suspicion towards Hebrew and Kabbalah within the Catholic Church intensified, partly as a consequence of the Reformation crisis. Despite this, Egidio persistently championed the cultural, spiritual, and even political significance of kabbalistic studies while simultaneously increasing his participation in the diplomatic endeavors of the Holy See, especially through his mission at the imperial court of Saragossa around 1519. However, the prophetic expectations he harbored towards Leo X were abruptly, albeit temporarily, halted due to the Pope's unexpected death on December 1, 1521, and the outcome of the subsequent conclave.

2.6 The Conclaves

2.6.1 Adrian VI

There is nothing left to do but place bets, either on one [candidate] or another. As a result, the highly esteemed Cardinal Medici, who had been absent until now, has been given odds of 30 out of 100. Now that he has arrived, his odds are expected to rise to 50. The second candidate, with odds of 10 out of 100, is the Cardinal of Cortona, followed by the Cardinal of Siena at 20, Egidio at 15, similar to the Cardinal of Aracoeli, Jacobazzi at 15, the Cardinal of Ancona at 12, Fieschi at 12, Monte at 15, Campeggi at 8, and Grimani at 15. Nonetheless, there is much discussion about Cardinal Medici for the reasons I have already mentioned: he has money, and blessed is the one who can offer it [...]. In conclusion, it will either be Medici or someone he favors⁴⁵⁰.

⁴⁴⁹ The rise of Martin Luther's movement in 1517 is however recorded by Girolamo Seripando on fol. 1r MS BN Vittorio Emanuele III, Lat. IX B 14.

⁴⁵⁰ M. Sanuto, *Diarii (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII) dall'autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII codd. CDXIX-CDLXXVI. Vol. 32*, ed. F. Visentini, Venezia, Tipografia Marco Visentin, 1892, col. 262: «Non si atende ad altro che a far scommesse, chi per uno, chi per un altro pontifice, ita che fin qui el reverendissimo Medici, ch'è stato absente, è stato a 30 per 100, et hor che l'è arivato andarà a 50. El secondo a 10 per 100 è Cortona, Siena 20, Egidio 15, Aracoeli similiter, Jacobazi 15, Ancona

Contrary to prevailing expectations and bettings, the conclave convened between December 27, 1521, and January 9, 1522, following the death of Leo X on December 1, 1521, resulted in an unexpected outcome: the election to the papacy of Cardinal Adriaan of Utrecht, as Pope Adrian VI⁴⁵¹. Adriaan, who served as a professor and rector at the University of Leuven, as well as chief Inquisitor and regent in Spain, and tutor/confessor to Emperor Charles V, was not considered a viable candidate for the papacy by either himself, who was absent from Rome during the Conclave, or by those observing the proceedings, due to his distance from the dynamics of the Roman *curia*⁴⁵². Nevertheless, the complex occurrences and rivalries that characterized the days of the conclave culminated in his appointment as a compromise candidate among the Medicean faction, those loyal to Emperor Charles V, and the more conservative party, such as Cardinal Tommaso de Vio. In this context, it is pertinent to note that, according to the betting odds preceding the conclaves and the summary of the voting proceedings referenced by multiple sources, Egidio da Viterbo was considered a possible, though not very likely contender for the papacy⁴⁵³. The consistent support he received throughout the scrutinies preceding the election of Adrian VI reflects the high regard in which he was held by the electoral college. Although this support was insufficient to secure his election, it may have played a crucial role in stalling the proceedings to the advantage of the Medicean faction within the College of Cardinals, of which Egidio was a committed member⁴⁵⁴. Therefore, as a dedicated member of the Medicean group, Egidio likely participated in the final election of Adriaan of Utrecht with his vote, despite the fact that his profile did not fully align with his expectations. Egidio da Viterbo and Adrian VI were, in fact, on opposing sides of the previously mentioned Inquisition trials against Reuchlin, and consequently, they consistently held divergent cultural and religious perspectives on the significance of Hebrew (and thus kabbalistic) studies and the humanist movement⁴⁵⁵. Adriaan of Utrecht was, however, highly esteemed as a learned theologian, adept at addressing the challenges posed by the emerging Reformation movement from both political and spiritual perspectives, a matter

12, Flisco 12, Monte 15, Campezo 8, Grimani 15. Tamen se parla molto del Medici per li respecti già scriptovi: lui ha danari, et beato chi più li può oferire [...] Conclude o sarà Medici, o sarà chi lui vorà».

⁴⁵¹ M. Sanuto, *Diarii*, col. 348 defined the outcome of this election: «mirum quid et inauditum» (something wonderful and unheard of). For a biography of Adrian VI, see the monographic issue of the Journal of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome *Adrian VI. A Dutch Pope in a Roman Context*, in «Fragmenta» IV (2010).

⁴⁵² See L. Fabbri, *L'inaudita elezione di Adriano VI: il conclave del 1521-22 nelle lettere di Filippo Strozzi*, in A. Artini-G. Polverari, «Chi ha sprezzato il giorno delle piccole cose?». *A Domenico Maselli, Professore, Deputato, Pastore*, Aversa, EPA Media, 2007, pp. 175-211, esp. pp. 185-188. On the proceedings of this conclave, see e.g. F.J. Baumgartner, *Behind Locked Doors. A History of the Papal Elections*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 77-100, esp. pp. 95-97; P. De Capua, *Eleggere il Pontefice. Adriano VI tra Politica e Retorica*, Messina, Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici, 2020.

⁴⁵³ M. Sanuto, *Diarii*, coll. 384f. See also the quotations and negotiations reported by Francesco Strozzi in his letters to his brother, and edited in L. Fabbri, *L'inaudita elezione di Adriano VI*, pp. 191-199.

⁴⁵⁴ The letter from Francesco Strozzi to his brother Lorenzo, preserved in the Firenze, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, C. Strozzi, III s., 178, n. 83, and edited in L. Fabbri, *L'inaudita elezione di Adriano V*, p. 194, states: «Egidio è tutto nostro» (Egidio is all ours), indicating that Egidio's votes were intended to be utilized by the Medicean faction.

⁴⁵⁵ See *supra* p. 102.

that Egidio must, at this juncture, have considered with personal concern⁴⁵⁶. Martin Luther had in fact emerged from the German branch of the Augustinian Order, which was led by Egidio until his elevation to Cardinal a few months prior to the onset of the Reformation crisis, and at that point under the much less effective leadership of Gabriele della Volta, who had not been able to contain it⁴⁵⁷. Furthermore, through his devout personal life, Adrian VI might have appeared as a credible leader for a spiritual reform of the Catholic Church, a cause to which Egidio da Viterbo had consistently dedicated his efforts⁴⁵⁸. The announcement of the election of a foreign Pope was met with skepticism and even distress by the local Roman population, who feared another relocation of the papal court⁴⁵⁹. Furthermore, the logistical challenges inherent in electing a Pope *in absentia* led to an eight-month postponement of his arrival in the city and his official coronation. The potential spiritual and economic reforms that Pope Adrian VI might have implemented within the Roman Church, along with the tensions that arose among the cardinals during his brief tenure, were abruptly curtailed by his death on September 14, 1523⁴⁶⁰. Consequently, this short papacy is primarily remembered for its temporary halt, or at least delay, in the humanist and artistic pursuits of that era.

2.6.2 The election of Clement VII

During the conclave convened from October 1 to November 19, 1523, the Medicean faction, with which Egidio da Viterbo was associated, extended the proceedings and negotiations until they could ensure the election of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici⁴⁶¹. His tumultuous papal reign, in which, as we shall explore, he was unable to halt the further expansion of the Reformation, is typically regarded as the final Renaissance papacy, owing to his engagement with the arts and the humanist movement. With the ascension of Clement VII, Egidio da Viterbo's millenarian aspirations and expectations, which had been temporarily suspended due to the unforeseen death of Pope Leo X and the subsequent election of Adrian VI, were significantly revitalized⁴⁶². Saverio Campanini has in fact demonstrated that during the period of the conclave, or shortly thereafter, Egidio was engaged in compiling and studying his Latin translation of *Sefer ha-Temunah*, which is preserved in the scattered quires of MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 527/1⁴⁶³. On fol. 348v, a marginal annotation records the following equivalences in

⁴⁵⁶ See e.g. R. E. McNally, *Pope Adrian VI (1522-1523) and Church Reform*, in «Archivum Historiae Pontificiae» VII (1969), pp. 253-285.

⁴⁵⁷ See F. X. Martin, *Friar, Reformer and Renaissance Scholar*, p. 18 and relative bibliography. See also, F. Biferali, «Scorti terribili di figure». Gabriele Della Volta e il Pordenone nel chiostro di Santo Stefano a Venezia, in «Analecta Augustiniana» LXXXIII (2018), pp. 225-247.

⁴⁵⁸ See R. E. McNally, *Pope Adrian VI (1522-1523) and Church Reform*, pp. 253-262.

⁴⁵⁹ See e.g. the reactions reported in M. Sanuto, *Diarii*, coll. 377-384. See also V. Rossi (ed.), *Pasquinate di Pietro Aretino ed Anonime per il Conclave e l'Elezione di Adriano VI*, Palermo-Torino, Clausen, 1891.

⁴⁶⁰ See F.J. Baumgartner, *Behind Locked Doors*, pp. 96f.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.* pp. 98-103.

⁴⁶² See *supra* pp. 105-109.

⁴⁶³ S. Campanini, *Dal sacco di Roma alla fine del mondo*, pp. 83-84.

sequence: «1523: Nobis 5284 · hebrei 5291: erit:» (we are in 1523, the Jews are in 5284, it will be 5291). The brief annotations are subsequently enclosed in brackets and accompanied by the phrase: «hinc ad septem annos» (until seven years from now). This note is dedicated to the concept of universal redemption at the conclusion of a cycle of *shemittot*, a subject that Egidio continued to examine and observe in his translations over the years⁴⁶⁴. Given that the initial two equivalences of the note are applicable exclusively during the period of misalignment between the Hebrew and Julian calendars, which occurred from September 10, 1523, to December 31, 1523, it is plausible that this reading may have influenced Egidio's actions within the conclave that elected Giulio de Medici. Moreover, it is noteworthy that Egidio had previously dedicated to Giulio de Medici his work, *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*, which is grounded in the doctrines of the same *Sefer ha-Temunah*, that Egidio seemingly revisited during a period proximate to the conclave that resulted in Clement VII's election⁴⁶⁵. Therefore, in the subsequent years, Egidio utilized the political and cultural capital he had accrued through his involvement with the Medicean faction, alongside his humanist and kabbalistic studies, to influence Pope Clement.

2.7 David Reuveni, Shlomo Molko and the Messianic Expectations of the Early XVI century from a Christian perspective

2.7.1 David Reuveni

In few instances did Egidio da Viterbo's political, cultural, and spiritual ambitions become more intertwined with his kabbalistic studies and his activities as a Cardinal than in his involvement with the endeavors of the pseudo-Jewish prince with messianic aspirations, David Reuveni, and his disciple Shlomo Molko⁴⁶⁶. Between 1523 and 1532, Reuveni, who claimed to be the cadet brother of the king of an obscure Asian or Arabian Jewish kingdom, traveled extensively throughout Italy and Europe. His objective was to advocate among prominent leaders of Christendom, including the Pope, King John III of Portugal, and Emperor Charles V, for a collaborative crusade against the Ottoman Empire, with the aim of reconquering Jerusalem. From the Medieval period, particularly subsequent

⁴⁶⁴ The highly abridged translation of *Sefer ha-Peli'ah* in MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3667 contains at least four paragraphs dedicated to this theme, specifically nn. 188-190 (foll. 22r-23v) and n. 380 (foll. 31v-32r).

⁴⁶⁵ See *supra* pp. 92-94.

⁴⁶⁶ On the figure of David Reuveni, see L. Sestieri, *David Reubeni. Un ebreo d'Arabia in Missione Segreta nell'Europa del '500*, Genova, Marietti, 1991; A. Foa, *Ebrei in Europa dalla Peste Nera all'Emancipazione. XIV-XVIII secolo*, Bari, Laterza, 1992, pp. 164-172; A. Verskin, *Diary of a Black Jewish Messiah. The Sixteenth-Century Journey of David Reubeni through Africa, the Middle East, and Europe*, Stanford (CA), Stanford University Press, 2023. See also, M. Benmelech, *History, politics, and messianism: David Ha-Reuveni's origin and mission*, in «American Jewish Society Review» XXXV/1 (2011), pp. 35-60. On Shlomo Molko, see M. Benmelech, *Shlomo Molko. Hayyav u-muto shel Mashiah ben Yosef*, Jerusalem, Yad Ben Tzvi Institute, 2017. See also M. Goldish, *Mystical Messianism. From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, in F. E. Greenspahn (ed.), *Jewish Mysticism and Kabbalah. New Insights and Scholarship*, New York, New York University Press, 2011, pp. 115-138.

to the Crusades, this action was believed to potentially signal the advent of the Messiah. A prevalent belief among the Jewish community posited in fact, that a figure known as Messiah ben Yosef, through his military and worldly endeavors, would pave the way for the ultimate arrival of Messiah ben David, a more spiritual and transcendent messianic figure⁴⁶⁷. The narrative of the experiences of David Reuveni was documented in a diary, the only surviving copy of which is now lost⁴⁶⁸. However, its content can still be corroborated through a 19th-century facsimile (MS Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Heb. F. 14) and a copy produced in 1812 in Breslau, currently preserved as MS Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Heb. 8° 864. Isaiah Sonne's palaeographical analysis of the facsimile determined that the original manuscript was transcribed in an Italo-Ashkenazi cursive script, which was characteristic of scribes from Jewish communities of either French or German origin who were residing in Italy during the early sixteenth century⁴⁶⁹. He thus proposed attributing the copy of Reuveni's diary to either a member of the intellectual circle associated with the Trabot family or to the kabbalist Abraham Tzarfati, who according to Shlomo Molko's writings had abandoned all of his belongings in order to adhere to his messianic movement⁴⁷⁰. This latter figure was present in Venice around 1533, where he coadiuvated another prominent kabbalist, Eliyyah Menaḥem ben Abba Mari Ḥalfan in the conception and composition of a massive *ilan*, a kabbalistic tree now preserved in MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XLIV 18⁴⁷¹. This work represents the kabbalistic and conceptual outcome of Ḥalfan and Tzarfati's intention to honor the messianic movement initially led by David Reuveni and subsequently by his disciple, Shlomo Molko⁴⁷². Regardless of the accuracy of Sonne's attribution to Tzarfati, this hypothesis effectively underscores the significance of central and northern Italy, particularly the city of Venice, where Reuveni's Italian tour commenced, as pivotal for the development of his (and Molko's) movement⁴⁷³. During the fifteenth century, these regions had experienced the migration of mainly Ashkenazi Jews expelled from central Europe, notably from France, Provence, and several imperial German cities, but also of Sephardic refugees from the Iberian Peninsula following the 1492 expulsion (*gerush*) and the forced conversions in Portugal in 1497/8.

⁴⁶⁷ On the history and the images of this peculiar figure, see D.C. Mitchell, *Messiah ben Joseph*, Newton Mearns, Campbell Publications, 2016; S. Crestani, *Il Messia ben Yosef come anti-modello nella letteratura escatologica medievale ebraica*, in «Materia Giudaica» XXIX (2024), pp. 73-84.

⁴⁶⁸ See A.Z. Aeskoly, *Sippur David ha-Reuveni*, Jerusalem, Mossad Bialik, 1993. See also, I. Sonne, *Review: Bibliotheca Historiographica Hebraica*, in «The Jewish Quarterly Review» XXXIV/2 (1943), pp. 243-259.

⁴⁶⁹ I. Sonne, *Review*, pp. 244f.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 245. On Tzarfati's following of Molko, see M. Benmelech, *Shlomo Molko*, p. 127.

⁴⁷¹ F. Lelli, *L'albero sefirotico di Eliyya Menaḥem ben Abba Mari Ḥalfan* (MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 44,18), in «Rinascimento» XLIII (2008), pp. 271-290; Id., *Ricezione e interpretazione della Cabbalà nel Pensiero di Eliyya Menaḥem Ḥalfan*, in «Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa» XLVII/3 (2011), pp. 547-572. See also, J.H. Chajes, *The Kabbalistic Tree*. יְהוָה דְּקַבְלֵי, University Park, The Pennsylvania University Press, 2022, pp. 51-59. See also <https://ilanot.org/detail?id=https://ilanot.org/resource/item/manuscript3vsh6&image=0#0/-230/161>.

⁴⁷² See MS Firenze, BML, Plut. XLIV 18, verso side. See also F. Lelli, *L'albero sefirotico di Eliyya Menaḥem ben Abba Mari Ḥalfan*, pp. 273f.

⁴⁷³ A. Verskin, *Diary of a Black Jewish Messiah*, pp. 58-60. See also *infra* pp. 117-120.

In this context, the messianic expectations and movement initiated by Asher Lemlein in the early sixteenth century were widely disseminated and garnered a substantial following⁴⁷⁴. These factors appear to have rendered a significant portion of the members of the Italian Jewish communities, spanning from Venice to Tuscany and Rome, particularly receptive to the anti-Ottoman and messianic initiative proposed by David Reuveni upon his arrival in Italy. Following the accumulation of significant support from the Venetian Jewish community, Reuveni redirected his messianic and pseudo-diplomatic endeavors towards Christians, with a particular focus on Pope Clement VII. According to his own account of the events on Adar I 15, 5284, corresponding to February 29, 1524, merely a few months following the conclusion of the conclave that elected Clement VII, David Reuveni made his dramatic entrance in Rome.

I arrived at the pope's courtyard, riding on an old white horse, my servant preceding me, and the Jews accompanying me. I entered the pope's palace, still on horseback, and presented myself to Cardinal Egidio [da Viterbo]. All the other cardinals and officials came to see me. Attending the cardinal was our honored master and teacher R. Joseph Ashkenazi, who was the cardinal's tutor. Our honored master R. Joseph Tsarfati also presented himself to us. With my journey companion as my interpreter, I spoke to the cardinal – and these Jews heard everything I said to him. “I speak to you now in brief”, I assured him, “but I will elaborate on my words in front of the pope” [...]. At the eight hour, I went to the pope's palace and entered Cardinal Egidio's chamber together with twelve old and distinguished Jews – none of them young. As soon as he saw, the cardinal rose from his seat and the two of us went to the pope's apartment. I spoke with the pope. Who received me graciously, saying: “This matter is from God” [...] The pope said that he would instruct Cardinal Egidio to bring me each time he visited him and to take care of my needs⁴⁷⁵.

In David Reuveni's diary, it is therefore clearly documented that Egidio da Viterbo was not only the first individual from the upper echelons of the Catholic Church whom he encountered in Rome, but also the person responsible for facilitating and mediating the initial meeting between David Reuveni and Clement VII. Egidio was evidently intended to function as their interpreter during the complex subsequent negotiations, during which Clement VII pledged to provide Reuveni with introductory letters for the King of Portugal to secure his support for the military campaign against the Ottoman Empire⁴⁷⁶. To comprehensively elucidate the active role of Egidio da Viterbo in this unique endeavor, it is essential to examine the factors that intricately linked his political activities as the General Prior of the Augustinians, and later as a Cardinal, with his Hebrew and kabbalistic studies also beyond his

⁴⁷⁴ See the analysis on the relationship between these events in M. Benmelech, *Shlomo Molko*, pp. 91-120. On the figure of Asher Lemlein see A. Marx, *Le faux Messie Ascher Laemlein*, in «Revue des études juives» CXXI (1911), pp. 135-138. See also M. Mantovani, *Il Cabbalista Aristotelico*, pp. 25-32, especially the bibliographic notes.

⁴⁷⁵ A. Verskin, *Diary of a Black Jewish Messiah*, pp. 60-63.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 62f.; 69f.

involvement in Reuchlin's *negotium*. By 1524 in fact, Egidio consistently opposed the Ottoman Empire and any efforts at appeasement, as demonstrated in the concluding section of his *Historia XX Saeculorum*, completed circa 1517, where he advocated for a papal-led military campaign against the Turks. In this work, Egidio had already intertwined his political and spiritual arguments with kabbalistic doctrines and interpretations of purported signs. Egidio's active collaboration with intellectuals engaged in the millenarian rediscovery of the works of Gioachino da Fiore, alongside his study and translation of kabbalistic prophetically inspired texts such as *Sefer ha-Temunah* and *Sefer ha-Peliah*, appears to also have influenced his anticipation of an imminent final redemption and even the second coming of Christ⁴⁷⁷. It is crucial to consider that, according to the dates specified in the aforementioned annotation on the translation of *Sefer ha-Temunah* on fol. 348v of MS BNF, Lat. 527/1, Egidio examined a passage that identified the conclusion of the cycle of *shemittot* as occurring seven years subsequent to his study, mere months or even days prior to Reuveni's arrival in Rome⁴⁷⁸. The diary suggests a mystical-kabbalistic element in Reuveni's mission that aligns with his political objectives. This is implied when the pseudo-prince introduces his second interpreter and host, Daniel da Pisa.

When Cardinal Egidio left for Viterbo, I wondered to myself: "Who will now help me and serve as an interpreter during my meetings with the pope?" I met a man named R. Daniel da Pisa, who had met with the pope and was staying in a house close to his. He was rich and well-respected, a sage and a kabbalist, and I decided that I should appeal to him [...]. R. Daniel swore to me that he would not leave Rome until I had received all the letters and that he would be my interpreter⁴⁷⁹.

Daniel ben Yitzḥaq (Daniele di Isacco) da Pisa is renowned for his reorganization of the Roman Jewish community in 1524, following the significant influx of new members resulting from the *gerush*⁴⁸⁰. Daniel's role as an interpreter and host for David Reuveni is substantiated by a letter he authored, which is currently preserved in MS Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Kaufmann 494, where he describes Reuveni's arrival and stay in Rome. In this document, he identifies himself as a מַלְיָן (translator)⁴⁸¹. According to Umberto Cassuto's reconstruction, a passage in this letter even references Egidio da Viterbo, suggesting potential interactions between the two individuals⁴⁸². Reuveni's characterization of Daniel as a kabbalist, along with his alleged though not proven association with Egidio da Viterbo and consequently his kabbalistic scribal workshop, is particularly

⁴⁷⁷ See *supra* pp. 111f.; *infra* pp. 132-137.

⁴⁷⁸ See S. Campanini, *Dal sacco di Roma alla fine del mondo*, pp.

⁴⁷⁹ A. Verskin, *Diary of a Black Jewish Messiah*, pp. 68f.

⁴⁸⁰ See A. Milano, *I "Capitoli" di Daniel da Pisa e la comunità di Roma*, in «La Rassegna Mensile di Israel» X/7-8 (1935), pp. 324-338, esp. 333-338.

⁴⁸¹ See U. Cassuto, *Sulla famiglia Da Pisa*, in «Rivista Israelitica» VII/4 (1910), pp. 146-150, esp. p. 149.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.* p. 150.

noteworthy due to his familial background. Daniel, whilst living in Rome, was in fact a distinguished member of the Tuscan banking family, Da Pisa, who had recently succeeded in returning to Florence following their expulsion during the regime of Savonarola and the Republic⁴⁸³. As elucidated in the preceding chapter on the study of Kabbalah in Florence, the Da Pisa family had long maintained close economic and cultural affiliations with the Medici family, to which Pope Clement VII (Giulio de Medici) also belonged. In this context, we have highlighted the figure of Yoḥannan Alemanno, one of the most prominent kabbalists of the late 15th century, who participated in the cultural activities of the Medicean intellectual circle, which included Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, while residing in the home of Yeḥiel ben Yitzḥaq da Pisa. There he taught Kabbalah to Yeḥiel's children, Yitzḥaq and Shmuel, and maybe even to his grandchildren⁴⁸⁴. Yitzḥaq ben Yeḥiel da Pisa, whose extant letters defending Neoplatonic interpretations of Kabbalah, establish him as the more renowned of Alemanno's students, was indeed the father of Daniel. The significance of kabbalistic studies within the Da Pisa family, along with the participation of its members in the anti-Ottoman messianic movement led by David Reuveni, is further evidenced by the figure of Daniel's cousin, the banker Yeḥiel Nissim ben Shmuel (Vitale Nissim di Simone) da Pisa⁴⁸⁵. According to Reuveni's diary, Yeḥiel Nissim hosted in fact the pseudo-prince in Pisa before his sailing to Portugal⁴⁸⁶. In the years subsequent to Reuveni's stay in his residence, Yeḥiel Nissim transcribed a *Sefer ha-Zohar*, which is currently divided into three volumes: MS Paris, BNF, Héb. 781, 783, 784⁴⁸⁷. This transcription further substantiates the enduring kabbalistic interests of the Da Pisa family. It can thus be inferred that the participation of individuals such as Egidio da Viterbo and his kabbalistic mentors, along with Daniel da Pisa, in facilitating the interactions between Clement VII and David Reuveni suggests a broader involvement of significant elements within the Italian kabbalistic movement, both Jewish and Christian, at the nascent stages of Reuveni's unique pseudo-diplomatic endeavor.

2.7.2 Shlomo Molko

Upon receiving his letters of presentation from Pope Clement VII, David Reuveni proceeded to Portugal, where he was granted an audience at the court of King John III. During negotiations with the king, Reuveni garnered the support of the local community of *conversos*, at times facilitating,

⁴⁸³ See U. Cassuto, *Sulla famiglia Da Pisa*, in «Rivista Israelitica» VI/4-5 (1909), pp. 165-167; Id., *Sulla famiglia Da Pisa*, in «Rivista Israelitica» VI/6 (1909), pp. 223-232.

⁴⁸⁴ See *supra* p. 55.

⁴⁸⁵ On Yeḥiel Nissim da Pisa, see A. Guetta, *From Philosophy to Kabbalah: Yeḥiyel Nissim of Pisa and the Critique of Aristotelianism*, in A. Guetta (ed.), *Italian Jewry in the Early Modern Era. Essays in Intellectual History*, Boston (MA), Academic Studies Press, Boston (MA), 2019, pp. 12-29.

⁴⁸⁶ A. Verskin, *Diary of a Black Jewish Messiah*, pp. 78-85.

⁴⁸⁷ In the context of Project BiNaH, Emma Abate had underwent the cataloguing and study of these manuscripts. An article is forthcoming.

endorsing, or at least influencing some reversions to Judaism⁴⁸⁸. One of the most significant conversions influenced by Reuveni was that of Diogo Pires, a descendant of *conversos* and one of the king's secretaries. Following a visionary experience, Pires undertook self-circumcision—owing to Reuveni's refusal to perform the act—and adopted the name Shlomo Molko, thereby signifying his allegiance to the pseudo-prince⁴⁸⁹. This public and notably severe form of conversion – or reversion – was promptly identified due to Molko's service to the king, subsequently presenting considerable challenges to Reuveni and his more cautious followers. As a result, Molko departed from Portugal to seek refuge in the more secure regions of Italy and the Ottoman Empire⁴⁹⁰. The two individuals subsequently reconvened in Venice in November 1530, as documented by the local chronicle of Marin Sanuto⁴⁹¹.

2.7.3 Shlomo Molko between Venice, Rome, and Regensburg

In the period between his departure from Portugal and his arrival in Italy, Shlomo Molko acquired a reputation as a figure inspired by messianic ideals. By 1529, he had in fact begun to publish and disseminate his experiences within Jewish communities through letters and homilies. In these writings, he detailed the perilous circumstances surrounding his self-conversion, as well as his visions and predictions. Furthermore, he elaborated on his theories regarding his potential messianic role, either as a Messiah ben Yosef or as a precursor to such a figure⁴⁹². While in Venice, he had his doctrinal letters copied by one of his most trusted, and even illustrious followers, the aforementioned Eliyyah Menaḥem ben Abba Mari Ḥalfan⁴⁹³. Introduced to the esoteric teachings of Kabbalah by Abraham Tzarfati, and possibly by Molko himself, Ḥalfan, a Jew of Ashkenazi rite and Provençal origins, was in fact esteemed as one of the most prominent rabbis and Jewish jurists of his time during his association with Molko's movement. Indeed, around the end of 1529 and the beginning of 1530, Ḥalfan was engaged as a legal expert in the juridical controversy concerning the annulment of the marriage between Catherine of Aragon and King Henry VIII of England⁴⁹⁴. Henry VIII, believing his marriage to be void and even cursed according to the prescriptions of Leviticus 18,16-18 and Leviticus 20,21, as Catherine of Aragon had previously married his older brother Arthur, began to

⁴⁸⁸ A. Verskin, *Diary of a Black Jewish Messiah*, pp. 87-150.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121. See M. Benmelech, *Shlomo Molko*, pp. 121-152.

⁴⁹⁰ See M. Benmelech, *Shlomo Molko*, pp. 153-185.

⁴⁹¹ M. Sanuto, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto. Volume LIV*, G. Berchet-N. Barozzi-M. Allegri (eds.), Venezia, Fratelli Visentin Editori, 1899, coll. 145f.

⁴⁹² Molko's writings have been collected in Z. Golan (ed.), *Kitvei Shlomo Molko*, Jerusalem, Ayalon, 2019. On Molko's messianic conceptions, see M. Benmelech, *Shlomo Molko*, pp. 187-224.

⁴⁹³ D. Kaufmann, *Jacob Mantino: une page de l'histoire de la Renaissance*, «Revue des études juives» XXVII (1893-94), p. 57.

⁴⁹⁴ See F. Lelli, *Ricezione e interpretazione della cabbala nel pensiero di Eliyyā Menaḥem Ḥalfan*, p. 552f. and relative bibliography.

gather legal opinions to support his claims in order to secure an annulment from Pope Clement VII⁴⁹⁵. However, Pope Clement VII was particularly reluctant, if not opposed, to granting this annulment, as Catherine of Aragon was the aunt of Emperor Charles V. At the time of Henry VIII's request in fact, and especially at the time of Ḥalfan's consultation, Clement VII was engaged in negotiations in Bologna for Charles V's coronation, which took place on February 23, 1530, following the ominous clash between the two that had led to the disastrous Sack of Rome of 1527 by the imperial army⁴⁹⁶. Given the particularly challenging political circumstances impacting the English king's position, his diplomats endeavored to bolster his legal authority by obtaining favorable opinions from Jewish scholars⁴⁹⁷. This endeavor was specifically directed at addressing objections concerning the prescription of levirate marriage as delineated in Deuteronomy 25,5-10, which seemingly contradicts the prohibitions in Leviticus that underpin the king's request for annulment⁴⁹⁸. The results of this enquiry by the English diplomats led to the composition of a *responsum* by Ya'qov Rafael ben Yehiel Ḥayyim Peglione, found on foll. 190r-191v of MS London, British Library, Arundel 151 – which affirms the legitimacy of the practice of levirate marriage, even if included in a compilation of opinions supportive of the king's position – and of the lost legal opinion authored in Venice around the end of 1529 and the beginning of 1530 by Eliyyah Menahem Ḥalfan⁴⁹⁹. Although it is challenging to hypothesize the nature of the argumentation within this *responsum*, it is noteworthy that Ḥalfan succeeded in having this document co-signed by several highly esteemed Jewish scholars of the period. These include his father-in-law, Qalonymos ben David, also known as Magister Calo; Barukh

⁴⁹⁵ Lv 18,16-18 (KJV): «Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife: it is thy brother's nakedness. Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of a woman and her daughter, neither shalt thou take her son's daughter, or her daughter's daughter, to uncover her nakedness; for they are her near kinswomen: it is wickedness. Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her life time». Lv 20,21 (KJV): «And if a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless». See G. Bedouelle-P. Le Gal (eds.), *Le "Divorce" de Henry VIII. Études e Documents*, Genève, Droz, 1987.

⁴⁹⁶ See *infra* pp. 121f.

⁴⁹⁷ See S. Campanini, *The "Ezra Scroll" of Bologna in the crossfire of the Royal Divorce: John Fisher, Robert Wakefield, and an erased text*, in J.P. Carley-C. Burnett (eds.), *Hebraism in Sixteenth-Century England. Robert and Thomas Wakefield*, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2023, pp. 111-131. See also S. Campanini, *"The Ezra Scroll" of Bologna. Vicissitudes of an archetype between memory and oblivion*, in M. Perani (ed.), *The Ancient Sefer Torah of Bologna. Features and History*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2019, pp. 29-50.

⁴⁹⁸ Dt 25,5-10 (KJV): «If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her. And it shall be, that the firstborn which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel. And if the man like not to take his brother's wife, then let his brother's wife go up to the gate unto the elders, and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel, he will not perform the duty of my husband's brother. Then the elders of his city shall call him, and speak unto him: and if he stand to it, and say, I like not to take her; Then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face, and shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house. And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed».

⁴⁹⁹ See J. Weinberg, *A Hebrew Responsum about levirate marriage (1530)*, in J.P. Carley-C. Burnett (eds.), *Hebraism in Sixteenth-Century England*, pp. 280-285. See also S. Campanini, *The "Ezra Scroll" of Bologna in the crossfire of the Royal Divorce*, p. 118 n. 22 for a *disamina* on the surname of the rabbi who authored this *responsum*.

Bendit Axelrad, Magister Calo's father-in-law; and Barukh da Benevento, who is credited with introducing Egidio da Viterbo to Zoharic literature⁵⁰⁰. Considering that during this period, the Franciscan and Christian kabbalist Francesco Zorzi, along with his close collaborator Marco Rafael, both of whom were prominent supporters of the king's cause, also resided in Venice, it is plausible to suggest that Halfan's recommendation to the English diplomats as a favorable source in support of the king originated from them⁵⁰¹. The politically sensitive nature of Halfan's actions, which directly conflicted with the positions of both the papal and imperial factions, caused the concern of another prominent member of the Italian Jewish community residing in Venice at that time, specifically the Pontiff's physician and Aristotelian philosopher, Ya'aqov Mantino⁵⁰². In the summer of 1530, Egidio da Viterbo himself commended Mantino's (and another unidentified figure) exceptional proficiency in both Latin and Jewish Law to the English diplomats, who had seemingly been unsuccessful in persuading him to promote with Pope Clement VII the cause of the king of England⁵⁰³. According to various sources however, Mantino both publicly and privately opposed the participation of Jewish scholars in the exchange of opinions on the annulment of the marriage of the king of England, deeming such involvement particularly perilous for the welfare of the entire Jewish community residing in Italy⁵⁰⁴. Contemporary accounts document his presentation on the subject before the Pope in Bologna, as well as his debate with Francesco Zorzi in front of an English diplomat within the confines of the latter's cell at the convent of San Francesco della Vigna⁵⁰⁵. These actions also resulted

⁵⁰⁰ See *infra* n. 579.

⁵⁰¹ See MS Forlì, Biblioteca Comunale, Piancastelli O VII/57, foll. 177r-183r (see S. Campanini, *Il Commento alle Conclusiones Cabalisticæ nel Cinquecento*, pp. 184-210); F. Zorzi, *In Scripturam Sacram Problemata*, Venetiis, Bernardinus Vitalis, 1536, vol. II *De Lege*, sectio VII *De Praeceptis Secundae Tabulae*, n. 374, p. 319: «An, quia coniunctio illorum facta est decreto coeli? Nam Salvator ait: quos Deus coniunxit, homo non separet. Et si aliqui separantur per divortium: forsitan illos Deus non coniunxerat» (Or is it because their union is decreed by the heavens? Indeed, the Savior states: What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. And if two are parted through divorce, perhaps God had not truly united them). On Zorzi's role in the royal divorce see: F. Zorzi, *L'Armonia del Mondo*, pp. XVI-XVIII; J.P. Maillard, *Henry VIII et Georges de Venise. Documents sur l'affaire du divorce*, in «Revue de l'histoire des religions» CLXXXI-CLXXXII (1972), pp. 157-186; A. Roncaglia, *La questione matrimoniale di Enrico VIII e due umanisti italiani contemporanei*, in «Giornale storico della letteratura italiana» XC (1937), pp. 141-150. On Marco Rafael, see S. Campanini, «*Elchana Hebraeorum doctor et cabalista*», pp. 94-98. For Halfan's relationship with Christians, see D. Kaufmann, *Elia Menachem Halfan on Jews Teaching Hebrew to Non Jews*, in «The Jewish Quarterly Review» IX (1897), pp. 500-508; F. Lelli, *On the Mysteries of the Law. A Conversation Between Pietro Aretino and Rabbi Elijah Menahem Halfan*, in F. Bregoli-D.B. Ruderman (eds.), *Connecting Histories. Jews and Their Others in Early Modern Europe*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019, pp. 103-114.

⁵⁰² On Ya'aqov Mantino, see the monographic volume of *Materia Giudaica* XXVIII (2023) dedicated to this figure. For Mantino and his role on the royal divorce, see especially, S. Campanini, *Jacob Mantino and the Royal Divorce*, in «*Materia Giudaica*» XXVIII (2023), pp. 57-64; D. Kaufmann, *Jacob Mantino: une page de l'histoire de la Renaissance*, pp. 5-64.

⁵⁰³ See S. Campanini, *Jacob Mantino and the Royal Divorce*, pp. 62f.; D.S. Katz, *The Jewish advocates of Henry VIII's Divorce*, in Id., *The Jews in the History of England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 15-48.

⁵⁰⁴ See S. Campanini, *Jacob Mantino and the Royal Divorce*, pp. 62-64.

⁵⁰⁵ See the letter by Richard Croke to Girolamo Ghinucci edita in N. Pocock, *Records of the Reformation. The Divorce (1527-1533). Vol. I*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1870, pp. 488-490. See also S. Campanini, *Jacob Mantino and the Royal Divorce*, p. 61.

in an open and harsh conflict between Mantino and Eliyyah Menaḥem Ḥalfan, which Shlomo Molko himself, as indicated in his writings, attempted to resolve, albeit unsuccessfully.

When I was in Venice [...]. And there was there a man of the devil, though he appeared trustworthy to me, and his name was Ya'aqov Mantino (may his rock and his redeemer preserve him). And he was a physician. And he had an argument with another physician, a son of the Ephrathite, and his name was Eliyyahu, and I wanted to make peace among them, but he did not want to⁵⁰⁶.

Immediately following this passage, Molko references Mantino's plan to travel to Rome and his own efforts to dissuade him by foretelling his demise due to a flood. Mantino then travelled to yet another city and took Molko as his enemy due to his affection for Eliyyah Menaḥem Ḥalfan⁵⁰⁷. These events seem to hint at the role performed by Mantino in another peculiar vicissitude that involved Shlomo Molko in the Summer of 1531. By that year, through his travels and connections in Italy and Rome, Shlomo Molko had successfully garnered substantial support for his endeavors from Pope Clement VII. Marin Sanuto in fact documented in his diary in November 1530 a papal brief addressed to Rabbi Salamon (Molko), which extolled him with the highest commendation⁵⁰⁸. In the Summer 1531, Shlomo Molko made once again his way to Rome, after his first stay before the flood he had predicted in 1530. In the city however, Molko once again faced Mantino's hostility, which seemingly played a role in revealing his precarious status as a Portuguese *converso* who had reverted to Judaism. This revelation apparently resulted in a death sentence for Molko, from which he was spared due to Clement VII's direct intervention, and his substitution at the stake with a double⁵⁰⁹. In this context, unlike the case of David Reuveni, there is no existing direct documentation of Egidio da Viterbo's involvement in Molko's relationship with the Pope, nor in his adventurous rescue from execution. Nevertheless, based on the information gathered thus far regarding Egidio's political activities as closely interwoven with kabbalistic studies and millenarian ideas, his association with Shlomo Molko during his stay in Rome does not seem implausible. This is particularly relevant considering that Moti Benmelech, Molko's most recent biographer, has highlighted how certain elements of Egidio's final composition, the *Scechina*, appear to suggest at least a familiarity with Molko's ideas and predictions⁵¹⁰. This text, directed towards Charles V with the aim of motivating him to launch a

⁵⁰⁶ M. Benmelech, *Shlomo Molko*, p. 261: « [...] היה שם איש בליעל והיה בעיני כאיש אמונים ושמיו יעקוב מאנטי'ן ».
« יצ'ן [ישמרו צורו וגואלו] והוא רופא אליל כלו. והיה לו ריב עם רופא אחד בן איש אפרתי ושמיו אליהו ורציתי לעשות שלום בניהם ולא רצה ».

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 261: « [...] והיה דעתו ללכת בבצר'ה (רומא), ולא הנחתיו באמרי לו כי קרוב יום אידם ממי המובל. והלך לעיר אחרת באומרו שאינו ».
« רוצה לעמוד בארץ עם אויביו, ובראותו כי היה לי אהבה עם הרופא הנזכר נהפך עלי לאויב ».
See also p. 262.

⁵⁰⁸ M. Sanuto, *Diari*, col. 146.

⁵⁰⁹ See M. Benmelech, *Shlomo Molko*, p. 250f. On Molko's roman activity between 1530-1531, see also pp. 267-287.

⁵¹⁰ See M. Benmelech, *Shlomo Molko*, pp. 273-276, esp. p. 275.

campaign against the Ottoman Empire, seems in fact to portray the king with attributes similar to those of a Messiah ben Yosef, as depicted during the same period by Shlomo Molko⁵¹¹. Moreover, while Molko is not explicitly mentioned, Egidio alludes to an event that the pseudo-Messiah is said to have predicted: the catastrophic flood that occurred in Rome in October 1530, which is also noted with its corresponding Hebrew date⁵¹². Judith Weiss, who has recently introduced Yehuda Liebes' Hebrew translation of Egidio's *Scechina*, has also supported the hypothesis concerning Egidio's involvement with Molko's movement⁵¹³. Thus, a subsequent chapter will undertake a comprehensive examination of the principal characteristics of Egidio's *Scechina*, with the aim of contextualizing its composition within the unique circumstances of the period following the 1527 Sack of Rome, along with its profound social, economic, and cultural repercussions. The challenging circumstances of those years, together with the ideas promoted by Egidio himself among the higher echelons of the Catholic Church, in fact, might help to further illuminate Molko's apparent positive reception within the papal court, particularly by Clement VII. The extension of these Roman protections, combined with his messianic ideas and the final reunion with Reuveni, seem to have likely motivated Molko and Reuveni's final undertaking: the 1532 journey to Regensburg to meet with Charles V⁵¹⁴. According to various sources, once arrived in the imperial city, and especially during their meeting with Charles V, Molko and Reuveni sought to advocate for military action against the Ottoman Empire⁵¹⁵. Charles V, less inclined towards mystical and messianic ideas than the Catholic leaders previously encountered by the two, had therefore both Molko and Reuveni arrested. While the fate of David Reuveni remains more uncertain, Shlomo Molko was subsequently transferred to Mantua, where he was tried for his conversion to Judaism. Refusing to recant, he was ultimately executed by burning at the stake by the end of 1532⁵¹⁶.

2.8 From the Sack of Rome to the *Scechina*: the plea to Charles V against the Ottoman Empire

2.8.1 The Sack of Rome

The papacy of Pope Clement VII was marked by significant spiritual upheaval, notably due to the consolidation and spread of the Reformation within the German territories and the activities of pseudo-messianic figures such as David Reuveni and Shlomo Molko. Additionally, the conflict with

⁵¹¹ See *infra* pp. 123-127.

⁵¹² MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3363, foll. 210v-211; E. da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, vol. I p. 211. See also M. Benmelech, *Shlomo Molko*, p. 256.

⁵¹³ See J. Weiss-Y. Liebes, *Shekinah Medaberet mi-Pe Qardinal. Heleq Rishon min ha-Sefer "Shekinah" shel Egidio mi-Viterbo*, Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 2024, pp. 31f.

⁵¹⁴ See M. Benmelech, *Shlomo Molko*, pp. 287-296.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 288f.. The Christian propaganda, however, referred to Molko's attempt to convert the Emperor to Judaism in order to achieve success in the attack against the Ottoman Empire (see I. Donesmondi, *Dell'Istoria Ecclesiastica di Mantova. Pt. II*, Mantova, Aurelio e Lodovico Osanna, 1616, pp. 153-154).

⁵¹⁶ See A. Verskin, *The Diary of a Black Jewish Messiah*, pp. 18-24.

the Crown of England, stemming from Clement VII's refusal to annul Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon, culminated in the 1534 *Act of Supremacy*. This edict severed the Church of England from the spiritual authority of Rome and facilitated the emergence of another Protestant movement within the British territories⁵¹⁷. These events were part of a broader political upheaval characterized by the conflict between Francis I and Charles V in the European territories, and especially in Italy, as well as the expansion of the Ottoman Empire under Suleiman I, who notably laid siege to the city of Vienna in 1529. In this context, the frequent shifts in allegiance by Clement VII between the French and imperial factions led to a series of events that ultimately culminated in the devastating Sack of Rome in the Spring of 1527. Exhausted by months of warfare throughout Italy and experiencing delays in payment, the Landsknechts, dispatched by Charles V to Rome to pressure the Pope into negotiations, launched an attack. This assault forced Clement VII into a siege at Castel Sant'Angelo, while the imperial troops massacred the local population and plundered the remainder of the city. These tragic events left such a profound and catastrophic impression on those who experienced or even recalled them that some historians suggest the Sack of Rome as the symbolic conclusion of the Italian Renaissance period⁵¹⁸. During these events, Egidio da Viterbo, who happened to be in his native city at the onset of the Landsknechts' attack on Rome, assembled a modest force of 2,000 soldiers with the intention of rescuing Pope Clement VII from the siege. However, the general indecision exhibited by more experienced military commanders and allies of the Pope ultimately led to the abandonment of the rescue mission, resulting in Egidio's retreat to Viterbo⁵¹⁹.

2.8.2 *Scechina*

Following these tragic events and his untimely death in 1532, Egidio da Viterbo's engagement with kabbalistic studies, intricately connected to his political ambitions, persisted and culminated in the composition and incomplete revision of his final work, the *Scechina*. Egidio's treatise is preserved in a single exemplar on foll. 157r-349v of MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3363. The preliminary nature of Egidio's final work is evidenced not only by the numerous corrections and erasures in various inks throughout its pages but also by a list of 99 points or concepts on foll. 154r-156v. This list precedes the beginning of the text and appears to have been utilized as a guideline in the composition of the

⁵¹⁷ See e.g. G. Bray (ed.), *Documents of the English Reformation*, Cambridge, The Lutterworth Press, 2019; J.N. King, *Voices of the English Reformation. A Sourcebook*, Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

⁵¹⁸ K. Gouwens (ed.), *Remembering the Renaissance. Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, Brill, 1998, p. 2 and the rest of the articles contained in this volume. See also A. Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press, 2023; M. Firpo, *Il Sacco di Roma del 1527 tra Profezia, Propaganda Politica e Riforma Religiosa*, Cagliari, CUEC, 1990.

⁵¹⁹ See G. Signorelli, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo*, pp. 92-96; F. X. Martin, *Friar, Reformer and Renaissance Scholar*, p. 184.

treatise. The *Scechina* follows an incomplete and mutilated vernacular translation of the *Midrashim* (foll. 1r-78v) and two Joachimite texts on foll. 79r-149r, whose copy was attributed by Saverio Campanini to Agostino Giustiniani⁵²⁰. The inclusion of a Hebrew translation and millenarian prophecies within the same manuscript as Egidio's *Scechina* serves to ideologically situate this latter text within the framework of the Cardinal's kabbalistically inspired expectations of final redemption. As analyzed in the preceding chapters, the theme of salvation and the attainment of a greater good through the comprehension of kabbalistic mysteries is a defining and recurrent motif in both Egidio's political activities at the highest echelons of the Catholic Church and his intellectual pursuits. In this specific work, these ideas are articulated through the personification of the kabbalistic concept of the Divine Presence (*Shekinah*) addressing Emperor Charles V directly.

[MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3363, fol. 159r] Hae itaque Kalende sunt te principe: de quis vates: kalendis, inquit, porta aperietur: et intrabit princeps: hoc munus necessarium atque expectatissimum: hanc lunae renovationem: quis praestabit: quo duce: quo auctore illam videbimus?: statim vates adiecit: Holocaustum hoc praestabit princeps: ut Sabato princeps prior se offerens: lunam edidit sua luce clarissimam: Ita nunc tu vocaris novus princeps: ut kalendas celebres, orbem terrarum renoves: umbras ac tenebras quae sanctam lunam offendunt et obruunt: priori a principe non degenerans: cohibeas: abigas: et avertas (These are the calends about which, during your time as prince, the prophet spoke: a door will be opened during the Calends and the prince will enter. Who will undertake this is the necessary and most anticipated burden, this renewal of the moon? Under whose leadership and execution will we see this? The prophet immediately added: a prince will assume this sacrifice. The previous prince, having offered himself like the Sabbath, brought forth through his light the brightest moon. Therefore, you are now called the new prince, so that you may celebrate the Calends, renew the globe of the earth, and, by not straying from the previous prince, you may contain, dispel, and remove the shadows and darkness that offend and overwhelm the sacred moon)⁵²¹.

In the pages that follow this introductory passage, the *Shekinah* reveals itself with its divine attributes and characteristics, while also highlighting its influence throughout history, particularly in the life of Charles V⁵²².

[MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3363, fol. 161v] septimum perscribitur nomen meum: quod Malchut: et Mameluca: quae Regnum vestra Lingua sonat: quod meum sit munus humanum servare: in illis iustitiae Regnum exercere: quam ob rem: cum Regni honor proprie meus sit: mihi que peculiaris: deligo quos lubat: quis purpuram: quis sceptrum quis coronam donem · qua propter illud eiusdem per Salomonis scripsi manus: per me Reges regnant · Quin etiam eodem in capite leges: quod tunc David elegerim atque Salomonem: quis ego Regnum tribui: sed

⁵²⁰ See S. Campanini, *Dal sacco di Roma alla fine del mondo*, p. 85.

⁵²¹ See E. da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, vol. I p. 69.

⁵²² On this topic, see I. Angileri, *Regina Caelorum e מלכת השמים*. *Mariologia cabalistica tra Medioevo e Prima Età Moderna*, M.A. Thesis, Università degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza", 2024, pp. 87-107.

quando te Kalendis: lunae: ecclesiae: mei ipsius renovatione delectura eram: non ad Regnum modo: verum etiam ad imperium: ut ad maxima gerenda vocatum te: non solum Regni: sed etiam Imperii magnitudine insignirem [...] scripsi enim tua est magnitudo: tuum imperium (My seventh name is declared as Malchut and Mameluca, which sounds as Reign in your language, which is my duty to uphold what is human, to exercise the Reign of justice among them. For this reason, because the honor of the Reign is rightfully mine, specific to me, I choose those who please me, to whom I may bestow the purple cloth, the scepters, and the crown. Regarding this, thanks to this authority, I wrote through the hands of Solomon himself: through me, kings reign. Why would you not also read in that same chapter that, at that time, I had chosen David and Solomon, to whom I granted kingship, while when, at the Calends of the Moon, I was selecting you not only to Kingship, but to empire, for the renewal of the Church, and myself as well, so that I could safely honor you with the magnitude not only of a Reign but of an Empire in managing the most important affairs [...] and indeed I wrote, yours is the magnitude, yours the Empire)⁵²³.

In elucidating to Charles V the esoteric aspects of kabbalistic numerology (foll. 162r-182r), letters (182v-213v), and ultimately the Divine Names (214r-349v), Egidio's *Scechina* is intended to impart to the Emperor the requisite cultural knowledge and prophetic comprehension to fulfill his ultimate destiny as the divinely chosen sovereign of the entire world.

[MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3363, fol. 315v] Qua propter sapientes: David patrem cum septem: semi Caesarem filium cum octo: Caesarem appellarunt: Ut cogites Carole ad veram Caesaris rationem pertinere: ut vere quis dici Caesar possit: ut non angustiis valletur: non terminis claudatur: non hostem sua obsidentem: non ampla regna tenentem: non vi: non armis: non terrore imminetentem: non Pannonias vastantem: non Viennam bello petentem: urgentem: prementem: non Urbi Romae et universi imperio aspirantem patiat: Eam ob rem David priorem vallo septenarii septum: semi Caesarem: posteriorem qui claustra: qui portas aereas: qui vectes ferreos fregit: tam supra in aedificio: quam infra in Inferis: et non partem orbis sed totum orbem cepit: Caesarem non Semi-Caesarem nuncupavere (For this reason the sages called David the father with seven Half-Caesar and the son with eight Caesar, so that you, Charles, might consider what belongs to the real nature of Caesar so that one can rightly be called a Caesar. He should not be encircled; he should not be enclosed within any boundaries; he should not tolerate an enemy besieging him or controlling vast realms, or threatening him with violence, an army, or with terror, or devastate the Danubian region or attempt an assault on Vienna, or aspire to conquer the City of Rome and the whole empire. For that reason, David, who was protected by the wall of the seven, was called Half-Caesar, whereas his successor, who eliminated all enclosures, demolished the brazen gates and the iron bars and did not content himself with a portion of the world, but conquered it all, was called Caesar)⁵²⁴.

⁵²³ See E. da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, vol. I p. 77.

⁵²⁴ This transcription and translation first appeared in S. Campanini, "*Ben Hacane Liber qui dicitur Pelia*", p. 404 n. 49. See also E. da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, vol. II p. 223.

Saverio Campanini has convincingly attributed the conceptualization of the image alternating between Caesar and Semi-Caesar to Egidio's engagement with *Sefer ha-Peliah*, a prophetic and kabbalistic text that the Cardinal frequently read and translated throughout his life, and which is explicitly referenced on fol. 333r of the *Scechina*⁵²⁵. The increasingly glorified portrayals of power and kingship attributed to Charles V in Egidio's final work serve to overshadow the universal significance of the Pope's role, as previously described in his *Historia XX Saeculorum*. In the introductory letter to Clement VII, appended by Egidio on foll. 156r-156v, just prior to the commencement of the *Scechina*, it is declared that this work was inspired by the Pope himself, who had instructed his Cardinal to disclose the kabbalistic secrets that would be advantageous to Christianity.

[MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3363, fol. 157r] Ego illos partim audiendos: partim non audiendos existimavi: ac rursus hinc Evangeliiis: hinc Apostolo: obtemperandum duxi: iuvi, ut potui, quadraginta prope annos: concionibus: auditores: scribere obfirmato animo recusavi. Iubes nunc Clemens VII: pontifex: maxime: a sententia discedere: quae latent nostros in hunc usque diem: e tenebris eruere: nostris Legenda dare · ut si qua habeant hostes adversus nos tela: cognoscantur: refutenturque (I discerned that some things needed to be heard, while others did not. And on the other hand, I brought forward what needed to be submitted here to the Gospels and there to the Apostle. For nearly forty years, I delighted the listeners in the assemblies, while with steadfast heart I refused to write. Now, you, Clement VII, the High Pontiff, command me to abandon this stance: to make our people read those things that have lacked until now to bring ours out of their darkness, so that we can identify and counter whatever arrow our adversaries aim against us)⁵²⁶.

The historical references interspersed throughout Egidio's work place the composition of his *Scechina* around 1530. This suggests that the alleged papal request to Egidio, along with the Cardinal's ambition to create a comprehensive political and kabbalistic book, was conceived in response to the catastrophic events of the Sack of Rome and its aftermath, a trauma that is recurrently mentioned throughout Egidio's pages⁵²⁷. In this context, Egidio da Viterbo's composition of *Scechina* appeared to represent, at least in the Cardinal's view, a definitive act of reconciliation between a Pope, whose political authority had significantly waned following recent turmoil, and the Emperor, who, after a long stretch of negotiations at the end of 1529, was ceremoniously crowned in Bologna on February 22, 1530. As will become evident in the following passage, the *Scechina* also represented

⁵²⁵ S. Campanini, "Ben Hacane Liber qui dicitur Pelia", pp. 403-405. See also MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3363, fol. 333r: «Cum enim docuisssem formatum Adam: eumque ad imaginem et similitudinem [...]: enarrare volui quae imago quae similitudo: liber pelia ben hacane: habet: imaginem virum: similitudinem foeminam» (Having taught that Adam was created in his image and likeness [...] I sought to clarify which image and which likeness. The Book Ben ha-Qana has the man as the image and the woman as the likeness). See F. Secret, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, vol. II p. 264.

⁵²⁶ See E. da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, vol. I p. 66.

⁵²⁷ See e.g. MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3363, foll. 178v; 186v.

Egidio's final effort to advance his broader spiritual and particularly political objectives to the individual who, in the Cardinal's view, appeared to have assumed or even deserved a hegemonic leadership role among Christians.

[MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3363, fol. 340v] circa annum vestrum MDXXX: qui illis est post quinque milia: decentesimus nongesimus: circa que tempora: ut triennio prius Deus per exercitum tuum Urbem: divinorum parvam cultricem et humanarum cupiditatum altricem: visitavit: oppressit: diripuit: ita triennio post annum illum nonagesimum: per Turcam petit, visitatque res tuas: ut te vel nollente excitet: ad illum debellandum: sternendum Xersis exercitum innumerabilem: et totius orbium imperium comparandum. [...] Tu enim si voles mundo oppresso futurus es Messias cum Clemente VII, aut certe Messie minister et imago: vere unctus ad communem salutem: novum afferens Jobel ac novam a tyrannide liberationem (Around the year 1530, which corresponds to 5290 for them, around those same times in which three years earlier, God, through your army, punished, crushed, and plundered Rome, the small nurturer of divine matters and the nourisher of human desires; God likewise allowed the Turk to attack and visit your possessions, so that even against your will, you might be awakened to subdue him, to bring down the innumerable army of this Xerxes, and to unite the rule of the entire globe. [...] Indeed, if you so desire, once the world is conquered, you are the future Messiah, alongside Clement VII, or at least a helper of the Messiah and his image, truly anointed for the common redemption, by ushering in a new Jubilee and a new liberation from tyranny)⁵²⁸.

In this peroration, Egidio highlights the contemporary signs, such as the Sack of Rome and the Ottoman siege of Vienna, as divine interventions intended to awaken both the corrupt city of Rome and Charles V (with the Pope mentioned almost as an afterthought), thereby inciting them to engage in the decisive confrontation against the Turks⁵²⁹. As elucidated in the preceding chapters, the notion of military engagement against the Ottoman Empire has been a persistent element in Egidio's intellectual endeavors, exemplified by his work *Historia XX Saeculorum*, as well as in his political activities, most notably in the mediation between Clement VII and David Reuveni. It has also been demonstrated that both of these instances were intricately connected with the Cardinal's kabbalistic studies and subsequent millenarian aspirations. Thus, Egidio's *Scechina*, while presenting intrinsic innovations in Egidio's messianic conception of the redemptive role of Charles V, consistently aligns with the Cardinal's prior cultural, political, and spiritual endeavors within the Catholic Church, at least since his appointment in 1517. The proposal of an attack against the Ottoman Empire, linked to both kabbalistic and messianic aspirations, was also a prominent characteristic of the movement led by Reuveni and Molko, which around 1530, the year mentioned in the previous passage of the *Scechina*, appeared to be at its zenith. As previously discussed, both Moti Benmelech and Judith

⁵²⁸ E. da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, vol II p. 281.

⁵²⁹ See also MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3363, fol. 319v (see also E. da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis*, pp. 233f.). In this passage the Shekinah speaks directly to Suleiman the Magnificent.

Weiss, the two scholars who have examined the potential interactions between Egidio da Viterbo and Shlomo Molko, have concluded that an acquaintance between the two around 1530, coinciding with the composition of the *Scechina*, can be reasonably inferred from the subtle references in Egidio's final work⁵³⁰. In a context where this same text penned by Egidio contains explicit messianic attributions and requests for military action against the Ottoman Empire directed to Charles V, another question may arise: was the inclusion of Charles V in Molko and Reuveni's final messianic endeavors, and consequently, their journey to Regensburg, ideally influenced by their, and especially Molko's, interaction with Egidio da Viterbo? At this juncture of the research, it is impossible for me to either confirming or refuting this hypothesis. An answer to this question would in fact necessitate a more comprehensive analysis and precise comparison of Molko's writings from 1530 to 1532 with Egidio's *Scechina* that is beyond the scope of this thesis. Furthermore, a comprehensive analysis of Reuveni's *Diary* would also be crucial for tracing the trajectory of the pseudo-prince's diplomatic endeavors to engage with European kings prior to his journey with Molko to Regensburg to meet Charles V. It is particularly noteworthy that during David Reuveni's initial audience with Pope Clement VII, mediated by Egidio da Viterbo, the pseudo-prince asserted that peace between Francis I of France and Emperor Charles V was a strategic prerequisite for orchestrating a joint Jewish-Christian offensive against the Ottoman Empire⁵³¹. Therefore, it can be inferred that by the beginning of his pseudo-diplomatic mission Reuveni had already identified Charles V as a significant actor in this initiative. The Emperor, however, was seemingly not the sole or even the most pivotal political figure to address in Reuveni's eyes, as the Pope could readily redirect his focus in his broader quest for political and military support to King John III of Portugal⁵³². In analyzing the impact of Egidio's *Scechina*, characterized by its complex integration of political, military, kabbalistic, and spiritual elements, it is crucial to also assess its purported dissemination among the upper echelons of the Catholic Church in the early 1530s. As previously indicated, this work demonstrates attributes of a text that has reached the final stage of completion, although it has not yet undergone a final revision and is presented in a draft-like form. Although Egidio's original writings, such as the *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*, the *Historia XX Saeculorum*, and the *Scechina*, had seemingly limited public circulation, his advocacy for Hebrew and kabbalistic studies, along with his rigid anti-Ottoman position, were well-recognized among the religious elites of the Catholic Church of his time. In the final years of his life in fact, Egidio's opposition to the Ottoman Empire, as publicly discussed with the Council of the Ten by the

⁵³⁰ See *supra* pp. 120f.

⁵³¹ See A. Verskin, *Diary of a Black Jewish Messiah*, p. 62.

⁵³² *Ibidem*.

Christian Kabbalist Francesco Zorzi, impeded his appointment as apostolic nuncio in Venice⁵³³. This missed designation appears to suggest the gradual decline of Egidio's political and cultural influence within the highest echelons of the Roman Church even prior to his death in 1532. Despite Egidio da Viterbo's significant contributions to the cultural landscape of early sixteenth-century, most of his political and cultural objectives within the Catholic Church, from a spiritual reform through the study of Hebrew and Kabbalah to the redemptive attack against the Ottoman Empire, remained unfulfilled. His direct and significant associations with the unsuccessful movement led by David Reuveni and Shlomo Molko, within a context already profoundly affected by the religious upheaval of the Reformation, may have also contributed to the eventual decline of his authority. The limited dissemination of Egidio's writings, in conjunction with these factors, likely contributed to the lukewarm, if not infrequent, reception of his ideas within the context of the Catholic response to the Reformation⁵³⁴. In the sixteenth century, despite the increasing engagement with the study of Hebrew among both Catholic and Reformed scholars, the Counter-Reformation engendered a heightened suspicion towards Jewish culture⁵³⁵. This suspicion culminated in the confinement of the Jewish population within ghettos situated in the territories of the Papal State, which rendered the contacts between Christian and Jewish intellectuals more difficult⁵³⁶. The more contentious and esoteric approach to kabbalistic studies among a Christian audience in subsequent decades, contributed to the substantial neglect of Egidio da Viterbo's kabbalistic endeavors⁵³⁷. In light of the broader resurgence of the interest in his kabbalistic work, this chapter has thus far endeavored to preliminarily reconstruct the intertwined political and spiritual dimensions of Egidio da Viterbo's engagement with Kabbalah during the distinctly characterized period of the early sixteenth century.

⁵³³ See F. Gaeta, *Un Nunzio Pontificio a Venezia nel Cinquecento. Girolamo Aleandro*, Roma, Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1960, pp. 14-17.

⁵³⁴ The annotations made by Girolamo Seripando in manuscript MS Napoli, BN Vittorio Emanuele III, Lat. IX B 14, provide evidence of the engagement with Egidio's *Historia XX Saeculorum* by one of the most distinguished Cardinals presiding over the Council of Trent.

⁵³⁵ For more information on the study of Hebrew in the Sixteenth century, see *supra* n. 340.

⁵³⁶ On the possible interpretations of papal policies against the Jewish population see e.g. D. Berger, *Cum Nimis Absurdum and the conversion of the Jews*, in «The Jewish Quarterly Review» LXX/1 (1979), pp. 41-49; K.R. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy (1555-1593)*, New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1977; Id., *The proper meaning of "Cum Nimis Absurdum"*, in «The Jewish Quarterly Review» LXXI/4 (1981), pp. 251f.

⁵³⁷ F. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*, pp. 141-362.

Appendix: The fate of Egidio da Viterbo's library

The preceding pages, through the examination of the political and intellectual endeavors of Egidio da Viterbo, have sought to elucidate the extent to which his actions were intricately connected with his studies in Hebrew, Aramaic, and particularly Kabbalistic traditions. Given the historical and cultural significance of the books Egidio examined for his endeavors, it is worthwhile to investigate and mention the troubled history of his library. During the numerous acts of plunder that characterized the Sack of Rome, Egidio da Viterbo's mansion was in fact ransacked, leading to the significant loss of a substantial portion of his and his collaborators' library and works, such as the initial draft of Eliyyahu Baḥur Levita's *Meturgeman*⁵³⁸. Subsequent to these events, and particularly following Egidio's death in 1532, his collection of manuscripts began to be disassembled and even illicitly sold. Only a small portion of these volumes remained in fact under the stewardship of the Augustinian Order and is currently housed at the Biblioteca Angelica⁵³⁹. Another group of Hebrew books, which had belonged to Egidio, has been stored since the eighteenth century, following their confiscation by the Sant'Uffizio during the Counter-Reformation, in the Biblioteca Casanatense⁵⁴⁰. These volumes, together with Egidio's works housed at the Vatican Library, represent the remaining portion of his collection that never left the city of Rome. Notably, an annotation on the guard folio of MS Napoli, BN Vittorio Emanuele III, Lat. IX B 14 provides significant insight into the process by which books and manuscripts formerly owned by Egidio da Viterbo were dispersed to other cities in Italy and Europe.

[MS Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Lat. IX B 14] Aegidii Viterbiensis Historia XX saeculorum per totidem Psalmos digesta archetypus. Ad Leonem X Pontificem Maximum. Huius libri exemplum unicum Alexandro Cardinali Farnesio a me commodatum, eo Pontificatum ineunte amissum est, quod quibusdam post annis, Marcellus Cervinus Cardinalis sanctae Crucis cum in campo Florae venundaretur redemit. Est igitur, ut opinor, penes eius haeredes. Haec scripsi nequis alienis se plumis vendidaret (Archetype of Egidio da Viterbo's *Historia XX Saeculorum* interpreted through an equivalent number of Psalms. Dedicated to the High Pontiff Leo X. The sole exemplar of this work, which I had loaned to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, upon his ascension to the pontificate, was lost. After several years, Marcello Cervino, the Cardinal of Santa Croce, reacquired it when it was being sold in Campo de' Fiori. It is now, I believe, in the possession of his heirs. I have written these things so that nobody would sell it to anybody else)⁵⁴¹.

⁵³⁸ See *infra* p. 151.

⁵³⁹ See E. Abate, *Tra filologia e qabbalah*, pp. 413-451.

⁵⁴⁰ See M. Palumbo, *I codici postillati di Egidio da Viterbo dal Sant'Uffizio alla Casanatense*, pp. 299-322.

⁵⁴¹ Upon my inspection of the manuscript, I corrected the transcription appeared in M. Palumbo, *I codici postillati di Egidio da Viterbo dal Sant'Uffizio alla Casanatense*, pp. 300f. n. 4 and reported in my article M. Pepoli, *Storia di un manoscritto dai proprietari illustri*, p. 196 n. 58.

Girolamo Seripando, the author of this note, was elected General Prior of the Augustinian Order in 1539, following the ineffective tenure of Gabriele della Volta⁵⁴². His reform efforts within the order and the Catholic Church elucidate his interest in preserving and even restoring Egidio's works, to the extent of acquiring or receiving some of his volumes from the collection of the Neapolitan congregation of San Giovanni a Carbonara, which now resides in the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III of Naples⁵⁴³. Seripando also granted Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter, who served as papal secretary to both Clement VII and Paul III, permission to consult and borrow volumes from Egidio's library. The German Orientalist in fact arrived in Rome in 1532 with the intention of studying Hebrew and Kabbalah under Egidio, only to be met with the news of his recent passing⁵⁴⁴. The comprehensive analysis of Widmannstetter's collection of Hebrew manuscripts by Maximilian De Molière has uncovered that, during his time in Rome, the papal secretary not only accessed and copied Egidio's Hebrew volumes but also illicitly acquired a significant number of these manuscripts, which are now housed in the collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek⁵⁴⁵. A significant portion of Egidio's manuscripts in Hebrew, Latin, and Italian can be traced to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. These volumes, originally part of the collection of the Cardinal of Viterbo Niccolò Ridolfi – nephew of Pope Leo X and member of the Medici family – were transported to France as part of the dowry entrusted to Caterina de' Medici upon her marriage to the future King Henry II⁵⁴⁶. The association with the Medici family, and consequently the potential transit of these volumes through Florence, clarifies the presence in Florence of MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. II 48. This volume is a compilation of Zoharic materials extensively annotated by Egidio da Viterbo⁵⁴⁷. In elucidating the history of Egidio's collection after his passing, a significant challenge remains in clarifying the circumstances that led to the presence of his Hebrew and translation manuscripts in both the British Library in London and the University Library of St. Andrews in

⁵⁴² See e.g. A.M. Vitale, *Girolamo Seripando. La Sua Vita e il Suo Pensiero nel Fermento Spirituale del XVI Secolo*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2016. See also F. Secret, *Girolamo Seripando et la Kabbale*, in «Rinascimento» III (1963), pp. 251-268.

⁵⁴³ F. X. Martin, *Giles of Viterbo, Martin Luther, and Jerome Seripando*, in «Augustinian Heritage» II (1989), pp. 163-174.

⁵⁴⁴ See J. A. Widmannstetter (ed.), *Liber sacrosancti evangelii de Jesu Christo, Domino & Deo nostro*, Vienna, Michael Zymmerman, 1555, foll. 12r-13r. On Widmannstetter's biography and studies, see M. De Molière, *Confronting Kabbalah. Studies in the Christian Hebraist Library of Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2024.

⁵⁴⁵ See M. De Molière, *Ex Bibliotheca Aegidiana. Das Fortleben der Bücher Kardinal Egidio da Viterbos in der hebraistischen Bibliothek Johann Albrecht Widmannstetters*, in A. Speer -L. Reuke (eds.), *Die Bibliothek. The Library. La Bibliothèque*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2020, pp. 775-792, esp. 776-781.

⁵⁴⁶ See C. Astruc-J. Monfrin, *Livres latins et hébreux du Cardinal Gilles De Viterbe*, in «Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance» XXIII/3 (1961), pp. 551-554; D. Muratore, *La Biblioteca del Cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2009.

⁵⁴⁷ See *infra* pp. 139f.

Scotland (UK)⁵⁴⁸. Given recent discoveries and studies highlighting Egidio da Viterbo's significance as a humanist and kabbalistic scholar, whose intellectual pursuits were intricately linked with his political and religious activities, the compilation of a comprehensive catalog of all known manuscripts from his collection emerges as a crucial research objective. In order to address the scholarly gap identified thus far, I will present a comprehensive analysis of the manuscripts containing Latin and vernacular translations of kabbalistic texts compiled in Egidio da Viterbo's scribal workshop. Additionally, I will provide a description of the Hebrew originals, identified to date, from which some of these translations were derived.

1. Manuscripts of Latin translations

1.1 MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 598

This manuscript represents the earliest known collection of Latin kabbalistic translations produced by Egidio da Viterbo and his kabbalistic scribal atelier. This conclusion is supported by a note on fol. 118r, which states: «Finis Ma'arehet: 1513 · 10 · Maii» (End of Ma'areket, on May 10, 1513), thereby providing an approximate date for the texts preceding and following this specific section. The volume begins on foll. 1r-65r with *Porte Lucis Excerpta*, specifically selections from Yosef Gikatilla's *Sha'are Orah*, followed by *Liber Gilgulim* (The Book on Transmigrations) on foll. 66r-67r, and a summary of precedent lessons on fol. 68r. The Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* (namely, *Ma'arehet ha eloit: Ordo Divinus*) with insertions from Reuben Tzarfati's *Perush Zulati*, is documented on foll. 69r-141v and was completed, as previously shown, during the central months of 1513⁵⁴⁹. The aforementioned annotation on fol. 118r does not in fact signify the conclusion of the translation of the entire text. Rather, it seems to mark the end of a the section of the treatise commonly referred to by the title *Ma'arekhet*, as opposed to the subsequent sections titled *Sha'ar*. This misinterpretation, albeit a defensible one, led the previous cataloguer to bifurcate the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* into two segments: the first segment corresponding to foll. 69r-118r, while an unspecified *Liber de Nomine* follows on foll. 118v-141v⁵⁵⁰. Through an extensive analysis of the text, which will be detailed subsequently, I have determined that the so-called *Liber de Nomine* is, in fact, *Liber de Homine*, or *Sha'ar ha-Adam*, which continues the text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* to its conclusion. This constitutes the first complete Latin translation of this text accomplished in the Christian world. On foll. 142r-149r, the *Sefer Izira* represents the initial Latin translation of the *Sefer*

⁵⁴⁸ See also E Abate-B. Rebiger, *The Christian reception of Keter Shem Tov*, pp.187-198; G. Corazzol, *À propos du ms 236 de St Andrews: notes d'un carnet de voyage*, in <https://shorashim.hypotheses.org/618#more-618>, 2022.

⁵⁴⁹ See *infra* pp. 180-214. The edition of this text is *infra* vol. 2 pp. 50-228.

⁵⁵⁰ See P. Lauer (ed.), *Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits Latins. Tome Ier (N.os 1-1438)*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1939, pp. 212-213.

Yetzirah, produced within Egidio's scribal atelier. This is succeeded by a commentary, currently unidentified, referred to as *Comentum Sefer izira: Angeli*, spanning foll. 149r-156r. Subsequently, a summary concerning the Sephirotic doctrine is presented and titled *Sephiroth: conceptus*, on foll. 159r-163v. Right after the end of the notes on the *Sefirot* a lengthy prayer preceeds the translation of Menaḥem of Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*, here titled *Racanatensis super quinque libros Mosis*. The translation is contained within foll. 164r-376v, rendering it the most extensive translation included in this volume. This text reveals, through both the quality of the marginal annotations and its innovative graphic solutions, the significant improvement and confidence demonstrated by Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators in engaging with kabbalistic materials. A Hebrew kabbalistic note, accompanied by its translation concerning the *Baraita* of the *Zohar*, is documented on foll. 377r-381r. This short text is succeeded on foll. 382r-382v by a concise enumeration of Recanati's *Ta'ame ha-Mitzvot*, here referred to as *Racanatensis: Precepta*.

1.2 MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3154

This manuscript is part of a series of volumes of the same text, specifically the *Sefer ha-Peliah*, transcribed in Venice by a Sephardic scribe named Yitzḥaq ben Moshe ibn Zerah of Segovia between 1513 and 1515. The other two manuscripts that constitute this triptych are MS Moscow, State Library of Russia, Günsburg 377, and MS London, British Library, Harley 5515⁵⁵¹. MS Günsburg 377 was the first copy made in Venice by the scribe who dates it on foll. 330v: « בשנת חמשת אלפים ומאתים שבעי' » that is 5273 from the Creation or 1513 of the common era⁵⁵². It is noteworthy that in this instance, the letters ש and ב at the beginning of the word 'שבעי' are inscribed over an erasure in a handwriting slightly distinct from that of the original scribe, indicating a previous error in the date of the colophon. MS Günsburg 377 exhibits a highly decorative layout, characterized by an alternation of vivid colors such as purple, red, black, blue, yellow, and green inks, and the employment of refined calligraphic square and non-square Sephardic scripts to emphasize hierarchical distinctions within the text⁵⁵³. The illustrations and diagrams that typically accompany the text of the *Sefer ha-Peliah* are also meticulously crafted. This suggests that the individual who commissioned such an embellished version of the *Sefer ha-Peliah* likely did not face constraints related to time or financial resources.

⁵⁵¹ See S. Campanini, "Elchana Hebraeorum doctor et cabalista". *Le avventure di un libro e i suoi lettori*, pp. 91-114; S. Campanini, *Ben Hacane Liber qui dicitur Pelia*, pp. 393-408. See also M. Palumbo, *I codici postillati di Egidio da Viterbo*, pp. 308f. n. 31.

⁵⁵² S. Campanini, *Ben Hacane Liber qui dicitur Pelia*, p. 397 n. 20, reports with a translation the colophon of MS Moscow, Russian State Library, Günsburg 377, fol. 330v: « אני הסופר יצחק בר' יהודה משה בן יצחק ועשיתי אותו הספר לנשא ונעלה הה"ר ר' וסיימתי אותו בשנת חמשת אלפים ומאתים שבעי' ושלושה ליצירה כב' יום בל"ד בעומר בביניציאה .. תם ».

⁵⁵³ According to my knowledge, another manuscript, MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. II 41, created circa 1325-1328, employs the same decorative colors and scripts. This suggests the potential duration of this elaborate manuscript's production.

MS BL, Harley 5515 was transcribed in 1515 for an individual named Messer Daniel. Saverio Campanini has made a compelling argument identifying this individual as the printer Daniel Bomberg, who, at that time, had commenced collaboration with the convert Felice da Prato on an extensive kabbalistic printing project, which encompassed a Latin translation of *Sefer ha-Temunah*, materials by Abraham Abulafia, and a Hebrew grammar⁵⁵⁴. This project was sponsored by Egidio da Viterbo, who was the General Prior of the Augustinian Order at the time, to which Felice da Prato himself belonged⁵⁵⁵. The striking similarity in codicological and layout characteristics between MS Harley 5515 and MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3154 significantly enhances the plausibility of a connection between these two patrons. The manuscripts exhibit a similar layout in terms of line count and margin extension on each page. They employ only red and black inks to embellish and differentiate hierarchical features within the text. Additionally, there is an alternation between non-square and square Sephardic scripts, although this latter is not executed in a highly refined calligraphic manner. The primary distinction between the two copies lies in the absence of the distinctive schemes and drawings in MS Casanatense 3154, which are present in *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, as the corresponding pages in the former are left blank⁵⁵⁶. As per the colophons, MS Harley 5515 is dated on fol. 420v: «שנת רע"ה» with letter ר as the result of an erasure from an initial ק, which would have dated this copy to 1415, instead of the correct 1515. MS Casanatense 3154 presents indeed another problematic colophon, as it is dated on fol. 446r: «פה ויניסאה ב"ג לחדש כסליב משנת חמשת אלפים» (Copied here in Venice on the 13th of month of Kislev of the year 5295 from the Creation of the world, on Friday), making it ultimated in 1534. This dating is however impossible since around the margins of this volume Egidio da Viterbo, who died in 1532, has extensively annotated its text⁵⁵⁷. Saverio Campanini had already pointed out the possible confusion of the scribe between *שבעים* and *תשעים*, anticipating its copy to a more acceptable 1514⁵⁵⁸. Through my research on the two Latin translations of *Sefer ha-Peliah*, which Egidio composed throughout his life, I managed to recognize in MS Casanatense 3154 the Hebrew source used for both

⁵⁵⁴ See S. Campanini, “*Elchana Hebraeorum doctor et cabalista*”, pp. 101-103. See also, S. Campanini, *Peculium Abrae. La grammatica ebraico-latina di Avraham de Balmes*, in «Annali di Ca' Foscari», XXXVI/3 (1997), pp. 5-49.

⁵⁵⁵ See S. Campanini, *Ben Hacane Liber qui dicitur Pelia*, pp. 397-400.

⁵⁵⁶ MS Casanatense 3154, foll. 120r; 121r; 202r.

⁵⁵⁷ Egidio's Latin notes on foll.: 1r-5r, 21v, 24v-25r, 45v, 100v-101r, 128v-132r, 136v, 172v, 178r, 194r, 199r, 201r, 201v, 205v-206r, 229v; 235r, 238v, 253v, 381r, 387v, 406v-407r, 412v-413r, 415v-416v, 417r-418v, 419v-423r, 424v, 445v; Egidio's Hebrew notes on foll.: 32v ; 39v-40r, 42v, 44r , 46r, 96r, 105r, 106r, 118r, 121v-122r, 123r, 124v-125r, 163v, 168v-169r, 192v, 196v, 198r, 199r, 201v, 209v, 213r, 215r, 226v-227v, 231r, 233v, 236r, 243r, 262r, 279v, 283v, 292r-292v, 321r , 335r, 390r, 393v, 395v, 399r, 425v, 426v; Hebrew notes not belonging to Egidio on foll.: 9r, 52r, 53v, 59v, 60v, 124v, 127r, 153r, 156v, 175v, 177r, 195r, 196r, 200r, 207v, 213r, 215v, 217v, 221r-221v, 222v, 224v, 225v, 226v-227v, 229v, 232v, 255v-256v, 258v, 261v, 262v, 265v, 272r, 275v-276r, 277v, 278v-279r, 280r-280v, 281v-282r, 283r, 284r-286v, 287v-289r, 291r-291v, 294r-294v, 296r-299r, 300v, 302r-304r, 308r, 309r, 310r, 311r, 313v-314r, 315v-316v, 317v, 319r-321v, 323r, 334v, 336r, 341r, 359r. 360r, 386r, 400r, 439r, 443r; Latin notes not belonging to Egidio on foll. 130v, 131v, 141v, 172v, 203v, 206v, 300v, 423v.

⁵⁵⁸ S. Campanini, *Ben Hacane Liber qui dicitur Pelia*, p. 400.

the translation on foll. 478r-588r of MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 527/2 and on foll. 1r-36v of MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3667⁵⁵⁹. This result was made possible through a series of cross-references of numbers of the paragraphs assigned to the Latin translations and the numbers contained in the upper-left side of each recto folio in MS Casanatense 3154, in a process similar to the one adopted by François Secret for recognizing the Hebrew source for the translation of *Sefer ha-Zohar*⁵⁶⁰.

[illegible]

This evidence not only indicates that Egidio da Viterbo utilized this manuscript as the foundation for his translations of *Sefer ha-Peliah*, but also that MS Casanatense 3154 was transcribed in 1514. Specifically, on fol. 496v of MS BNF, Lat. 527/2, Egidio dates the translation of *Sefer ha-Peliah* to 1515, while on fol. 527r, he assigns the remainder of the translation to the year 1516⁵⁶¹. This information assists in dating its source to at least several months prior to its translation, therefore around 1514. A letter from Egidio da Viterbo to the Augustinian prior in Venice, Gabriele della Volta, dated January 9, 1514, appears to address the negotiations that Della Volta was conducting to secure

⁵⁵⁹ I initially presented the findings of this research at the *Rome Kabbalah Symposium*, which took place in Rome from May 20 to 22, 2025 and was organized by Notre-Dame University, Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. A more comprehensive article on Egidio's translations of *Sefer ha-Peliah* is forthcoming.

⁵⁶⁰ See *infra* pp. 137f.

⁵⁶¹ MS BNF, 527/2, fol. 496v: «5250 est exitus galut · 4i · tamen nunc sunt 5275 · sunt 1515»; MS BNF, 527/2, fol. 527r: «1516 · 5276».

a copy of *Sefer ha-Peliah* for his general Prior. In this correspondence, Egidio suggests an allocated sum for the transcription of the text⁵⁶². Less than two years prior to that letter, the Venetian Security Council of the X had summoned a Sephardic refugee, Damiano di Castiglia, to surrender his volume of *Sefer ha-Peliah* for the purpose of having it copied, with the assurance of a substantial monetary caution. By July 1512, an intermediary associated with Francesco Zorzi, a prominent Franciscan Observant engaged in the study of Kabbalah, successfully procured Damiano di Castiglia's copy of *Sefer ha-Peliah*⁵⁶³. Although it appears that Zorzi's copy of *Sefer ha-Peliah* has not survived and is not connected to the three volumes transcribed by Yitzḥaq ben Moshe ibn Zerah of Segovia, it is significant to note that between 1512 and 1515, at least four copies of *Sefer ha-Peliah* were either in circulation or transcribed in Venice, subsequently to be studied by prominent Christian kabbalists⁵⁶⁴.

1.3 MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 527/2

This manuscript is opened by a translation of the five *midrashim* on the Torah known as *Midrash Rabba* on foll. 2r-148r. Numerous annotations within this translation reference the term *impressum*, suggesting that Egidio da Viterbo and his associates utilized the 1512 Constantinople edition of this text as the Hebrew source for this translation⁵⁶⁵. This assertion seems further supported by the title of *Bereshit Rabba*, which Egidio assigns to the entire composition, as indicated on the title page of the Constantinople *editio princeps*. The Latin translation of *Sefer ha-Bahir* is contained on foll. 151r-170v⁵⁶⁶. Although two extant manuscripts from Egidio's collection, annotated in his handwriting, contain copies of the *Sefer ha-Bahir*—specifically, MS Casanatense 3086 (formerly owned by Antonio Flaminio Biaxander) and MS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 92—the precise Hebrew source utilized for this translation remains unidentified, as neither of these two versions corresponds with the Latin translation. Following the *Bahir*, two works on *Midrash Rut* are presented on foll. 171r-203v and 208r-211r, respectively. The second work begins with paragraph n. 337, and a note on the upper right side of fol. 208r which indicates that this is the concluding excerpt of a more extensive commentary, which appears to be from a book of Latin translations that is now seemingly lost⁵⁶⁷. On foll. 211v-226v the volume preserves a translation of the *Midrash Shir ha-Shirim*, followed on foll.

⁵⁶² See S. Campanini, *Ben Hacane Liber qui dicitur Pelia*, p. 395 for the transcription, translation, and relative bibliography of such passage dedicated to Egidio's search for *Liber Bencana*.

⁵⁶³ See S. Campanini, "*Elchana Hebraeorum doctor et cabalista*", pp. 92-100.

⁵⁶⁴ MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mich. 407 seems to have been a direct copy of Zorzi's volume, copied by Elia Levita's grandson, Vittorio Eliano (a convert). This manuscript does not bear resemblance with Yitzḥaq ben Moshe ibn Zerah's of Segovia's three volumes. See also, S. Campanini, "*Elchana Hebraeorum doctor et cabalista*", pp. 113-114.

⁵⁶⁵ See e.g. foll. 22r; 31r.

⁵⁶⁶ In an article currently under peer review for the journal *Materia Giudaica*, I have extensively examined the characteristics and contextualization of this translation.

⁵⁶⁷ MS BNF, Lat. 527/2, fol. 208r: «Sed hoc latius quam in libro post Ielamedeno: ubi latius quasi totum» (But this is longer than in the book after Ielamedeno -?- where there is almost everything).

227r-335v by *Midrash Qohelet* and *Midrash Ekha* on foll. 236r-241r. A text titled *Massakhta Gehennam* (foll. 241v-242v) and a *Massakhta Gan 'Eden* (243r-243v) are followed by yet undetermined chapters of midrashic materials on foll. 244r-248r. Following a series of blank pages, another midrashic commentary on *Shir ha-Shirim* is presented on foll. 252r-273v, bearing a reference to a change in numeration from an unidentified printed edition⁵⁶⁸. This translation is succeeded, after 15 blank pages, by an additional kabbalistic commentary on *Shir ha-Shirim* on foll. 288r-317v. As previously discussed regarding the interaction between humanists and Jewish kabbalists in late 15th-century Florence, the shared philosophical interest in the theme of love among the intellectual humanist and kabbalist circles of that period generated a profound engagement with the diverse interpretations of the *Song of Songs*⁵⁶⁹. This interest seems now also evident in the kabbalistic and philosophical pursuits of Egidio da Viterbo, as presented in this manuscript. On foll. 318r-334v a text titled *Pirche Roblezer* reveals a Latin translation of *Pirke de Rabbi Eli'ezer*, which followed after a series of blank pages by the Latin abridged translation of Todros ha-Levi Abulafia's *Otzar ha-Kavod* on foll. 338r-382r. On foll. 383r-398r, the *Liber Palatiorum 7m* is Egidio's Latin translation of *Massekhet Hekhalot*. This text is succeeded, after a series of blank pages, by an unidentified excerpt concerning the Divine Names on foll. 413r-425r. Between foll. 428r-470v, the manuscript contains a *Commentary on Sefer Yetzirah*, which was initially attributed to Nahmanides. This attribution was subsequently revised by Egidio himself on fol. 428r, who re-attributed this text to Rabbi Isaac, specifically Rabbi Yitzḥaq the Blind. Foll. 478r-581v contain the Latin translation of *Sefer ha-Peliah*, referred to here as *Ben Acane in Parascia Brescit*, based on the version of this text found in MS Casanatense 3154⁵⁷⁰. As previously noted, the annotations on foll. 496v and 527v enable us to date this translation to the period between late 1515 and early 1516. This, in turn, allows us to speculate on the composition dates of the other translations preserved within this volume, which is concluded on foll. 588r-672r by a Latin translation of the *Aggadot ha-Talmud*. The presence of the note "Impressum" above the *incipit* of this translation suggests its dependency on a printed edition of this text. The inclusion of midrashic and talmudic texts in this volume, alongside translations of mystical and purely kabbalistic content, reflects Egidio's approach to what he perceived as Kabbalah, that is a series of secrets dispersed throughout the Jewish literature as a whole. This idea closely mirrors Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's all comprehensive conception of *cabala* as previously conceptualized⁵⁷¹. A marginal note on fol. 382r reveals the depth of Egidio's convictions when

⁵⁶⁸ MS BNF, Lat. 527/2, fol. 252r: «Nota quod numerus hic: et in impresso variatur · ut Roha a Micael · hic 20 in impressu 22 ·» (Be careful that the number is varied from here to the printed version: like in the case of Roha ha-Mikael, which here is n. 20 and in the printed version in p. 22).

⁵⁶⁹ See *supra* p. 54.

⁵⁷⁰ See *supra* pp. 133f.

⁵⁷¹ See *supra* pp. 16-21.

approaching these varied materials when he says: «Talmud nihil nisi secreta: Sapiens: quis · Sapientia arcanorum» (The Talmud is nothing but secrets: who's wise? The knowledge of the secrets).

1.4 MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 3667

This concise volume includes a second translation of *Sefer ha-Peliah* (foll. 1r-36r), produced within the scribal circle of Egidio da Viterbo. Contrary to initial assessments of this work, as can be inferred from the table above, this highly condensed translation compresses once again into merely 36 folios the text originally contained in the 442 pages of MS Casanantense 3154, copied by the end of 1514 by Yitzḥaq ben Moshe ibn Zerah of Segovia⁵⁷². This translation is, however, distinct from the one found on foll. 478r-581v of MS BNF, Lat. 527/2, both in terms of style and content. Given that numerous internal characteristics of this composition suggest a later phase in Egidio's kabbalistic studies, I concur with Saverio Campanini, who dated this translation to the period subsequent to the Sack of Rome and contemporaneous with the composition of Egidio da Viterbo's *Scechina*⁵⁷³. A citation of a doctrine from *Liber pelia ben hacane* on fol. 333r of MS BNF, Lat. 3667 appears to support or at least reference a subsequent examination of this text during the later phases of Egidio's intertwined cultural and political endeavors⁵⁷⁴.

1.5 MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2971

As indicated by the colophon on fol. 500r, this manuscript of *Sefer ha-Zohar* was completed in Tivoli on the 15th of Kislev in the year 5274, corresponding to November 24, 1513, by the scribe Yitzḥaq ben Avraham Ibn Keliliah⁵⁷⁵. The conclusion of the colophon references the patron who commissioned it, identified as Friar Egidio the General from the House of Saint Augustin, specifically General Prior Egidio da Viterbo of the Augustinian Order⁵⁷⁶. Egidio's handwritten Latin annotations substantiate this attribution by interspersing the pages of this zoharic manuscript, which is transcribed in a Sephardic Hebrew non-square bookhand⁵⁷⁷. Through a comparative analysis of the sequential

⁵⁷² See *supra* p. 134. See also S. Campanini, *Ben Hacane Liber qui dicitur Pelia*, p. 402.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.* pp. 402-405.

⁵⁷⁴ MS BNF, Lat. 3667, fol. 333r: «Cum enim docuisssem formatum Adam: eumque ad imaginem et similitudinem [...]: enarrare volui quae imago quae similitudo: liber pelia ben hacane: habet: imaginem virum: similitudinem foeminam» (Since I have taught that Adam was formed, and that he was in His image and likeness [...]: I wanted to explain which image, which likeness: The Book of Pelia Ben Qana has the image of the man and the likeness of the woman). See also, S. Campanini, *Ben Hacane Liber qui dicitur Pelia*, p. 405.

⁵⁷⁵ MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2971, fol. 500r:

והיתה השלמת זה הספר בט"ו יום לירח כסליו משנת חמשת אלפים ומאתים וארבעה ושבעים ליצירה : פה טיבולי ע"י הקטן יצחק בן אברהם נ"ע למשפחת בני כליליה. See also G. Sacerdote, *Catalogo dei codici ebraici della Biblioteca Casanatense*, in *Cataloghi dei Codici Orientali di Alcune Biblioteche d'Italia*, V, Firenze, Stabilimento tipografico fiorentino, 1897, p. 589 n. 178.

⁵⁷⁶ MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2971, fol. 500r:

הלא הוא אשר בשם יונה אה אישידייני ייגיראלי מבית סנטו אגוסטינו

⁵⁷⁷ Egidio's autograph annotations are on foll: 1r-10r; 14r; 19v-22v; 23v-24r; 25r-25v; 27r-28v; 29v-30r; 31r; 32r; 33r; 34v; 36r-40r; 53r; 55r; 56r-59r; 71r; 77r; 89r; 92v-93r; 96v-98r; 101r; 112v-113r; 116r; 117r; 119r-120r; 121v; 126v-127r; 128v-130r; 140r-141v; 146v-152r; 154r; 156r-156v; 158r-161r; 163r-165r; 167r; 169r; 170v-171v; 172v; 173v; 174v;

numbers located on the upper side of each folio, both on their *recto* and *verso*, with the paragraph numbers of the Latin translation of the *Sefer ha-Zohar* on foll. 5r-298r of MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 527/1, François Secret has determined that this manuscript served as the Hebrew source for Egidio and his associates in their translation efforts of the *Zohar*⁵⁷⁸. Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter's mention of Barukh da Benevento as the initial scholar to acquaint Egidio da Viterbo with the *Sefer ha-Zohar*, when considered alongside the typical collaborative translation processes characteristic of Egidio's scribal atelier, may illuminate at least one of the individuals involved in this translation effort⁵⁷⁹. The sequence of adjectives used to describe the outcome of the translation in the colophon on fol. 298r of MS BNF, Lat. 527/1 however, reveals Egidio's dissatisfaction with his work on the *Zohar*. Egidio in fact states: «Whoever you are who read these coincide, maimed, mutilated, obscure, abstruse, and unknown things, know that many secrets hide among the Jews»⁵⁸⁰. Egidio's dissatisfaction with the results of his translation likely originated from the quality of his Hebrew version of the *Sefer ha-Zohar*, which he consistently regarded as incomplete. A letter dated May 8, 1514, addressed to the Augustinian Prior of Venice, Gabriele della Volta, instructed him to engage one of his contacts in Damascus to procure a superior version of the *Zohar*⁵⁸¹. This directive was issued less than six months after the completion of Yitzḥaq ben Abraham's copy and was considered of such significance that Egidio recorded it in the register of his actions as the General Prior of the Augustinian Order⁵⁸².

1.6 MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. II 48

Egidio's pursuit of a more comprehensive and complete version of the *Sefer ha-Zohar* likely facilitated his collaboration with Agostino Giustiniani, the Bishop of Nebbio, in the transcription of

176r-177r; 179v-180r; 182r; 184v-187v; 190v; 191v-194r; 198v; 202r-202v; 204r; 205v; 207r-208v; 209v-219v; 220v; 221v; 223v; 225r-231r; 234r; 237r; 240r-241r; 244r; 245v-250r; 253r-254r; 255v-259v; 261-262v; 264r; 266r-266v; 269r; 270r; 272r; 275v; 277v-290r; 291v-299r; 303r-307r; 308v-310v; 314v-316v; 319r-319v; 321r; 322r; 330v-336r; 337r; 339r-340v; 344v-346r; 349v; 350v; 351v-356r; 357r-362r; 367r-369v; 371v; 373v; 374v; 376r-376v; 378r; 380r; 385r-388r; 389v-396r; 397v-408v; 411r-457v; 459r-461r; 462v-464r; 465r; 466r-479r; 480v-500r.

⁵⁷⁸ See F. Secret, *Le Zôhar chez le Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris – La Haye, Mouton & Co., 1964, pp. 36-38.

⁵⁷⁹ See E. Abate, *Tra filologia e qabbalah*, p. 426: «Eodem tempore audiui Baruch Beneventanum optimum Cabbalistam qui primus libros Zoharis per Aegidium Viterbiensem Cardinalem in christianos vulgavit» (At that time I listened to Barukh from Benevento, who was the first to translate into Latin the books of Zohar for Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo). See also J. Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hebräischen und Aramäischen Studien*, München, Theodor Ackermann, 1884, pp. 155, 177, 180; F. Secret, *Le Zôhar chez les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*, pp. 34-42. On Widmanstetter's reception of Egidio da Viterbo's studies and copies of the *Sefer ha-Zohar*, see M. De Molière, *Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter's Recension of the Zohar*, in «Kabbalah» XLI (2018), pp. 7-52.

⁵⁸⁰ MS BNF, Lat. 527/1, fol. 298r: «Quisquis hec leges concisa: manca: mutila: obscura: abdita: ignota: scito multa latere apud hebreos archana».

⁵⁸¹ The letter is preserved in MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Ang. Lat. 688, fol. 51r. See also, E. Abate, *Tra filologia e qabbalah*, p. 426.

⁵⁸² See E. da Viterbo, *Registrum Generalatus 1514-1518*, p. 26: «8 Maii 1514 [...] Magistro Gabrieli Veneto idem utque Zoar ab euntibus Damascum quaeri curet» (May 8, 1514 [...] the same to M. Gabriele Veneto so that he arranges to ask for the Zoar to those who are going to Damascus).

the initial section of MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. II 48⁵⁸³. This manuscript comprises two distinct codicological units: one in paper containing zoharic materials (foll. 1r-68v), followed by *Sod Miqdash Meat* with the addition of an Abulafian fragment⁵⁸⁴ (foll. 69r-100v); while the other featuring Yehuda ha-Levi's *Sefer ha-Kuzari* (101r-164r) is in parchment. These units were assembled upon their inclusion in the Plutei collection. The presence of Egidio da Viterbo's handwritten annotations dispersed throughout the first codicological unit, given that these zoharic materials closely resemble those found in the commentaries of Giustiniani's multilingual 1516 *Psalter*, suggests a collaboration between the General Prior of the Augustinians and the Bishop of Nebbio in the composition of this volume⁵⁸⁵. Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators later proceeded to translate the text on foll. 1r-68v of this volume with the title of "Zohar parvus" (The Small Zohar) on foll. 259v-286v of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198. Through a direct examination of the Latin translation of this text, I was in fact able to establish a correspondence between the pencil numeration on each page of the Zoharic text in MS Plut. II 48 and the paragraph numbers in the Latin translation preserved in MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198. The upper margins of foll. 1r- MS Plut. II 48 present indeed a numeration from 1 to 135, that corresponds to 135 paragraphs of the "*Zohar parvus*" on foll. 229r-246v of MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198. Furthermore, the condensed content of the various paragraphs in the translation appears to align with the content of their respective Hebrew pages. Paragraph titled "Ex 105" (From n. 105) on fol. 282v of the translation in MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198 begins with the phrase: «Parascia leclaha: Rabi zadoc dixit». This text corresponds to a section of text which is located in the middle of fol. 53v of MS BML, Plut. II 48, numbered as 105. The Hebrew text however recites: «פרשת לך לך: ר' יצחק אמר». The discrepancy in the Rabbi's name can be attributed to a misinterpretation of the scribe's rounded writing style in this section of the manuscript. The scribe habitually traced the letters of a single word without interruption, which, in conjunction with the distinctive form of the letter ן, led Egidio or his teacher/translator to misinterpret the two strokes composing this letter as a ן followed by a ך. The difficulties encountered in reading this volume during its translation indicate that the scribe of MS BML, Plut. II 48, may not have been a regular participant in Egidio's intellectual circle, or at least not someone whose handwriting was widely recognized. Consequently, further

⁵⁸³ See S. Campanini, *The Zohar among Christians in the Renaissance*, in «Materia Giudaica» XXV (2020), pp. 511-524, esp. pp. 520f. Saverio Campanini has recently re-elaborated on the matter of the composition of this manuscript in a contribution titled *MS Florence, BML, Plut. II.48 once again. A recantation*, which opened the works of the XVI^e Journée d'Étude en Paléographie et Codicologie Hébraïque de l'EPHE-PSL dedicated to "Les Mains du Scribe", November 18, 2024. See also G.G. Musso (ed.), *Agostino Giustiniani Annalista Genovese ed i Suoi Tempi. Atti del Convegno di Studi. Genova 28-31 maggio 1982*, Genova, Compagnia dei Librai, 1984.

⁵⁸⁴ See M. Idel, *A unique manuscript of an untitled treatise of Abraham Abulafia in Biblioteca Laurenziana-Medicea*, in «Kabbalah» XVII (2008), pp. 7-28.

⁵⁸⁵ Egidio da Viterbo's handwritten notes are concentrated between foll. 1r-66r.

examination of both this volume and its translation on MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198, as well as an analysis of the context of their respective compositions, is warranted.

1.7 MS London, BL, Add. 27199

As indicated by the colophon on foll. 600v-601r of this manuscript, Eliyyahu Baḥur Levita completed the transcription of this mystical miscellany on *Hoshana Rabba* in the year 5276, which corresponds to October 10, 1515, specifically for Egidio da Viterbo⁵⁸⁶. This volume comprises a collection of materials originating from the circles of Rhenish pietists *Ḥasside Ashkenaz*, with specific parts authored by El'ezer of Worms. These texts have been amalgamated and re-organized into a seemingly single work known as *Sode Rezayya*, which attributes the mystical secrets contained within these pages to the angel Razi'el. The volume is in fact organized in five parts: *Sod Ma'ase Bereshit* (foll. 1r-108r), *Sod Ma'ase Merkavah* (foll. 108r-165v), *Sefer ha-Shem* (foll. 165v-379v), *Perush Sefer Yetzirah* (foll. 379v-485v), and *Sefer Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh* (foll. 485v-600v)⁵⁸⁷. The manuscript features a series of annotations and *marginalia* in the handwriting of both Egidio and his collaborators, which demonstrate an intensive engagement with its mystical content. The content of this volume has been systematically divided into larger numbered sections, some of which encompass multiple folios, to facilitate cross-referencing with the various translations of these texts produced within Egidio da Viterbo's scribal atelier⁵⁸⁸. MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44 and MS London, BL, Add. 16390, in fact contain an abridged central-Italian vernacular translation of *Sode Rezayya* as preserved in this copy ultimated by Eliyyahu Baḥur Levita, with extensive annotations in Egidio's handwriting. In contrast, foll. 489r-566v of MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 527/1, and foll. 229r-246v of MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198, present a Latin translation of the texts of this volume up to fol. 297r, where Egidio's handwriting is present both in the annotations and in the main text. The existence of an extensive vernacular translation of these materials, which were also subsequently translated into Latin, has led Emma Abate and Maurizio Mottolese to propose that the vernacular version served as an intermediate stage in the translation process undertaken by Egidio da Viterbo's scribal atelier, preceding the final translation into Latin⁵⁸⁹. This consideration should be juxtaposed with the minor alteration in the cross-referencing system between the Hebrew manuscript and its translations. Notably, translations such as those of *Sefer ha-Peli'ah* or *Sefer ha-Zohar* were segmented into paragraphs that align with the folio numeration of the manuscripts serving as their respective

⁵⁸⁶ For a transcription and a translation of this colophon, see E. Abate, *Elias Levita the Lexicographer and the legacy of Sefer ha-Shorashim*, pp. 297; 307.

⁵⁸⁷ See E. Abate, *Razi'el a Roma*, pp. pp.133-135, esp. p. 134.

⁵⁸⁸ See *Ibid.* pp. 136-139.

⁵⁸⁹ See E. Abate-M. Mottolese, *La Qabbalah in volgare*, pp. 20-29, esp. p. 23.

foundations. In this instance, all these materials, from the Hebrew original transcribed by Eliyyahu Levita to both the vernacular and Latin translations, were assigned corresponding paragraph numbers. The slight modifications observed in the methodology and proceedings within the context of the scribal workshop of Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators appear to indicate an adaptive approach to each translation. This approach most likely considered the nature of the texts involved, the material condition of their respective Hebrew sources, and the constraints imposed by time and the circumstances under which these translations were prepared. Therefore, considering that each translation demonstrates distinct peculiarities and characteristics, it is essential to conduct further investigations into the comprehensive *corpus* of texts produced in Egidio's scribal atelier.

1.8 MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 527/1

This manuscript commences with an excerpt of the translation of *Sefer ha-Temunah* (foll. 1r-2r) which should be added to the rest of the translation of this text and its commentary on foll. 298v-404v, and an addition on foll. 561r-566v. As explained before, Egidio used the theories of *Sefer ha-Temunah* as basis for the explication of kabbalistic meanings of the Hebrew letters in his *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*⁵⁹⁰. Although the precise extent of Egidio's dependence on Felice da Prato's lost Latin translation of this text for his *Libellus* remains indeterminate, it is significant to note that on fol. 308r, the text is cited in both the singular and plural forms of *Themunot*, with the latter usually conducive to the convert⁵⁹¹. As previously noted, two annotations within this translation of *Sefer ha-Temunah*, specifically on fol. 348v and fol. 395v, are particularly significant for contextualizing the works produced by Egidio's scribal atelier. The latter annotation, in particular, highlights the challenges Egidio faced in keeping pace with the rapid dictation of his teacher, thereby affirming the collaborative nature of the process involved in the composition of Egidio's translations⁵⁹². The former note, in absence of signs that indicate that it was composed in a different period than the rest of the translation, dates this particular work on *Sefer ha-Temunah*, to 1523 and specifically to the period of the conclave that elected Pope Clement VII⁵⁹³. This dating is particularly significant when compared to the text preceding the translation of *Sefer ha-Temunah*, specifically the *Sefer ha-Zohar*, found on foll. 5r-298r of this volume. François Secret has in fact identified MS Casanantense 2971, transcribed by the end of November 1513, as the Hebrew source for this translation. Consequently, a comparison with the dating of the Latin *Sefer ha-Temunah*, preserved immediately thereafter, seemingly indicates that Egidio postponed engaging with the translation of his copy of the *Zohar* from Hebrew into Latin

⁵⁹⁰ See *supra* pp. 92f.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹² See *supra* p. 83. Regarding the specific aspects of the collaborative process involved in the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, see *infra* pp. 182-184.

⁵⁹³ See *supra* pp. 111f.

for at least a decade⁵⁹⁴. The delay, potentially attributable to Egidio's desire to obtain a superior or more comprehensive Hebrew/Aramaic version of *Sefer ha-Zohar*, appears to be at odds with the references to doctrines from this text found both in his works and in his private correspondence with Johannes Reuchlin⁵⁹⁵. This fact may be justified by the indirect references and quotations from the *Zohar* found in a work that Egidio definitively translated prior to 1523, specifically Menaḥem Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*. Furthermore, given that Egidio's process of translating and studying kabbalistic texts was multifaceted and occurred over various periods, it is plausible that Egidio accessed excerpts from the *Zohar* translated by his collaborators before undertaking a comprehensive translation of this text. The notion of multiple translations, studies, and revisions of the same text within Egidio's scribal atelier is substantiated not only by the varied ink colors employed in these manuscripts, especially in their *marginalia*, but also by the specific instances involving the final two texts of the translations preserved in this volume. On foll. 405r-468v, there exists a Latin translation of Yosef Gikatilla's *Ginnat Egoz*. This text is referenced with the Latin title *Hortum Nucum* in MS BNF, Lat. 598 fol. 72r, with a citation of "Carta 319"⁵⁹⁶. Given that neither the placement of the folios of this text within this manuscript nor the numbering of the paragraphs in this translation appear to align, I contend that the reference in MS BNF, Lat. 598 pertains neither to the text contained within this volume nor to its Hebrew original, but rather to another Hebrew version of *Ginnat Egoz* to which Egidio had access. Following a series of blank pages, the Latin translation titled *Raziel* concludes the volume on foll. 489r-566v. As previously explained, this text corresponds to the first two books and parts of the third one of *Sode Rezayya*, which was transcribed in MS BL, Add. 27199 by Eliyyahu Baḥur Levita for Egidio. Another section of this Latin translation, corresponding to foll. 237v-297v of MS BL, Add. 27199, is contained on foll. 229r-246v of MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198⁵⁹⁷.

1.9 MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198

This manuscript comprises intertwined quires featuring Latin and central-Italian vernacular translations of kabbalistic and midrashic texts. Certain texts within the manuscript are intended to be read from right to left, particularly those containing vernacular translations of Hebrew texts, while others are to be read in the conventional left-to-right orientation. To more effectively describe the content of this volume, I will delineate two distinct sections based on their reading orientation. The first section encompasses foll. 228v-1r and is intended to be read from right to left, as in Hebrew. In

⁵⁹⁴ See *supra* pp. 137f.

⁵⁹⁵ MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 3146, fol. 31v: «a Zoar in quinta חמש demonstrata per זכור: שמור» (These things were demonstrated in the *Zohar* in the fifth חמש through זכור: שמור).

⁵⁹⁶ See *infra* p. 188.

⁵⁹⁷ See E. Abate, *Razi'el a Roma*, pp. 138f.

contrast, the second section extends from foll. 229r-324v and is read from left to right. The first section is composed of the Italian vernacular translation of midrashic materials. From foll. 228v-191v there is the translation of the *Melkitah*, numerated from 1 to 164, with the pages containing nn. 63-80 being torn apart from the manuscript. Foll. 189v to 191r contain a translation of *Torat Kohanim*, numbered from 272 to 515, while foll. 91r-1r encompass the vernacular translation of various sections of the *Sifre*, numbered from 516 to 765. The sequential numbering of at least the last two texts indicates that their original Hebrew versions might have been part of the same volume, which was organized or arranged according to the numbering of these translations. The second section of this volume, to be read from left to right, begins on foll. 229r-246v with the aforementioned Latin translation titled “Raziel”, which corresponds to the text on foll. 237v-297v of MS BL, Add. 27199. The translation and its correspondent Hebrew original are numbered 440-559. On foll. 248r-258v, a vernacular translation dedicated to the Divine Names is presented, to be read from left to right. Its numbering from 597 to 621 as well as its topic has allowed me to associate it once again with *Sode Rezayya* as copied on foll. 316r-328r of MS BL, Add. 27199. On fol. 259r, a Syriac inscription precedes the Latin translation of a “Zohar parvus” (The Small Zohar) on foll. 259v-286v, while foll. 287r-324v contain a translation titled in Hebrew “Sodot ha-Ramban”. Utilizing the conventional system of numeration and cross-referencing between Hebrew originals and Latin translations employed in Egidio’s scribal and kabbalistic workshop, I was able to identify the Hebrew foundation for the “Zohar parvus” within the text on foll. 1r-68v of MS BML, Plut. II 48⁵⁹⁸.

2. Manuscripts of Vernacular translations

2.1 MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44

The manuscript commences with a dedication by Niccolò Camerario, a Beneventan priest and convert, which extols the kabbalistic name of Jesus on foll. 1r-2v⁵⁹⁹. This text has conferred upon the volume the title “Cabala d’Esdras”, a designation commonly found in most catalogues pertaining to the manuscripts of the Angelica Library⁶⁰⁰. Following the initial dedicatory pages, which exclusively feature Camerario’s accurate Southern Italian humanistic handwriting, the manuscript should be approached from its conclusion, with the pages read from right to left, akin to a Hebrew codex⁶⁰¹. The quires of this volume are sewn in a disordered manner; however, the extensive use of catchwords allows for a partial reconstruction of their sequential order. This characteristic significantly

⁵⁹⁸ See *supra* pp. 138-140.

⁵⁹⁹ See *supra* n. 362.

⁶⁰⁰ See E. Narducci, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica Olim Coenobii Sancti Augustini de Urbe, Tomus I, Complectens Codices ab Instituta Bibliotheca ad a. 1870*, Romae, typis Ludovici Cecchini, 1893, p. 17.

⁶⁰¹ See E. Abate-M. Mottolese, *La Qabbalah in volgare*, pp. 24-26.

complicates the precise determination of both the content and the extension of the central-Italian vernacular translations contained within this manuscript. Given that the manuscript is predominantly read from right to left, beginning with its conclusion and proceeding to its apparent start, it is noteworthy that Emma Abate has identified Egidio da Viterbo's handwritten annotations primarily in the initial sections of the translations, specifically on foll. 362v-356r, 348r, 320v-307r, 304v-295r, 264v-263v, and 127r⁶⁰². The concentration of annotations on these pages suggests that Egidio primarily engaged only with specific sections of the translations within this volume. However, the absence of titles distinguishing most of the scattered quires of translations in this manuscript complicates the description of the textual content of this volume. Therefore, I will provide a description of the subdivision of the quires of these translations, including their titles when clearly listed, or at least the main topic of their pages. Foll. 362v-356r contain a vernacular translation of a kabbalistic text with references to Enoch, commencing with: «Numero grande aha lato destro et senistro nante et riecto desopra et sote» (A large number has a right and left side, a front and back, as well as an above and below). The text on these pages is numbered 12-14, and there are references to folios 213, 214, and 215, possibly pertaining to its respective Hebrew original. Foll. 354v-351v contain a vernacular translation transcribed by a copyist employing a highly precise *ductus*, commencing with: «Mo te dice Come vanno tuti quelli Cose de una fonte et quella fontana produce molte orive cioè quelli Conduiti de aqui» (It now explains how all these elements originate from a source, and from that source flow the trickles, which are the water ducts). The text is organized into paragraphs using both letters and numbers, and subsequently solely numbers from 1 to 19, which may refer to their Hebrew original. Foll. 348v-321r contain a vernacular translation commencing with the phrase: «Benedica la hanima mia achi o tu dio ha grandito multo» (May my soul bless those whom you, oh God, have made great). The initial scribe of this translation embellished the initial letter "B" at the beginning of the text. Notably, there is indeed an alteration in the handwriting, thereby the scribe, on fol. 328v. The text on foll. 320v-315r, commencing with a depiction of a warrior preparing for battle, is numbered 62-80, likely corresponding to the paragraphs of the associated Hebrew text. Foll. 314v-244r contain a vernacular rendition titled "Egoz", which is Yosef Gikatilla's "Ginnat Egoz". As elucidated in previous descriptions, this text was also translated into Latin on foll. 405r-468v of MS BNF, Lat. 527/1, and is referenced in the 1513 Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* on folio 72r of MS BNF, Lat. 598⁶⁰³. These multiple translations and references attest to the significant interest in this text within Egidio da Viterbo's intellectual circle. On foll. 244r-236r, a commentary on the 10 Sefirot commences, which may also be related to the text on foll. 174v-164r. Foll. 235v-226r and 224v contain another section

⁶⁰² See E. Abate, *Tra filologia e qabbalah*, p. 443 n. 144.

⁶⁰³ See *supra* n. 142. See also *infra* p. 188.

of vernacular translation, commencing with: «habemo dicto quando dio iudica ali persone alore lui sede sopra la sedia» (We have said that when God passes judgment on people, He is seated on the throne). The text is numbered from 229 to 239, but its passages are interrupted by foll. 225r-225v, which might be palaeographically linked to the preceding commentary on the *Seferirot*. Another loose segment of text on foll. 223r-223v precedes a text titled “Nome Santo” (The Holy Name) or “Santisemo” (The Holiest) on foll. 222v-201r, which begins: «Nomen Sagro De Dio grande Tuto lu fondemento per intendere lu modo non podemo intendere se non in litere ebraica» (The Holy Name of the great God, Foundation of everything, to understand His way we cannot understand Him except in Hebrew letters). This text frequently references the doctrines of *Sefer ha-Bahir*, and some of its majuscule letters feature the decorations previously noted among the characteristics of the copyist’s handwriting on foll. 348v-321r. Foll. 200v-191r contains a text beginning with: «son ala mane sinistra quelle» (Those are on the left side), numbered from 316 to 321. Foll. 190v-176r presents a text that can be paleographically linked to *Sefer Raziel* on foll. 136v-126r. This latter vernacular translation is indeed preceded by the title “Raziel”, like the text on foll. 106v-57r where the text is titled “Rasiel”. However, this latter translation is not transcribed by the same scribe as the previous two sections and is numbered from 278-314. The handwriting in this section can indeed be palaeographically linked to that on foll. 200v-191r, whose numeration follows that of this portion of text. Indeed, the passage from foll. 163v-157r, which pertains to the Name of God, commences with the phrase: «pilia lu modo amitere sempre lu nomen Dele setante Doi infra quello Loco De questa paresa che lu fate De faregone» (Take the way of always inserting the Name of 72 letters in that place of this parasha which deals with the fate of the Pharaoh). In consideration of the distinctive linguistic features identified by Emma Abate and Maurizio Mottolese in the vernacular translation of “Raziel/Rasiel”, this passage may also be included within the pages of this text. A similar inference can be made for the text on foll. 156v-137r, which commences with: «anime de li iusti sota la seda dela honore de dio» (the righteous souls beneath the throne of God’s glory)⁶⁰⁴. According to Abate and Mottolese, all the segments of vernacular translation of *Sefer Raziel* within this volume correspond to various passages from the initial two sections of *Sode Rezayya* on foll. 1r-165v of MS BL, Add. 27199⁶⁰⁵. The text on foll. 125v-107r begins with the phrase: «Multe persone Dela Cabala nostra Come lu nomen quandu mostre u Sole una essentia» (Many people of our Kabbalah as the Name when the Sun reveals an essence). This segment, noted for its decorative transcription style in certain instances, can be textually and palaeographically correlated with the translation found on foll. 348v-321r and, more notably, foll. 222v-201r. Following the aforementioned sections of “Raziel/Rasiel” specifically foll. 56v-56r and 55v-55r, two independent sections of text, are bound together as a single,

⁶⁰⁴ See E. Abate-M. Mottolese, *La Qabbalah in volgare*, p. 30.

⁶⁰⁵ See *Ibid.*, p. 27.

very small quire. The texts on foll. 50r-54v and 9r-41v are written, bound, and read left to right. Foll. 50r-54v contain a translation focused on mystical interpretations of biblical verses and Hebrew, frequently referencing messianic themes. The explicit mention of “foglio 115” on fol. 50r and “foglio 119” on fol. 54v further underscores the close correspondence with a Hebrew source. The text on foll. 9r-41v is indeed titled “Cabala” and is numbered in its margins from 1 to 1041. Finally, foll. 8v-6r are bound and read from right to left, presenting a text that appears to be related to that of “Raziel/Rasiel” with frequent Hebrew transcriptions.

2.2 MS London, BL, Add. 16390

This manuscript is organized into two distinct codicological units. The initial section comprises two Hebrew treatises on *The Seven Names of God*, spanning foll. 2r-52r, which are vocalized and meticulously annotated with a specific red ink. It is followed by Maimonides’ *Eight Chapters*, located on foll. 53r-59r. The second section, encompassing foll. 1r-129v, contains an Italian translation titled *Ex Raziele*. This translation corresponds to the sections of *Sode Rezayya* found on foll. 340v-600v of MS London, BL, Add. 27199. It includes the abridged translations of the conclusion of *Sefer ha-Shem* (foll. 1r-30v), the *Perush Sefer Yetzirah* (foll. 31r-81r), and *Sefer Hokhmat ha-Nefesh* (foll. 81v-129v)⁶⁰⁶. This text seemingly completes the vernacular translation of *Sode Rezayya*, which is contained within the dispersed quires of MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44⁶⁰⁷.

2.3 MS Paris, BNF, It. 612

This manuscript consists of a diverse collection of primarily Talmudic and targumic texts, translated either into Italian vernacular or Latin. As indicated by the librarian’s note on fol. 1r, that describes the content of the volume as: «collectanea super talmut» (collected materials on the Talmud), the majority of the texts incorporated into this manuscript are either incomplete, fragmented, or dispersed across different quires. The volume begins with a vernacular translation of the first chapter of the treatise *Berakhot*, identified here as *Masseched Berahcod*, on foll. 1r-12v. The vernacular translation produced by various copyists of the *Aggadot ha-Talmud* encompasses foll. 14v-53v. A sequence of blank pages precedes the Latin translation of the *Targum* of *Psalm 10* on foll. 57r-57v, followed on fol. 58v by the mere title of an unaccomplished translation of the *Targum* of *Psalm 16*. Foll. 59r to 146v preserve additional Italian vernacular translations from excerpts of Talmudic treatises, including *Megillah*, *Hagigah*, and *Bava Batra* penned by alternating copyists. Given that

⁶⁰⁶ See E. Abate, *Razi’el a Roma*, pp. 136-139.

⁶⁰⁷ See E. Abate-M. Mottolese, *La Qabbalah in volgare*, pp. 15-40.

these translations do not adhere to an ordered or sequential format, a more comprehensive analysis of their content is necessary to accurately delineate the subdivisions within these texts. Some of these folios also include annotations intended to cross-reference their content with the original Hebrew or Aramaic sources these texts were translated from, urging a recollection of manuscripts and books belonging to Egidio in order to establish possible correspondences⁶⁰⁸. In light of the fact that foll. 588r-672r of MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 572/2 contain an extensive Latin translation of the *Aggadot ha-Talmud*, it is crucial to evaluate whether, as previously posited by Emma Abate and Maurizio Mottolese regarding the texts of MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44, there exists a dependency of this particular Latin translation on the vernacular versions preserved in this volume⁶⁰⁹. This comparison is particularly necessary and intriguing, as foll. 148r-194v contain a Latin abridged translation of *Massekhet 'Eruvin*, which is presented under the noteworthy title of *Aruim: Annotationes: Masacta yruim*. This title offers a compelling definition of annotations or notes for the translation, which aptly characterizes the style of translations produced in Egidio's scribal atelier. The volume is closed by Latin notes on *Talmud Yerushalmi* on foll. 196r-206v. On fol. 196r, the text is identified as *Talmud: Ierusalmi: Impressum*. Consequently, the reference to a printed version of this text indicates that these annotations were made subsequent to the publication of the *editio princeps* of the *Yerushalmi* by Daniel Bomberg in 1523. The nature of the volume described thus far, particularly given the presence of scattered and disordered quires among its texts, necessitates caution when dating the entire content of this manuscript to years proximate to Bomberg's printed edition of the *Yerushalmi*. The manuscript contains sporadic annotations in the handwriting of Egidio da Viterbo, alongside extensive Hebrew transcriptions by the copyists and translators of these texts.

3. Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicons in Egidio da Viterbo's scribal atelier

3.1 Liber Radicum, and the birth of Hebrew grammatical studies among Christians in Rome

As Egidio da Viterbo and his scribal atelier commenced and advanced in their translation of kabbalistic, midrashic, and talmudic texts, a comprehensive linguistic analysis of Hebrew and Aramaic lexicons was perceived as essential. Consequently, new initiatives arose within that particular intellectual circle, including the translation of lexicons and grammars, as well as the development of original works on the matter. On January 4, 1513, Egidio da Viterbo commissioned Gabriele della Volta to procure a copy of David Qimhi's *Commentary on the Bible* as well as a copy of *Sefer ha-Shorashim*⁶¹⁰. Between 1517 and 1519, two copies of a Latin translation of *Sefer ha-*

⁶⁰⁸ See e.g. MS Paris, BNF, It. 612, foll. 78v; 95r; 96v; 99r; 108v; 113r; 115r; 116v; 119v; 120v.

⁶⁰⁹ See *supra* p. 136.

⁶¹⁰ Roma, Archivio della Curia Generalizia degli Agostiniani, Dd 12, fol. 99v: «Scripsimus ad magistrum Gabrielum Venetum ut mitteret ad nos David super tota Biblia et eiusdem librum de Radicibus» (We wrote to master Gabriele of

Shorashim, titled *Liber Radicum*, were completed in the scribal atelier of Egidio da Viterbo⁶¹¹. In a recent scholarly endeavor, Giacomo Corazzol has undertaken a detailed examination and analysis of these two manuscripts, specifically MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 3, and MS St. Andrews (UK), St. Andrews University Library, 236, in order to produce a critical edition of the *Liber Radicum*, crafted in the scribal workshop of Egidio da Viterbo⁶¹². Although both volumes indeed attribute at least the curation of this Latin word-to-word version of *Sefer ha-Shorashim* to Egidio himself, their periodization and the nature of this work, which Saverio Campanini has even defined “an interlinear translation *in absentia*”⁶¹³, suggest once again the characteristic collaborative approach to translation from Hebrew previously described as typical of Egidio da Viterbo’s scribal atelier⁶¹⁴. In this context, Campanini has posited the involvement of the Calabrian priest and Hebraist Agazio Guidacerio in the translation process of the *Liber Radicum*, as preserved in Egidio’s manuscripts⁶¹⁵. At the time in fact, Guidacerio had been appointed by Pope Leo X as the first professor of Hebrew at the Sapienza University of Rome. In approximately 1514/1515, Guidacerio published a Hebrew grammar in Latin, in which he detailed his initial studies of the language under the guidance of a teacher named Ya’aqov Gabbai⁶¹⁶. Gabbai specifically introduced him to the grammars and lexicons authored by Moshe and David Qimḥi, which Guidacerio continued to study throughout his life⁶¹⁷. This fact is shown by a copy of David Qimḥi’s *Mikhlol* now preserved in Paris, specifically MS Paris, BNF, Héb. 1231, which contains the Hebrew name of Guidacerio’s teacher and series of annotations in Latin, which I would confidently attribute to the Calabrian Hebraist⁶¹⁸. Following the Sack of Rome in fact, Guidacerio

Venice to send us [the commentary by] David [Qimḥi] on the entire Bible, as well as his own book on Roots). See also, E. da Viterbo, *Aegidii Viterbiensis O.S.A. Resgestae Generalatus I: 1506-1514*, ed.. A. De Meijer, Romae, Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 1988.

⁶¹¹ See G. Corazzol, *Les manuscrits latins du Sefer ha-shorashim*, in <https://shorashim.hypotheses.org/109>, 2019.

⁶¹² See J. Kogel (ed.), *Sefer ha-Shorashim. Liber Radicum. Édition Bilingue, Hébreu-latin, du Sefer ha-Shorashim*, Paris, Racines, 2021, https://editions.irht.cnrs.fr/racines/editions/liber_radicum.xml.

⁶¹³ S. Campanini, “*Thou bearest not the root, but the root thee.*” *On the Reception of the Sefer ha-Shorashim in Latin*, in «Sefarad» LXXVI/2, 2016, p. 327.

⁶¹⁴ See e.g. the annotations reported in E. Abate, *Elias Levita the Lexicographer and the legacy of Sefer ha-Shorashim*, p. 293 n. 15.

⁶¹⁵ S. Campanini, “*Thou bearest not the root, but the root thee*”, pp. 328-331. For a recent biography of Agazio Guidacerio, see G. Bartolucci, *Il calabrese Agazio Guidacerio e l’insegnamento dell’ebraico nell’Europa del XVI secolo*, in «Sefer Yuḥasin» X (2022), pp. 81-101.

⁶¹⁶ A. Guidacerio, *Grammatica Hebraicae Linguae*, Romae, [Étienne Guillery], (1514/5?).

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.* foll. 2r-2v: «Ut ex his quam proximis septem annis ex priscorum hebraeorum literarum monumentis et imprimis ex operibus eruditissimorum grammaticorum Rabi Moise et Rabi David filiorum peritissimi Ioseph Kimhi hispani, maximis laboribus in hac alma urbe Roma sub literatissimo rabi Iacob Gabbai Iudaeo lusitano didici, luculentam hebraicae linguae grammatice ad utilitatem et gloriam christianae religionis hominibus nostris conscriberem» (Over the past seven years, I have diligently studied in the promising city of Rome under the guidance of R. Ya’aqov Gabbai, a Lusitanian Jew, drawing from literary monuments and particularly the works of the esteemed grammarians R. Moses and R. David, sons of the renowned Yosef Qimḥi, the Spaniard, so that I could craft an exceptional grammar of the Hebrew language meant for our men for the benefit and honor of the Christian religion).

⁶¹⁸ I was able to study this manuscript and make this attribution through my collaboration with Project BiNaH (Bibliothèque Nationale Hebraica), directed by Emma Abate, who I sincerely thank. An article to further explain this attribution is forthcoming.

had relocated to Paris, where he had assumed by royal edict the role of Hebrew professor at the newly established Collège Royale, alongside the Venetian convert Paolo Paradisi and the French Hebraist François Vatable⁶¹⁹. There, around 1542, Guidacerio published a comprehensive Latin translation, accompanied by the Hebrew text, of David Qimḥi's *Mikhlol*⁶²⁰. While biographical and scholarly evidence gathered thus far may suggest Agazio Guidacerio as a potential collaborator in the Latin translation of David Qimḥi's significant work, *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, composed during his tenure at "La Sapienza" University, his involvement in Egidio's scribal workshop remains speculative. Another individual who may have contributed to the preparation of this translation of Qimḥi's work is the Christian Hebraist and translator Sante Pagnini. Sante Pagnini was a Tuscan Dominican friar who commenced his study of Hebrew at the Florentine convent of St. Mark, under the tutelage of the aforementioned convert Clemente Abramo⁶²¹. In approximately 1515, driven by the philological principles of the Florentine humanist movement and a challenge to the authority of the *Vulgate*, Sante Pagnini secured financial backing from Pope Leo X to embark on the publication of a comprehensive new Latin translation of the Bible. This undertaking began with a new Latin version of the Psalter, which he published in 1520⁶²². However, the death of Pope Leo X in 1521 halted the progress of this extensive work, compelling Pagnini to relocate from Rome to Lyon in pursuit of newer opportunities to complete his ambitious projects. In the city in fact, Pagnini successfully published his *Veteris et Novi Testamenti Nova Translatio*⁶²³. Additionally, he released the *Institutionum Hebraicarum Libri Quattuor* in 1526, a Hebrew grammar modeled upon David Kimḥi's *Mikhlol*, and an extensive Hebrew to Latin lexicon, *Otzar Leshon ha-Qodesh, hoc est Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae*, in 1529, which is based on David Kimḥi's *Sefer ha-Shorashim*⁶²⁴. In 1536, the year of his death, Pagnini successfully published his last work, the *Isagogae ad Sacras Scripturas*⁶²⁵. Pagnini's extensive expertise and study of the works of David Qimḥi is evidenced not only by his own published materials

⁶¹⁹ See G. Bartolucci, *Il calabrese Agazio Guidacerio*, pp. For more information on Paolo Paradisi and François Vatable, see e.g. F. Secret, *Documents oubliés sur Paul Paradis, lecteur royal en hébreu*, in «Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance» XXX (1968), pp. 347-353; D. Barthelemy, *Origine et rayonnement de la "Bible de Vatable"*, in I. Backus-F. Higman (eds.), *Théorie et Pratique de l'Exégèse. Actes du Troisième Colloque International sur l'Histoire de l'Exégèse Biblique au XVIe siècle (Genève, 31 août -2 septembre 1988)*, Genève, Droz, 1990, pp. 385-401.

⁶²⁰ A. Guidacerio, *Liber Michlol Grammatices Linguae Sanctae R. David Kimhi, Quo Eam Integram Docet et Absolvit*, Parisii, In Collegio Italorum, 1540.

⁶²¹ See *supra* p. 69. For an updated biography of Sante Pagnini, see S. Campanini, *Pagnini, Antonio Baldino*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Vol. 80, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2015 ([https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-baldino-pagnini_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-baldino-pagnini_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)).

⁶²² S. Pagnini, *Psalterium nuper translatum ex hebraeo, chaldaeo, et graeco*, Romae, ?, 1521.

⁶²³ S. Pagnini, *Veteris et Novi Testamenti Nova Translatio*, Lugduni, Antoine Du Ry, 1528 (impressum 1527). See also, S. Pagnini, *Biblia Sacra ex Santis Pagnini traslatione*, Lugduni, apud Hugonem a Porta, 1542.

⁶²⁴ S. Pagnini, *Habes hoc in libro candide lector Hebraicas Institutiones quas nuper aedidit reverendus sacrae theologiae dominus Sanctes Pagninus*, Lugduni, Giunta, 1526; Id., *Otzar Leshon ha-Qodesh. Hoc est Thesaurus linguae sanctae*, Lugduni, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1529. See also, E. Attia, *Aux origines du Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae de Sante Pagnini (Lyon, 1529)*, in «Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance» LXXIX/2 (2017), pp. 343-363.

⁶²⁵ S. Pagnini, *Sanctis Pagnini Lucensis Praedicatorii Ordinis Isagogae ad Sacras Litteras Liber Unicus*, Lugduni, apud Hugonem a Porta, 1536.

but also by the extant manuscripts within his collection⁶²⁶. Through a comparative paleographical analysis of samples of Pagnini's autograph handwriting in fact, I was recently able to attribute the extensive Latin and Hebrew annotations in the margins of a copy of David Qimḥi's *Mikhlol*, specifically MS Paris, BNF, Héb. 1227, to the Tuscan Hebraist⁶²⁷. The literal approach he employed in his translation of the Bible may also serve as a noteworthy detail that suggests his potential involvement in the translation process that culminated in the *Liber Radicum*⁶²⁸. This hypothesis seems to be further substantiated by Elodie Attia's discovery of Pagnini's Hebrew and Latin annotations within the pages of the two-volume autograph copy of Eliyyahu Levita's unpublished concordance, *Sefer ha-Zikhronot*, MSS Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 3 and 4⁶²⁹. This evidence indicates that Sante Pagnini was actively engaged in Egidio da Viterbo's scribal atelier during his residence in Rome from 1515 to 1521, in a period that overlaps with the composition of the two volumes of the translation of David Qimḥi's *Sefer ha-Shorashim* between 1517 and 1519. Further investigation may illuminate the nature and scope of the possible interactions or collaborations among Christian Hebraists, such as Guidacerio, Pagnini, and Egidio da Viterbo, who were based in Rome at the onset of the sixteenth century. Concurrently, the discussion presented thus far has sought to emphasize the crucial importance of David Qimḥi's works in the advancement of Hebrew studies among Christian scholars. In this context, the translation of *Sefer ha-Shorashim* ultimated in Egidio da Viterbo's atelier, along with its subsequent study, which comprised numerous annotations, marginalia, and even a lexicographic notebook (MS Paris, BNF, Lat. 596), serves also as a testament to Egidio's broader interest in Hebrew and Aramaic lexicology. The forthcoming chapter will provide further examination of this topic, along with a brief inquiry on the role that Eliyyahu Levita played in the study of linguistics within Egidio's scribal workshop.

3.2 *The role of Eliyyahu Baḥur Levita in developing Hebrew and Aramaic lexicology within Egidio da Viterbo's intellectual circle*

Numerous studies have consistently highlighted the significance of Eliyyahu Levita in the advancement of Hebrew and Aramaic lexicology and linguistics during the early sixteenth century⁶³⁰. According to Levita's own accounts in his extensive writings, the period from 1515 to 1527, during

⁶²⁶ See M. Hulvey, *Les bibliothèques retrouvées de Sante Pagnini, dominicain de Lucques et de Pierre Bullioud, "gentilhomme" lyonnais: en hébreu et en grec*, in «Bulletin du Bibliophile» I (2009), pp. 79-106.

⁶²⁷ In this instance as well, I was able to study this manuscript and make this attribution through my collaboration with Project BiNaH. An article to further explain this attribution is forthcoming.

⁶²⁸ See e.g. M. Engammare, *Sante Pagnini, traducteur ad litteram et exégète secundum allegoriam de l'Ecriture (1520-1536)*, in D. de Courcelles (ed.), *Philologie et Subjectivité. Actes de la Journée d'Études, Paris, 5 avril 2001*, Paris, École des Chartes, 2002, pp. 41-52.

⁶²⁹ See E. Attia, *Annotazioni in latino ed ebraico di Sante Pagnini nel manoscritto di Elie Levita*, in «Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance» LXXIV/1 (2012), pp. 119-134.

⁶³⁰ See *supra* nn. 370-371.

which he resided in Rome at Egidio's mansion as one of his Hebrew and Aramaic instructors and closest collaborators, was pivotal for the development of most of his significant linguistic works⁶³¹. Between 1517 and 1519 in fact, Levita published three grammatical works in Hebrew in Rome, all dedicated to his patron Egidio, namely the *Sefer ha-Harkavah*, the *Bahur*, and *Pirque Eliyyahu*⁶³². In the following years, Levita initiated the composition of his study on the biblical *masorah*, entitled *Masoret ha-Masoret*, which was subsequently published in Venice in 1538⁶³³. Furthermore, he commenced the composition of an extensive biblical concordance, the *Sefer ha-Zikhronot*, which remains unpublished. This work is in fact preserved exclusively in its two-volume manuscript form in MSS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 74/1-74/2, recognized as the earliest version of this text, in MSS Paris, BNF, Hébr. 134-135, and in the aforementioned MSS Lyon, BM, 3-4, which was owned by the Hebraist Sante Pagnini⁶³⁴. The significance of Levita's extensive contributions to Hebrew linguistics is matched only by his pioneering analysis of targumic, midrashic, and particularly rabbinical Aramaic vocabulary, which he systematically organized in his work, *Meturgeman*. This work appears to belong to a later phase in Levita's collaboration with Egidio da Viterbo, as the scholar asserted that he had completed the initial draft of this lexicon around 1526. This initial draft was lost due to the looting that occurred during the Sack of Rome, necessitating Levita to recompose his Aramaic lexicon after relocating to Venice⁶³⁵. Between 1529, the year of the second composition of the *Meturgeman*, and its publication in Isny in 1541, Eliyyahu Levita continued to refine and perfect his work⁶³⁶. This process can be assessed through a comparison of the final printed edition with the two extant manuscript copies of this text, namely MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 84, and MS Paris, BNF, Hébr. 134-135⁶³⁷. The presence of a copy of this lexicon, composed after his departure from Rome, in the Augustinian library now known as the Angelica, serves as further evidence of the close relationship between Levita and Egidio da Viterbo. It also underscores the significant role of Egidio's scribal atelier in advancing Aramaic studies during the early sixteenth century. An interest in Aramaic lexicology within Egidio's intellectual circle is in fact evidenced by the possession of an incunable of the sole Aramaic lexicon available in the early sixteenth century prior to Levita's work, the *Sefer*

⁶³¹ See *supra* n. 372.

⁶³² E. Levita, *Sefer ha-Harkavah*, Roma, Yitzhaq, Yom Tov, Ya'aqov ben Avigdor ha-Levi, 1517; E. Levita, *Bahur*, Roma, Yitzhaq, Yom Tov, Ya'aqov ben Avigdor ha-Levi, 1518; E. Levita, *Pirque Eliyyahu*, Roma, Yitzhaq, Yom Tov, Ya'aqov ben Avigdor ha-Levi, 1519. See also, G. Weil, *Elie Lévitte, humaniste et massorète*, pp. 95-102; E. Abate, *Tra filologia e qabbalah*, pp. 427f.; E. Abate, *Elias Levita the Lexicographer and the Legacy of Sefer ha-Shorashim*, pp. 298f.

⁶³³ E. Levita, *Sefer Masoret ha-Masoret*, Venezia, Daniel Bomberg, 1538. See G. Weil, *L'Archétype du Massoret ha-Massoret*, pp. 147-158. On the collaboration between Daniel Bomberg and Egidio da Viterbo, see *supra* pp. 86; 93; 102; 136f.

⁶³⁴ E. Attia, *Les manuscrits n. 3-4 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon*, pp. 575-592.

⁶³⁵ See E. Abate, *Elias Levita the Lexicographer and the Legacy of Sefer ha-Shorashim*, p. 302.

⁶³⁶ E. Levita, *Meturgeman*, Isnae, Paulus Fagius, 1541.

⁶³⁷ E. Abate, *Elias Levita the Lexicographer and the Legacy of Sefer ha-Shorashim*, p. 306.

‘*Arukh* by Natan ben Yehiel ‘Anaw from Rome⁶³⁸. MS Paris, BNF, Hébr. 1220 includes a vernacular translation of this text, which was annotated in its initial pages by Egidio da Viterbo himself, proving the extensive study on this work within Egidio da Viterbo’s scribal atelier⁶³⁹. Emma Abate has proven that Eliyyahu Levita relied and re-elaborated upon the *Sefer ‘Arukh*, and David Qimḥi’s *Sefer ha-Shorashim* in order to compose both his *Mertugeman*, and the *Tishbi*, a dictionary of late rabbinical Hebrew words, missing from his illustrious predecessor’s works⁶⁴⁰. This fact, along with the promotion of a translation of the Qur’an during the period of Egidio’s diplomatic mission to Saragozza, further substantiates the pivotal role of Egidio da Viterbo’s intellectual circles in advancing, and disseminating not only Kabbalah, but also the knowledge of Semitic languages during the early sixteenth century⁶⁴¹.

⁶³⁸ Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Inc. 872: see E. Abate-S. De Gese, *I Libri Ebraici della Biblioteca Angelica, I. Incunaboli e Cinquecentine*, Roma, Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, 2005, pp. 5-6. See also N. ‘Anaw, *Sefer ‘Arukh*, Roma, ?, 1469/1473 (?); Id., *Sefer ‘Arukh*, Pesaro, Gershom Soncino, 1517; A. Kohut, *Aruch Completum sive Lexicon vocabula et res, quae in libris Targumicis, Talmudicis et Midraschicis continentur, explicans auctore Nathane filio Jechielis*, Wien, Menora, 1878-1892; S. Sznol, *Medieval Jewish Greek Lexicography: the Arukh of Natan ben Jehiel*, in «Erytheia» XXX (2009), pp. 107-128.

⁶³⁹ I was able to identify this manuscript as part of Egidio da Viterbo’s collection, in the course of my collaboration with Project BiNaH.

⁶⁴⁰ E. Abate, *Elias Levita the Lexicographer and the Legacy of Sefer ha-Shorashim*, pp. 299-303; 308-311. See also R. Griño, *El Meturgeman de Elias Levita y el ‘Aruk de Natán ben Yehiel como fuentes de la lexicografía targúmica*, in «Biblica» LX/1 (1979) pp. 110-117.

⁶⁴¹ See K. Starczewska, *Latin Translation of the Qur’ān (1518/1621), Commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo: Critical Edition and Case Study*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2018. For an examination of the study of the Qur’an in Europe, see the Publications section on the website of the ERC-Project European Qur’an (EuQu): <https://euqu.eu/resources/>. See also *supra* n. 193 for specifics on Flavius Mithridates’ work on the Qur’an. Egidio da Viterbo also received from Agostino Giustiniani a grammar of the Arabic language, specifically MS München, BSB, Cod. Ar. 920, accompanied by a heartfelt dedicatory letter, which is reproduced in S. Campanini, *Transmission and Reception of Isaac ibn Sahula’s Kabbalistic Commentary on Two Psalms*, in «European Journal of Jewish Studies» XVI (2022), pp. 1-26, esp. p. 17. On the study of Arabic in Renaissance, see e.g. R. Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505-1624)*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2020, pp. 109-110. See also, N. Zemon Davis, *La Doppia Vita di Leone L’Africano*, Roma-Bari, Editori Laterza, 2008.

3. Studying Kabbalistic texts through translation: the case of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut between Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Egidio da Viterbo

The preceding two chapters have endeavored to delineate the history of kabbalistic studies among Christians, beginning with the humanist circle of Marsilio Ficino, Pier Leone da Spoleto, and particularly Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in Medicean-ruled Florence at the close of the 15th century, and extending to the Roman papal court and the intellectual circle surrounding Egidio da Viterbo in the early 16th century. In analyzing the ideological continuities between these two endeavors in their engagement with kabbalistic texts and ideas, as well as their contextual differences and respective cultural and political objectives, the significance of the translations from Hebrew produced within these intellectual circles interested in various degree with Kabbalah emerges as a crucial distinguishing factor that warrants further scholarly attention, analysis, and comparison. The purpose of these translations was in fact to enable Christian intellectuals to access kabbalistic knowledge by translating the content of Hebrew and Aramaic texts into the Latin and vernacular Italian languages of that period, thereby facilitating and accelerating their studies. Therefore, the in-depth reading and study of these specific translations substantially influenced these intellectuals' conception and Christianized reinterpretation of Kabbalah as a form of mystical thought. As elucidated in the preceding chapters, the ongoing and multifaceted collaboration with Jewish or convert translators was also a foundational element in the early decades of kabbalistic studies among Christian scholars. This premise necessitates a further thorough analysis of how each translator's interventions, alongside their personal interpretations of their patron's directives, influenced the final outcomes of their translation efforts. The profound impact of translations from Hebrew and Aramaic on Christian engagement with and subsequent (re)interpretation of kabbalistic thought is demonstrated by the extensive range of these translational works, as detailed in the comprehensive descriptions of the volumes in which they are preserved⁶⁴². The particular interest arising from the distinct interpretation of each kabbalistic text, along with the potential for the reception of these translations, necessitates the punctual study and edition of these texts, alongside their possible comparative analysis. While an ideological continuity originating from the ideas propagated by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and culminating in Egidio da Viterbo's kabbalistically inspired political discourses forms the foundation of the early Christian kabbalistic movement, the intellectual endeavors that emerged between the late 15th century and the early 16th century yielded diverse and occasionally even conflicting cultural outcomes. These outcomes, particularly when confined to the realm of translations, merit investigation and comparison. Upon examining the content of numerous

⁶⁴² See *supra* pp. 40-51; 64-73; 129-152.

translational manuscripts of kabbalistic texts produced within intellectual circles, it becomes evident that even when ideological continuity and inspiration are explicitly declared, or in instances such as MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189, and MS Angelica, Lat. 1453, where the translation copies are direct, the same text was frequently translated into Latin (or even the Italian vernacular) multiple times. These processes resulted in distinct, peculiar, and intriguing translational outcomes that warrant analysis to gain a deeper understanding of the intellectual contexts in which these works were produced and their contributions to the development of the Christian kabbalistic movement. To date, it is important to note that only a limited number of these texts, predominantly related to the collaboration between Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Flavius Mithridates, have been studied, edited, and published. Moreover, while various translations of the same kabbalistic text have occasionally been produced, no comparative analysis has been undertaken thus far regarding the translational endeavors within the independent, yet ideally interconnected, intellectual circles that studied, translated, and operated within the broader Christian kabbalistic movement. To begin addressing this scholarly gap, the subsequent pages will present a comprehensive analysis and comparison of the Latin translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, as elaborated by Flavius Mithridates and the intellectual circle of Egidio da Viterbo, followed by their first complete semi-diplomatic edition. As demonstrated by the comprehensive analysis of the manuscripts containing kabbalistic translations from Hebrew presented in the preceding pages, *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is the only kabbalistic text that was translated by Christian kabbalists approximately three times: initially by Flavius Mithridates for Giovanni Pico, subsequently for Pier Leone da Spoleto, and finally within the kabbalistic circle of Egidio da Viterbo. While the translations by Mithridates and Egidio are rendered in Latin, the work composed for Pier Leone is presented in Sicilian/Castilian vernacular, with occasional Latin re-translations of specific passages from the vernacular. This linguistic distinction separates Pier Leone's work from the translations of Mithridates and Egidio, warranting further analysis that extends beyond the scope of this particular study. Nevertheless, occasional references and examples derived from this translation will be incorporated into the subsequent discussion of Latin translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. In addition to the linguistic continuities that connect Mithridates and Egidio's translations, it is crucial to acknowledge that, according to Egidio da Viterbo's own admission, his studies of Kabbalah and the approach from which he derived his Christianized interpretations of kabbalistic texts were primarily inspired by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's philosophical works and ideas⁶⁴³. The declared ideological continuity from the humanist circles of late 15th-century Florence to the scribal atelier of

⁶⁴³ See *supra* pp. 75f.

Egidio da Viterbo renders the comparison of their respective translational endeavors particularly compelling.

3.1 The importance of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*

Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut is a kabbalistic treatise from the early 14th century, associated with the circles either directly or indirectly influenced by Shlomo ibn Aderet (Rashba), who is recognized as one of the closest disciples of Naḥmanides⁶⁴⁴. Through its pages, *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* elucidates doctrines derived from authoritative mystical texts, including the *Sefer Yetzirah* and the foundational *Sefer ha-Bahir*. It also incorporates reinterpretations and kabbalistic influences from Shem Tov ibn Gaon's *Keter Shem Tov*, as well as works such as Ya'aqov Bar Sheshet's *Meshiv Devarim Nekhohim* and Todros ben Yosef ha-Levi Abulafia's *Otzar ha-Kavod*⁶⁴⁵. The similarities and overlaps between these texts have led to tentative identifications of the anonymous author of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Nevertheless, due to the distinctive nature of this treatise, a definitive attribution has yet to be established⁶⁴⁶. *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is in fact notably distinct from the treatises authored by the aforementioned kabbalists due to its systematic and exoteric methodology in elucidating kabbalistic doctrines. This approach stands in stark contrast to the more esoteric methods of oral transmission or the subtle allusions in written dissemination of mystical knowledge employed by earlier or even contemporary kabbalists, whose doctrines are reported and commented upon in *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. This organization of kabbalistic knowledge has been compared in scholarly critique to the philosophical methodology of medieval commentaries and supercommentaries, with a particular emphasis on the allegedly philosophical interpretations of the sefirotic system within the first part of the treatise⁶⁴⁷. The text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is in fact organized into systematic chapters known as *Ma'arakhot*, as well as more speculative sections referred to as *She'arim*. In light of these facts, Abraham Elqayam, in his analysis of the structure of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, has proposed that the final form of this treatise reveals the stratification of two distinct and even concurrent perspectives in the interpretation of kabbalistic theosophy: a theurgic-magical approach evident in the *She'arim*, and a philosophical, possibly Maimonidean, systematization of knowledge in the *Ma'arakhot*⁶⁴⁸. Elqayam also posited that, contrary to the sequence of chapters in the treatise, the *Ma'arakhot* represent the most advanced stage of the anonymous author's kabbalistic speculation, and consequently, of the

⁶⁴⁴ The most recent comprehensive work on this kabbalistic treatise is L.M. Chajes, *On the Discourse of Unity and the Discursive Unity of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, M.A. Thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2022. This thesis is soon going to be published. See also E. Gottlieb, *Mehqarim beSifrut ha-Qabbalah*, Tel Aviv, Beit Sefer le-Ma'adei ha-Yahadut Hayyim Rosenberg-Universitat Tel Aviv, 1976, pp. 257-343.

⁶⁴⁵ See L.M. Chajes, *On the Discourse of Unity and the Discursive Unity of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, pp. 55-90, esp. 63-82.

⁶⁴⁶ See *Ibid.*, pp. 3-6.

⁶⁴⁷ See *Ibid.*, pp. 39-52.

⁶⁴⁸ See A. Elqayam, 'Al ha-Mivne Arkhiteqtoni be-Sefer Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut, in «Qiryat Sefer» 64 (1993), 289-304.

composition itself⁶⁴⁹. This observation suggests, contrary to the initial assertions by David Neumark, that the philosophical systematization of the sefirotic doctrine, along with the subsequent retraction or at least philosophical moderation of the earlier *She'arim*, represents the ultimate aim of this treatise⁶⁵⁰. Joseph Dan has identified in the resolution of this internal opposition with a philosophically inspired systematization of kabbalistic thought the polemical and even antithetical response to the visionary speculations of *Sefer ha-Zohar*, whose doctrines and interpretations are conspicuously absent from *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*⁶⁵¹. However, Levana Chajes has correctly observed that, in the absence of a definitive identification of the author of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, and consequently a precise dating of its composition—which could be contemporaneous with, subsequent to, or even preceding that of *Sefer ha-Zohar*—it is challenging to conclusively determine whether the lack of reference to zoharic doctrines is due to a deliberate and polemical omission or merely a result of ignorance and chronological factors⁶⁵². Her comprehensive examination of the various explicit and implicit sources utilized by the author of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* has also further complicated the understanding of an internal interpretative theosophical opposition between theurgical and philosophical perspectives within the treatise. Chajes has in fact emphasized the significant philosophical influences, particularly those of Neoplatonism, evident in the works of the kabbalists that were either referenced, cited, or at least familiar to the anonymous author of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*⁶⁵³. Nonetheless, this systematic and almost philosophical approach to the exposition of kabbalistic, particularly sefirotic, doctrines remains one of the most distinctive characteristics of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which seemingly contributed through its clear explanations to its widespread and positive reception as an introductory text on Kabbalah. Thus, according to a good number of medieval and Renaissance scholars *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*'s conceptual and argumentative accessibility potentially facilitated the transition from philosophical speculation to Kabbalistic inquiry⁶⁵⁴. Given in fact that Kabbalistic speculation was often regarded as the pinnacle of intellectual inquiry within the Jewish educational framework, which encompassed biblical, exegetical, Talmudic, and philosophical studies, this treatise was frequently included in lists of essential Kabbalistic works deemed necessary by educators for introducing students to the sefirotic doctrine⁶⁵⁵. The preceding

⁶⁴⁹ See *Ibid.*, pp. 300-304.

⁶⁵⁰ See D. Neumark, *Toledot ha-Filosofiah be-Israel*, New York, Shteibel Press, 1920, p. 195.

⁶⁵¹ See J. Dan, *Toledot Torat ha-Sod ha-Ivrit. Yame Benayim*, vol. 13: *Be'Iqvot ha-Zohar*, Jerusalem, The Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 2020, pp. 9-55, esp. 12-21.

⁶⁵² See L.M. Chajes, *On the Discourse of Unity and the Discursive Unity of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, p. 90.

⁶⁵³ See *Ibid.*, 59-60; 88-91.

⁶⁵⁴ In addition to the cases discussed in the following pages, it is noteworthy that the sixteenth-century Rabbi Mattatiah ben Shlomo Delacrut advocated for the study of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* subsequent to the introductory reading and comprehension of the doctrines presented in Giqatilla's *Sha'are Orah*. See M. Delacrut, *Persuh 'al Hibburo shel Yosef Giqatilla Sha'are Orah*, Qraqov, 1600.

⁶⁵⁵ See e.g. F. Lelli, *L'albero sefirotico di Eliyyà Menaḥem ben Abba Mari Ḥalfan*, p. 273.

discussion has already examined Eliyyahu Del Medigo's inclusion of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* among the foundational kabbalistic texts that should accompany Giovanni Pico's exploration of Kabbalah, either subsequent to or concurrently with their philosophical investigation into Averroism and Aristotelianism⁶⁵⁶. Within the same specific intellectual milieu of fifteenth-century Florence, it is noteworthy to mention that Yoḥannan Alemanno as well delineated his recommended curriculum of studies, explicitly citing foundational texts, which included *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. This study program developed by Yoḥannan Alemanno, preserved among his *Liqqūṭim* on fol. 64v of MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Reggio 23, holds particular significance as it integrates the study of kabbalistic texts, such as *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, with a broader inquiry of philosophical, exegetical, astronomical, and even magical texts that should be conducted concurrently with the kabbalistic speculation⁶⁵⁷. As explained in the previous chapters, the philosophical, especially Neoplatonic, interpretation of sefirotic theosophy was a distinctive feature of the kabbalistic speculation in the Italian peninsula that seemingly facilitated *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*'s widespread acceptance among Italian intellectuals shortly after its composition. Levana Chajes has in fact demonstrated that the majority of pre-print manuscripts of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which was published between 1557 and 1558 in both Ferrara and Mantua, were primarily produced in Italy⁶⁵⁸. Furthermore, as observed by Ephraim Gottlieb, the majority, if not all, of the commentaries on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* were composed in Italy⁶⁵⁹. Among these commentaries, the works of Reuven Tzarfati, *Perush Zulati*, and Yehudah Ḥayyat, *Minḥat Yehudah*, both published from the initial mid-sixteenth-century editions alongside *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, are particularly significant in elucidating the trajectory of the reception of this treatise within the Italian kabbalistic milieu⁶⁶⁰. Ephraim Gottlieb's persuasive attribution of the anonymous commentary known as *Perush Zulati* to Reuven Tzarfati, the author of other significant kabbalistic commentaries on the *Sefirot*, such as the *Perush Yeri'ah ha-Gedolah* and *Perush Yeri'ah ha-Qeṭanah*, has contributed to establishing the broader significance of this kabbalist in the development of sefirotic theosophical speculation within the Italian context in which he operated⁶⁶¹. Furthermore, it has clarified his role in the dissemination and elucidation of the doctrines systematized in *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, as a substantial number of pre-print manuscripts already include his commentary alongside the main text of this treatise. Levana Chajes' recent research on additional anonymous medieval commentaries on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* has further established that

⁶⁵⁶ See *supra* pp. 36f.

⁶⁵⁷ See M. Idel, *Seder ha-Limmud shel R. Yoḥannan Alemanno*, in «Tarbitz» XLVIII/3-4 (1979), pp. 303-331. See also Id., *Kabbalah in Italy*, pp. 340-343.

⁶⁵⁸ See L.M. Chajes, *On the Discourse of Unity and the Discursive Unity of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, p. 29.

⁶⁵⁹ See E. Gottlieb, *Mehqarim beSifrut ha-Qabbalah*, p. 357.

⁶⁶⁰ Levana Chajes is presently conducting doctoral research at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem focusing on the commentaries and the broader reception of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*.

⁶⁶¹ See E. Gottlieb, *Mehqarim beSifrut ha-Qabbalah*, pp. 357-371.

these texts can also be attributed to Reuven Tzarfati, or at the very least, they represent a compilation of materials and notes derived from his kabbalistic teachings, which were disseminated by his students⁶⁶². These attributions once again underscore the significant role of Reuven Tzarfati and his circle in the dissemination of a philosophically inspired interpretation of kabbalistic thought in Italy. The preceding chapters, have discussed the development of this approach in the Italian kabbalistic circle of late 15th-century Tuscany, where Yoḥannan Alemanno was active and instructed the young members of the Da Pisa family⁶⁶³. Based on the evidence presented thus far, it can be inferred that, similar to many other Italian kabbalists of both preceding and contemporary periods, these Florentine intellectuals considered *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* to be a foundational text in kabbalistic thought. Consequently, a comprehensive examination of the composition and reception of this text is essential for understanding the distinctive characteristics of the doctrines received and developed within the specific cultural and kabbalistic context of the Italian Peninsula. It should in fact be reminded that, as cursory seen in the previous pages, the dissemination of *Sefer ha-Zohar* and its doctrines in Italy prior to the very late 15th century, and likely extending into the early 16th century, was predominantly limited to the quotations found in Menaḥem of Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*. This situation gradually began to change only during the late fifteenth century, when the waves of persecution and expulsion from the Spanish kingdoms, which brought numerous refugees to Italy, resulted in increased interactions between Italian and Sephardic kabbalists. In these exchanges, as demonstrated by the writings of Eliyya Ḥayyim da Genazzano and the correspondence between Yitzḥaq Mar Ḥayyim and Yitzḥaq Da Pisa, Sephardic kabbalists, who possessed extensive knowledge of Zoharic doctrines, along with their Italian followers, began to openly challenge the philosophically inspired approach to kabbalistic thought promoted by intellectuals such as Yoḥannan Alemanno through the dissemination of the teachings of *Sefer ha-Zohar*⁶⁶⁴. In this context, *Ma'arkhet ha-Elohut*, by that time one of the most, if not the most, widespread kabbalistic text in Italy, seemingly served as a conduit for the dissemination of Zoharic doctrines throughout the Peninsula. Following the 1492 *gerush*, Yehudah Ḥayyat a Sephardic kabbalist and refugee who migrated to Italy, apparently in Mantua, wrote in fact his Zoharic commentary of *Ma'arkhet ha-Elohut* titled *Minḥat Yehudah*⁶⁶⁵. It can therefore be inferred that Ḥayyat employed *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and its widespread influence and dissemination in the Italian Peninsula to critically challenge certain elements of the unique

⁶⁶² Levana Chajes addressed this subject in her presentation at the Rome Kabbalah Symposium (20-22 May 2025), titled "In the Margins of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut: The School of Reuven Tzarfati and the Earliest Italian Reception". Additionally, she presented at the XXXVIII International Conference of the AISG (Italian Association for the Study of Judaism) in Palermo (08-10 September 2025) the intervention: "Text and Image: Reuven Ṣarfatti's *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* Commentaries and the Foundations of Visual Kabbalah".

⁶⁶³ See *supra* pp. 55-58.

⁶⁶⁴ See *supra* n. 663.

⁶⁶⁵ See M. Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy*, pp. 212-226, esp. 212-224.

kabbalistic discourse that was prevalent among the Italian kabbalistic circles he came in contact with at the time of his arrival. His critique becomes particularly apparent upon examining the introduction of his work. In this section, Yehudah Ḥayyat delineates the fundamental texts that a kabbalist should engage with and study, which included: *Sefer Yetzirah*, *Sefer ha-Bahir*, *Sefer ha-Zohar*, the works of Yosef Gikatilla, Moshe de Leon, and Nahmanides, alongside Menaḥem Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*, and finally *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Prior to compiling this list, however, Ḥayyat launched a sharp critique against authors and works he deemed detrimental to the dissemination of correct kabbalistic knowledge due to their propensity to blend kabbalistic and philosophical interpretations⁶⁶⁶. The texts explicitly mentioned in this context include the kabbalistic works of Yitzḥaq ibn Latif, Abraham Abulafia, Shmuel ibn Mutot, and, above all, the most renowned commentary on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, the foundational *Perush Zulati*, which Ḥayyat sought to surpass and rectify with his own commentary⁶⁶⁷. Consequently, through the composition of *Minḥat Yehudah*, the text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* became the focal point of contention between two distinct approaches to kabbalistic interpretation that emerged as opposing in Italy during the late fifteenth century. As elucidated in the preceding chapters, the period between 1484 and the death of Lorenzo de Medici was pivotal in fostering an interest in kabbalistic studies among the humanist circle of Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and Pier Leone da Spoleto. Within this context, Giovanni Pico and Pier Leone initiated two distinct, and likely nearly concurrent, projects aimed at the extensive translation of kabbalistic texts, resulting in the appearance of two different incomplete versions of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* in Latin and Italian vernacular. Although the dissemination of these translations was likely limited, the significance attained by *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* within Italian kabbalistic circles rendered this treatise a well-known title among a broader Christian audience. This is evidenced by its mention in the works of Paolo Ricci, and possibly even Francesco Zorzi, as well as the complete translation of this text within the intellectual-scribal workshop of Egidio da Viterbo⁶⁶⁸. The publication of two concurrent printed editions of this text within the period from 1557

⁶⁶⁷ See Y. Hayyat, *Ha-Qedamah*, p. XII.

to 1558 suggests that this treatise was central to diverging intellectual endeavors, warranting further analysis beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, the importance of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* within the Italian kabbalistic movement, both Jewish and Christian, necessitated an analysis of the Latin translations of this text, aimed at delineating a trajectory of the Christian engagement with kabbalistic translations that would account for the evolving characteristics of the reception of this treatise as elucidated thus far.

3.2 Flavius Mithridates at work on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*

As previously noted, the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* by Flavius Mithridates for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola is preserved in the manuscript MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, spanning foll. 132r-150v and foll. 212r-221v, with the correct sequence for reading this later part of the translation being foll. 218r-221v followed by foll. 212r-217v⁶⁶⁹. However, this translation is incomplete, as it terminates abruptly without any prior indication, nearly at the conclusion of the sixth chapter of the *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, specifically the *Ma'arekhet Nagdut ha-Po'alim*.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 217v]

ימין	ושמאל
yamin	usmol
dextra	et sinistra
צפון	דרום
Saphon	darom
Septentrio	meridies
גן	עדן
Gan	heden
paradisus	voluptas
חיים	מות
haim	maveth
vita	et mors
טוב	ורע
tob	varah
bonum	et malum
צדקה	ומשפט
sedaca	umispath
Iusticia	et Iudicium

⁶⁶⁹ See *supra* pp. 45f.

ימין ושמאל. דרום וצפון. עדן גן. חיים ומות. טוב ורע. צדקה ומשפט. משפט וצדק.⁶⁷⁰ [Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut, ch. 6, p. 93] אמת ואמונה. דגן ותירוש. חלב ויין. כסף וזהב. ברזל ונחשת. דבש שאור. מצה וחמץ. היסוד והעטרה. זכור ושמור. כבוד יום וכבוד לילה. עולם הבא וגן עדן. עץ הדעת ופרי עץ הדעת: וכבר בארתי למעלה במערכת השמות, כי התפארת הוא הדעת, והיסוד הוא העץ, והעטרה הוא הפרי. וכן הזכרתי עוד, כי השלישית הוא החיים, והתפארת הוא עץ של חיים. נמצא, כי התפארת הוא עץ של חיים, וגם הוא העץ שהוא הדעת, והיסוד הוא עץ של הדעת, והעטרה הוא פרי העץ של הדעת, ואף הוא פרי העץ של הדעת.

On other occasions, such as on fol. 360v of MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, Mithridates explicitly indicated the abrupt conclusion of his work, particularly when it was necessitated by a consistent *lacuna* in the Hebrew manuscript from which he was translating⁶⁷¹. Consequently, the sudden cessation of the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, in conjunction with its disordered quires, prompts me to hypothesize that segments of this translation were likely lost. This loss may be attributed to Mithridates' practice of utilizing loose leaflets and quires of text for the dissemination of his translations, which he delivered to his patron, Giovanni Pico, while his work was still in progress. The previously examined description of item n. 35 from Domenico Grimani's collection of Hebrew manuscripts, which, according to Giovanna Murano's analysis, corresponds to item n. 364 in the catalogs of Giovanni Pico's library acquired by the Cardinal after the Count's passing, appears to substantiate this particular translational process in the specific case of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, as well prompting further interesting considerations⁶⁷². Giovanna Murano has in fact observed that all titles included in Grimani's comprehensive description of this item were translated by Mithridates. Therefore, it can be concluded that this now apparently lost volume most probably served as the Hebrew foundation for several of the convert's translations for Giovanni Pico⁶⁷³. This conclusion holds particular significance since the description of item n. 35 includes a section titled: «Pars libri qui inscribitur Ordo divinitatis» (A part of the book that is called The Order of the Divine). It can thus be inferred that, at least during the period of Domenico Grimani's cataloguing of his Hebrew manuscripts, the copy of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which Mithridates likely utilized as the source for his incomplete and possibly partially lost translation, had lost some of its pages. Mithridates' Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* however presents on fol. 132r, right before its commencement, a complete

⁶⁷⁰ For the purposes of this study, I will utilize the most recent printed edition of *Ma'rekhet ha-Elohut*, specifically *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, Mahadurat Beqer, Jerusalem 2013. This edition primarily relies on the version of the text preserved in foll. 1r-31v of MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Cod. 2773, as well as the printed editions of Ferrara (1557) and Mantua (1558).

⁶⁷¹ For a detailed account of this annotation, see *supra* pp. 58-62. In the lower right margin of fol. 217v, the catchword "misphath", which was intended to initiate the subsequent, now missing quire, is discernible.

⁶⁷² See *supra* pp. 49-51.

⁶⁷³ See G. Murano, *La Biblioteca Arabo-Ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 91-103, esp. pp. 97-100.

table of the contents of the treatise, listing the titles of all of the chapters and sections in which this text is traditionally divided into.

[MS Chigi A VI 190, fol. 132r] Incipit liber de ordine vel proportione vel serie vel consideratione divinitatis marecheth aelahuth. Et veniant ad me miserationes tue domine et salus tua secundum dictionem tuam. Capitula huius libri sunt XX omnino, primum est de proportione divinitatis, secundum de proportione unitatis, tertium vero de consistorio nominum, quartum de proportione nominum proprietatum, quintum de nominibus equalibus. Sextum de nominibus oppositis agentibus, septimum de proportione ordinis, octavum de proportionem vel serie rationis nonum de porta destructionis. Decimum de porta hominis undecimum de curru superiore, duodecimum de porta mundi, tertium decimum de denariis, quartum decimum de septenariis, sextum decimum de octonariis decimum septimum de nomine, decimum octavum de intencione nominis. Decimum nonum de intencione sanctificationis, vicesimum de intencione benedictioni(s) benedicite. Finiunt capitula (There commences the book of the order or proportion or series or consideration of the divine, Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut. Oh Lord, may your compassions and your salvation come to me according to your saying. The chapters of this book are twenty in total: the first is on the proportion of the divine, the second on the proportion of the unity, the third on the assembly-chamber of the names, the fourth on the proportion of the names of the properties, the fifth on the equal names. The sixth is on the names of opposing agents, the seventh on the proportion of the order, the eighth on the proportion or series of the reason, the ninth is on the gate of destruction. The tenth is on the gate of man, the eleventh on the superior chariot, the twelfth on the gate of the world, the thirteenth on the tens, the fourteenth on the sevens, the sixteenth on the eighths, the seventeenth on the name, the eighteenth on the intention of the name. The nineteenth is on the intention of the sanctification, and the twentieth on the intention of the blessing "You shall bless". Here the chapters end).

Therefore, this table of contents, which will be examined in greater detail in the subsequent chapter for its philological importance, leads me to believe that the Hebrew version of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* used as a source by Mithridates at least appeared to be complete at the commencement of its Latin translation⁶⁷⁴. The discrepancy in the chapter numbering between fourteen and sixteen, which I am inclined to attribute to Mithridates' occasional carelessness rather than an error in his original Hebrew manuscript—an error he would typically be eager to highlight—does not, in my view, constitute a sufficiently compelling reason to assert that the Hebrew manuscript was incomplete from the outset of the translation process. Therefore, given that the characterization of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* as "pars" in Grimani's volume suggests the disappearance of certain portions of its text, I propose that this loss may have occurred during Mithridates' translation. As previously elucidated, Mithridates habitually disassembled quires of the texts he was examining or translating. This practice, as evidenced in instances such as MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 357, was occasionally marked by a certain degree

⁶⁷⁴ See *infra* pp. 165-168.

of negligence in accurately repositioning the quires and pages subsequently re-sewn into their original manuscript. Therefore, this specific working-habit may indeed have caused the loss of certain pages of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* in both its Hebrew and, as posited before, Latin versions. This hypothesis appears to be supported by the characteristics of MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, wherein the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is preserved in misplaced quires. The inclusion of other translations with similarly dispersed quires in this volume, alongside fragments of translations found in other manuscripts, such as MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190 and 189, has led scholars to hypothesize that this volume is the result of an assembling of materials that were found loose at the time of the papal confiscation of Mithridates' books, following his arrest in Viterbo⁶⁷⁵. The manuscript contains as well a series of clues disseminated by Mithridates, suggesting that these translations, including the one of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, were composed during the later and notably tumultuous phase of his collaboration with Giovanni Pico. A note on fol. 200v, for instance, documents Mithridates' vehement diatribe against his young patron.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 200v]: «Fl. Guillelmus ramundus mythridates philosophus medicus et theologus et linguarum hebraïce arabice chaldaice grece et latine Interpres transtulit Ad picum deceptorem fraudulentum fidifragum et verbifragum [...] qui fuit acer in principio et fractus In fine Itaque de eo dixit poeta Parturient montes nascetur ridiculus mus» (Flavius Guillelmus Raymundus Mithridates, the philosopher, physician, theologian and interpreter of the Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldean, Greek and Latin languages, translated this piece for Pico, the deceiver, fraudulent, the betrayer of pacts and words [...] he who was sharp in the beginning and pointless in the end. Therefore, for him the poet said: "The mountains will go into labor and a ridiculus mouse will be born").

Saverio Campanini has elucidated that Mithridates' animosity towards Giovanni Pico was primarily attributable to the Count's refusal or deliberate delay in compensating him in a very specific way for the translations he was providing, as well as for his lessons of Hebrew, Arabic, and possibly Chaldean (Aramaic)⁶⁷⁶. More specifically, Mithridates' intervention on fol. 376r of MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190, during the translation of Abraham Abulafia's *Sitre Torah*, explicitly delineates the agreed-upon form of payments between the Count and the convert. There, he in fact asserts: «cui ergo remanebunt quingenti et nahar?» (To whom, then, will the 500s and the *nahar* be left?). Thus, the agreed-upon compensation included not only monetary aspects but, as revealed through the examination of a series of notes later penned by Mithridates between the texts of MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189 and Chigi, A VI 190, also the promise of a young and beautiful sexual servant, whose identity is still in question⁶⁷⁷.

⁶⁷⁵ See *supra* pp. 30f; 45-51.

⁶⁷⁶ S. Campanini, *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavio Mitridate) traduttore di opere cabbalistiche*, pp. 79f.

⁶⁷⁷ Saverio Campanini has compiled a list of references to the *nahar* in Mithridates' translations. See *Ibid.* p. 79 nn. 102, 103, 104.

Mithridates, in his use of the Latin characters “nahar”, usually intended to transliterate the Hebrew term נַהַר, as explicitly indicated in his translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, particularly on fol. 145v of MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 145v] 34 fluvius clarus nahar נַהַר (non nahar mithridatis cum ע) de quo scribitur et fluvius exibat de heden ad irrigandum eth⁶⁷⁸ paradisum (34 the clear river, nahar, נַהַר – not Mithridates' nahar with ע – upon which it was written “a river exited from the Eden to irrigate אֶת paradise”).

In this particular passage, while translating the names of the *sefirah Yesod* as listed in *Ma'arekhet Shemot ha-Midot*, Mithridates inserts a commentary regarding his preferences and the equivalence in his Latin transliteration between the Hebrew נַהַר (river) and the preferred נַהַר. This annotation highlights Mithridates' propensity to incorporate personal, occasionally inappropriate, obscene, and dramatic remarks within his translational works. The ostensibly humorous tone appears to suggest a phase in Mithridates' relationship with Giovanni Pico that is somewhat less oppositional than the one that can be subsequently reconstructed through the previously examined annotation on fol. 200v⁶⁷⁹. Consequently, although the conditions of the translations preserved in MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, and the period of their composition appear to preclude their consultation by the young Count of Mirandola, their examination remains of paramount importance. The significance of these translations in fact extends beyond mere linguistic or philological aspects, encompassing their unique historical and cultural significance in tracing the development of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's engagement with kabbalistic studies. In this context, the case of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is of utmost relevance, especially because of the late date of its composition. As has been frequently previously noted, *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* was indeed among the initial works recommended by Eliyyahu Del Medigo to Giovanni Pico as foundational for the Count's introduction to kabbalistic studies. In addition to the now-lost translation of Menahem of Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*, and potentially the commentaries on *Sefer Yetzirah* that commence MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191, *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is indeed among the very few texts included in Del Medigo's recommendations translated by Mithridates⁶⁸⁰. The fact that *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, despite its early mention by Pico and its introductory nature, was among the last works translated into Latin by Mithridates suggests that Giovanni Pico likely engaged in an extensive and potentially challenging search for this treatise before ultimately acquiring the copy he entrusted to his collaborator for a translation. Since MS BAV,

⁶⁷⁸ On certain occasions, Mithridates' literal approach to translation led him to refrain from translating specific terms. In this instance, he even retained the grammatical preposition for the Hebrew accusative in the final Latin version.

⁶⁷⁹ See e.g. MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 390v: «Mithridate Interprete et cum pico Indignato propter nahar» (By the translator Mithridates who is outraged with Pico because of the nahar). See also MS Chigi A VI 190, fol. 216r: «cavete a magnatibus vel potentibus vel principibus (nota pice quantum mithridates cavet)» (Beware of the magnates, those in power, the princes—observe, Pico, how Mithridates beware!).

⁶⁸⁰ See *supra* pp. 36f.; 49 and 57.

Vat. Ebr. 191, whose translations were referenced by Giovanni Pico during the composition of his *Conclusiones Nongentae*, includes on foll. 43v-60r the Latin version of an anonymous commentary on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, the Count's ongoing interest towards this treatise long before its translation seems to be substantiated. The translation of a commentary on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which will be subjected to further in-depth analysis, prior to the one of the treatise itself may offer valuable insights into the distinctive cultural and social context of the Count's scholarly pursuits. As previously noted in fact, Mithridates' translational activities were shaped not only by the young Giovanni Pico's cultural aspirations and preferences but also by the availability of specific kabbalistic texts and manuscripts in the market, as well as the willingness of Jewish vendors to sell these secretive and esoteric books to a Christian buyer⁶⁸¹. In this context, considering the extensive dissemination of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* among Italian kabbalistic circles, the seemingly belated inclusion of this treatise in Giovanni Pico's library assumes particular significance in reconstructing the reception of certain members of the Italian Jewish communities to the young Count's kabbalistic endeavors⁶⁸². Consequently, in light of this reconstruction, Mithridates' translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* might represent the final, albeit incomplete and partially lost, outcome of the complex interaction and potential conflict among diverse cultural and religious efforts aimed at the study, discovery, or the accurate preservation of the doctrines contained within this treatise.

3.2.1 *The main characteristics of Flavius' Mithridates translation of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut: looking for its Hebrew original*

3.2.1.1 *The stemmatic value of Mithridates' translation of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*

Numerous studies on Mithridates' translations for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola have identified distinctive and recurrent characteristics within these texts, which generally facilitate the detailed and precise reconstruction of the original Hebrew texts utilized by the convert as a basis for his translational efforts. In most instances however, such as in the case of the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, the original volumes containing the Hebrew sources utilized by Mithridates appear to be lost⁶⁸³. Consequently, a meticulous examination of these translations enables the partial restoration of these lost works and contributes valuable information for the composition and reconstruction of the *stemma codicum* of the kabbalistic treatises Mithridates translated into Latin. Despite its incomplete and partially lost form, the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* exhibits distinctive characteristics that warrant analysis to reconstruct its corresponding Hebrew original from

⁶⁸¹ For Giovanni Pico's challenges in acquiring Hebrew manuscripts, see *supra* p. 57.

⁶⁸² See *supra* n. 682.

⁶⁸³ As previously elucidated, the sole extant Hebrew original employed by Mithridates as the foundation for his Latin translations is MS BSB, Cod. Hebr. 209. See also *supra* pp. 40f.

the extant parts. In the preceding chapter, the table of contents at the beginning of Mithridates' translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* has already been analyzed to determine whether Mithridates' original Hebrew manuscript was complete at the onset of his translation work on this text. The inclusion of the table of contents and its placement at the beginning of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is however, in itself, of considerable philological significance. Notably, only three extant manuscript copies of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* contain such summary of the treatise's content: MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 2367; MS Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Opp. 486; and MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3015⁶⁸⁴. The final two volumes, written in Ashkenazi and Italian scripts respectively, can be dated to the sixteenth century through paleographic and codicological analysis. Furthermore, their table of contents is situated at the conclusion of the text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which contrasts with the arrangement found in Mithridates' translation. Indeed, MS JTS, 2367 is the sole extant Hebrew manuscript of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* that includes a table of contents preceding the treatise:

[MS JTS, 2367 fol. 112v] אילו הם שערי המערכת · האלהות · האחדות · לשכת השמות · שמות המדות · שמות השווים · שמות · נגדות הפועלים · סדר השמות המדות · הטעם · הריסה · האדם · המרכבה · העולם · עשירות · שביעיות · שמיניות · השם · תפילות · קדושה · קדיש · קריאת שמע ·

Compared to Mithridates' translation, this table of contents is notably less detailed and precise. It lacks subdivisions between *Ma'arekhot* and *She'arim*, all forms of numeration, and does not include a scribal euchology in the chapter descriptions. Furthermore, the titles assigned to the final chapters exhibit slight variations between the Hebrew version and Mithridates' Latin translation. Although a direct dependency between these two texts is therefore excluded, the specific arrangement of the table of contents in *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* observed in MS JTS, 2367 and Mithridates' translation is particularly noteworthy when additional elements are taken into consideration. According to a goblet-shaped colophon on fol. 60v, the transcription of Abraham Abulafia's *Sitre Torah* preserved in this manuscript was executed by a scribe named Menaḥem ben Moshe ben Menaḥem, whose family name appears to have been erased, who completed it in the month of Elul 5152, which in his equivalence corresponds to the Christian year 1394. Owing to the apparent discrepancy in this equivalence, it is difficult to ascertain the precise year in which this section of the manuscript was completed. It is, however, possible to date the entire volume, which encompasses the previously described copy of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, where Menaḥem ben Moshe ben Menaḥem alternates with another scribe, to the early to mid-1390s. This conclusion positions this manuscript as potentially one of the earliest dated volumes containing this treatise. A visible fragment used as reinforcement between foll. 19v-

⁶⁸⁴ See L.M. Chajes, *On the Discourse of Unity and the Discursive Unity of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, p. 39 n. 161.

20r appears to report the year 5148 and the name of a village described as « מונטקלי היושב על נהר » «פוטנינצא», which has been identified with the district of Florence known as Monticelli. However, the Potenza River traverses the Marche region, where I was unable to identify any city or locality bearing the name Monticelli or a similar designation. While an autoptic codicological examination of this volume should aim to clarify the content of this fragment and its relationship with the composition of the volume, it is important to note that the details provided allow for a broad localization of the production of MS JTS, 2367 in Central Italy. The localization is corroborated by the paleographical characteristics of the Italian non-square script employed throughout the volume by the copyists, as well as a late note of sale and ownership on fol. 180r, which references a certain R. Shlomo da Camerino. Furthermore, this manuscript comprises a collection of diverse kabbalistic texts that appear to be quite indicative of the philosophically inspired approach to kabbalistic knowledge prevalent within Italian intellectual circles, as described in the preceding chapters. In addition to *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* (foll. 113r-161v) and a series of treatises authored by Reuven Tzarfati (foll. 68r-97v), the manuscript presents among others texts such as the aforementioned *Sitre Torah* by Abraham Abulafia (foll. 12r-60v), a small section of Yosef ben Abraham Ibn Waqar's *Sefer ha-Shorashim* (foll. 165r-166v), works by Abraham ben David of Posquieres, including a *Commentary on Sefer Yetzirah*, alternated with writings by El'ezer of Worms (foll. 169r-178r). As evident from the description of the manuscripts of Mithridates' Latin translations for Giovanni Pico, certain works, specifically *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, Abraham Abulafia's *Sitre Torah*, and a complete version of Ibn Waqar's *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, were also among the texts translated by the convert. As previously elucidated, a series of definitive elements precludes the reliance of Mithridates' translations on the kabbalistic texts preserved in MS JTS, 2367⁶⁸⁵. Nonetheless, the notable similarities in content and sometimes even structure between Mithridates' translations and this manuscript, likely composed and circulated in Central Italy from the late 14th century, warrant more in-depth scholarly attention. These features are in fact significant for further reconstructing Mithridates' Hebrew copies utilized as sources for his translations, or at least for contextualizing the specific texts he translated, as well as the manuscripts

⁶⁸⁵ To further substantiate this conclusion, I will present a comparative analysis of the *incipit* of Abraham Abulafia's *Sitre Torah* as found in MS JTS, 2367, alongside Mithridates' translation.

[MS JTS, 2367, fol. 12r] פירוש סודות מורה נבוכים ושמו ספר סתרי תורה
קנה חכמה קנה בינה ובכל קנייך קנה בינה.

[MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190, fol. 336v]: Incipit liber de secretis legis quem Composuit Abraam · (Mihi videtur abulhafia) super 36 secretis que revelavit Rabi moises tempore sui obitus.

In nomine domini dei israel Intendo scribere expositionem triginta sex secretorum que occultavit sapientissimus Rabi moises filius maimon In sui libro venerabili quod dicitur more per viam Cabale et licet dixit ea per viam philosophice alibi innuit ea esse per viam Cabale unde voco librum hunc de secretis legis. Et Tu eme sapientiam eme Intelligenciam et iterum vade et vende omnia que habes et veni et eme Intelligenciam.

procured for him by Giovanni Pico, within the broader Central Italian kabbalistic *milieu*. Furthermore, these comparisons facilitate a more precise reconstruction of the stratification and reception of the kabbalistic texts analyzed, in order to produce their comprehensive, and contextualized *stemma codicum*. Mithridates' translations in fact frequently disclose elements that facilitate the recovery of otherwise lost branches of the textual tradition, as is evident in the specific case of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, as elucidated thus far. Consequently, the examination of Mithridates' translation of this text becomes increasingly compelling, particularly given the highly literal translation approach employed in his works.

3.2.1.2 Highly literal translational approaches

A note addressed to Giovanni Pico, placed in parentheses by the translator immediately following the table of contents introduces in fact Mithridates' translation technique and its implications.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 132r] (pice scias quia hoc vocabulum maarecheth מערכת est equivocum ad ordinem, dispositionem, proportionem, considerationem, fatum, seriem, precium et multa alia ne confundaris si contingeret me uti uno pro alio intelligas quodcumque velis in hebraico non est nisi marechet pro quo ut plurimum in hoc libro ubi invenero ponam seriem: tu nunc scis).

Incipit primum capitulum de serie divinitatis (Pico, be aware that the word maarecheth מערכת carries ambiguity, meaning order, disposition, proportion, consideration, fate, series, price, and many others. Therefore, do not be perplexed if I am compelled to use one term in place of another. Interpret it as you wish, for in Hebrew, it is simply *ma'arekhet*. Whenever I encounter it in this book, I will use the word series: now you know. Here begins the first chapter on the series of the divine).

Prior to initiating the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, Mithridates pauses to provide a clarification regarding the various, and at times ambiguous, meanings of the complex term מערכת. He also discusses the potential Latin translations of this term, presenting it alongside its transliteration into Latin characters. Saverio Campanini has argued that this type of warning, along with the literal translation techniques employed by Mithridates—which included the use of hendiadic pairs, the transliteration of Hebrew words, and a significant adherence to the Hebrew text even at the syntactic and semantic expense of producing Latin that is difficult to comprehend—were part of an agreement between the convert and his patron⁶⁸⁶. Given Giovanni Pico's insatiable quest for knowledge and cultural aspirations, which necessitated access to a vast array of materials in languages not yet mastered by the young Count, Mithridates' kabbalistic translations were intended to facilitate the

⁶⁸⁶ See *supra* pp. 26-28.

study of these texts by closely rendering the Hebrew versions into Latin. The concept of intelinear translation *in absentia* in fact, as articulated by Saverio Campanini, aptly characterizes the type of outcomes that Mithridates developed for the young Count of Mirandola⁶⁸⁷. Consequently, the subsequent translation samples will be instrumental in assessing the influence of these specific directives and the ensuing approach to the case of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 132r] Maarecheth aelahuth idest series divinitatis est permanencia vel confirmatio seu stabilitas fidei divinitatis prout convenit ad perfectionem ipsius dei sancti et benedicti. Et prout convenit ut credatur in perfectione fidei.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 1 p. 1] מערכת האלהות הוא קיום אמונת האלהות, כאשר נאות לשלמותו ית' וכאשר נאות להאמין בשלמות האמונה.

This passage initially highlights Mithridates' literal approach to translation, particularly through the use of hendiadic pairs of meanings for translating specific terms such as מערכת. These pairs are connected by the disjunctive conjunctions *vel* and *seu*, which are meant to syntactically convey how these alternatives are intended to express the various, concurrent nuances of a single word. An attentive examination of Mithridates' translation, in comparison to the latest edition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, based on a comparison between the two printed editions from Ferrara and Mantua, as well as MS Biblioteca Palatina, 2773, reveals that instead of the abbreviation for the divine epithet יתברך, the convert likely read in his Hebrew manuscript the abbreviation הק"ב (הקדוש ברוך הוא), which was subsequently translated as “deus santus et benedictus”.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 134v] Abstractio autem seu abnegatio distinctionis realis vel separationis est quod oportet credere et tenere pro primo principio quod ipse deus benedictus est intellectus perfectus seu absolutus, sechel gamur, שכל גמור.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 2 p. 5] ושילת הפירוד הוא כאשר ראוי להאמין, שהוא שכל גמור.

This translation sample once again illustrates the distinctive use of hendiadic pairs typically employed by Mithridates to convey the subtleties of certain words he considered crucial for his patron's comprehension. The transcription of specific Hebrew words, following their translation and transliteration, highlights Mithridates' imperative to retain all elements deemed essential for his patron's study, including, in this instance, the actual appearance of the Hebrew words comprised in the text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. This passage presents a text that is both longer and slightly more complex than that included in the latest edition. The substantial textual variations, as well as the additions and omissions found in different manuscripts, suggest a degree of autonomy exercised by

⁶⁸⁷ S. Campanini, “Thou bearest not the root, but the root thee.”, p. 327.

medieval scribes. This aspect will be later examined in-depth in the analysis of certain features of Mithridates' translation.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 137r] Capitulum 3um de consistorio nominum

Consistorium seu ordo nominum dicitur lischath assemoth לשכת השמות, ordinavimus in hoc consistorio tres ordines seu series quarum prima dicitur series nominum proprietatum et secundus dicitur series nominum equalium tercius vero dicitur ordo vel series nominum oppositorum effectuum.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 3 p. 9] מערכת שמות המדות, ומערכת שמות השוים, ומערכת שמות נגדות הפועלים.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 151r] Capitulum quintum est de nominibus equalibus

Nomina autem equalia vel equipollencia dicuntur xemoth axavim שמות השוים et quidem sunt numerationes quibus utuntur domini qui operantur in hac sapiencia et agunt vocantes eas uno et eodem nomine. Declarabo autem sub brevitate in uno textu illud quod mihi tradidit et declaravit magnus doctor Rabi isac pius et hoc idem quod mihi ipse tradidit et declaravit. Inveni dictum apud dominos cabalistas antiquos vel priores, testus namque dicit et disposabo te mihi semper vel in seculum et desponsabo te mihi cum sedech et misphath idest iusticia et iudicio et cum pietate et clemenciis vel vulvis.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 5 p. 83] מערכת שמות השוים: הם הספירות אשר עבדו בהם בעלי העבודה, לקוראם בשם אחד. ואבאר בקוצר פסוק אחד, כאשר בארו לי ה"ר יצחק ז"ל, וכן מצאתי לאחד מבעלי העבודה הראשונים. אמר הכתוב 'וארשתיך לי לעולם, וארשתיך לי בצדק ובמשפט ובהסד וברחמים'.

The two passages, extracted from the introductory sections of the chapters *Lishkat ha-Shemot* and *Ma'arekhet Shemot ha-Shavim*, serve to illustrate how the primary characteristics of Mithridates' translation methodology examined thus far are consistently applied throughout the entirety of his extant translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. In these instances, it is evident that Mithridates strives to retain every significant element of the Hebrew version he is translating by explicitly indicating the commencement of each chapter and visually differentiating it from the main body of the translation. These details may lead to the conclusion that the Hebrew version of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* Mithridates' utilized likely contained distinct subdivisions and explicit titles for each chapter. As evidenced in these translation samples, this meticulous approach to replicating the codicological features and, most notably, the textual characteristics of the Hebrew version is consistent with his extensive habitual use of hendiadic pairs, transliterations, and transcriptions. Upon comparing the Hebrew version with Mithridates' translation, it becomes evident that this particular, highly literal translational approach resulted in an expansion of the final Latin text, occasionally to the extent of a partial reconfiguration of the original version. This sort of rearrange of the final outcome of the translation, achieved through the extensive accumulation of hendiadic pairs, transliteration, and

transcriptions of the Hebrew text, is particularly evident in the case of *Ma'arekhet Shemot ha-Midot*. In this section of the treatise, which primarily enumerates the names of the sefirot, Mithridates expands the final translation to convey to his patron the full range of nuances inherent in the terminology used in this enumeration.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 144r] Particula septima de nominibus septime numerationis

Primum nomen est septime numerationi(s) xok aiamin idest genu [fol. 144v] destrum שוק הימין. Secundum nomen est hammud aiamin עמוד הימין idest collumna dextra. Tercium nomen est hiom hamixi lemispar aiamim idest quinta dies in numero dierum יום ה' למספר הימין. Quartum nomen est nesah idest eternitas vel triumphus נצח, et numerus 50⁶⁸⁸.

Particula octava de nominibus 8 numerationis

Primum nomen est hod idest decor הוד, secundum nomen est xuc xemol שוק שמאל idest genu sinistrum, tercium nomen est hamud semol עמוד שמאל idest columna sinistra. Quartum nomen est hiom xixi lemispar aiamim יום השביעית נצח. שוק הימין. עמוד הימין. יום חמישי למספר הימים. השביעית נצח. Ex numeris habet quinarium absolute.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 4 p. 72] השביעית נצח. שוק הימין. עמוד הימין. יום חמישי למספר הימים.

השמינית הוד. שוק השמאל. יום השישי למספר הימים.

The instances of Mithridates' translation of the names associated with the seventh and eighth *Sefirot* illustrate how the translator nearly restructured the text of the fourth chapter of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, while simultaneously striving for a highly literal reproduction of the original text. Mithridates in fact continued to replicate what is hypothesized to be a significant codicological feature of his manuscript, namely the distinct division into chapters and, in this case, sub-chapters. He, however, intervened in the listing of names by introducing a numbering system that distinctly separated each name, its transliteration, and its Hebrew transcription. An intriguing occurrence is observed however in the case of Mithridates' Hebrew transcription of עמוד הימין. The convert initially began this Hebrew transcription at the end of the line. However, due to insufficient space to complete the transcription, the term הימין was inscribed on the subsequent line, commencing from the right. Mithridates, on the other hand, continued the subsequent Latin translation in a left-to-right manner, thereby making הימין the concluding word of the line. Mithridates' translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* frequently exhibits this patchwork-like composition, wherein the reader must often reach the end of a line or even proceed to the subsequent one to locate the Hebrew transcription of a word that has already been translated and transliterated into Latin characters. In the context of this text's edition, as illustrated in the case under consideration, these occurrences have been reorganized, with the Hebrew wording consistently

⁶⁸⁸ The text from "Quartum" to "50" was added above the beginning line of fol. 144v.

following its translation and transliteration⁶⁸⁹. Notwithstanding Mithridates' creative dispositional strategies, the analysis of this passage clearly indicates that the convert's literal and cumulative approach to translating *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which not only expanded but also restructured the original text, aimed to present the translation's final outcome with the utmost, albeit not always achieved, clarity. It also exemplifies Mithridates' didactic approach to translation, which led him to incorporate explanations, clarifications, or, in this case, enumerations that could facilitate the young Count of Mirandola's study and comprehension of the Hebrew text, while simultaneously adhering to a highly strict literal translation methodology. The following translation sample presents a cohesive and comprehensive set of features that exemplify the characteristics described thus far.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 150v] 193 vocatur nomen gloriosum haxem anichbad השם הנכבד et sic vocatur hec numeratio apud magnum doctorem rabi moises gerundinensem filium naaman et hoc quidem quia 194 vocatur mixne tora משנה תורה idest secunda lex vel repeticio legis vel deuteronomium. Et moises legislator vocavit eam in eo libro scilicet deuteronomi nomen gloriosum ut scribitur Ad hoc ut timeas eth nomen gloriosum.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 4 p. 81] והרמב"ן ז"ל קרא לזאת הספירה השם הנכבד, בעבור כי משנה תורה נאמר במדה הזאת, ואמר משה רבינו במשנה תורה 'ליראה את השם הנכבד'.

This passage concerning the nomenclature of the tenth *sefirah* presents Mithridates' additional numeration, which slightly disrupts the discourse to keep explicitly counting these names. The text further encompasses Mithridates' usual cumulative translations, transliterations, and transcriptions of specific terms, along with alternative translations of the same expressions, coordinated through the conjunction *vel*. It also appears that through the somewhat unconventional translational variant of *deuteronomium* among the Latin interpretations of the term משנה תורה, Mithridates sought to preempt his subsequent explanation, introduced with the adverb *scilicet*. Mithridates' alternative translations, accompanied by his supplementary explanations, highlight not only his pedagogical approach in translating for the Count of Mirandola but also his commitment to preserving, in accordance with the directives from his patron, the linguistic, philosophical, and cultural nuances of the original text in his final Latin rendition. This approach is evident in Mithridates' decision to transliterate the accusative particle את and retain it in his translation, even in the absence of a corresponding Latin equivalent. As will be demonstrated in the following translation example, the occasional retention of

⁶⁸⁹ The scribe of MS BAV, Barb. Lat. 725, did not comprehend Mithridates' distinctive methodology in copying these Hebrew transcriptions. Consequently, the scribe adhered to the precise sequence of the text as it appears in MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190. This approach results in an even more disordered and chaotic presentation of the translation, as the lines in the two volumes do not correspond.

this untranslatable particle is a prevalent phenomenon in Mithridates' work on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, evident almost from its inception.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 132v] Et conclusio summam secundum scientiam eorum est quod reliquit dominus eth terram vel orbem accidentibus, seu casui et fortune.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 1 p. 2] והכלל לדעתם 'עזב השם את הארץ' למקרים.

3.2.1.3 Mithridates' interventions in the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and his interpretative errors

In the preceding chapters, it was demonstrated how Mithridates intervened in the main text of the translation with both explanatory and personal annotations directed towards his patron. Some of these annotations were intended to comment on or clarify the Hebrew text, while others serve as indications of broader private dialogues between the translator and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. While the historical significance of Mithridates' additions has been well established, the subsequent examples from his translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* also hold considerable philological value in reconstructing the characteristics of his Hebrew source.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 134v] Hic deest totum illud quod diviserat magnus magister rabi isaac filius magni doctoris quod distruxit (sic est in hebraico pice).

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 2 p. 5]⁶⁹⁰ חסר כאן מה שחלק עליו ר' יצחק.

This passage has been identified by scholars, notably Levana Chajes, as an early corruption present throughout nearly the entire tradition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*⁶⁹¹. Even in the limited number of manuscripts that omit this particular sentence, the part of content that has been expunged or has gone missing, due to the disagreement of R. Yitzḥaq, son of the great doctor, remains irretrievable at present. In the context of this translation, Mithridates seems to have observed the sudden disruption caused by this sentence within the discourse of *Ma'arekhet ha-Aḥdut* and consequently appended his remark: «sic est in ebraico Pice» (thus it is in Hebrew, Pico!). This minor detail facilitates the reconstruction of the Hebrew text with which Mithridates translated and thoroughly analyzed, to the extent of indicating an apparent textual issue to his patron. Mithridates' endeavors to obtain the appreciation of the Count of Mirandola, particularly at this advanced stage of their collaboration, underscore even more the convert's meticulous adherence to his patron's directives, which emphasize an extremely literal approach to translation, especially concerning the reproduction of the main

⁶⁹⁰ The editor of this edition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* included this sentence in the main body of the text, albeit in a smaller format, indicating that it is not part of the purported original text, yet it highlights its erasure.

⁶⁹¹ See L.M. Chajes, *On the Discourse of Unity and the Discursive Unity of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, pp. 31f.

characteristics of the original Hebrew texts. Although Mithridates has frequently been accused of manipulating his Hebrew kabbalistic sources to curry favor with his patron, a more thorough analysis of his works reveals a more nuanced scenario. The convert in fact endeavored to adhere as closely as possible to his Hebrew sources, occasionally acknowledging his own limitations in interpreting them.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 143r] Septimum est Saz צז (nescio interpretari).

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 4 p. 68 n. 26] צורת זכר.

According to Mithridates' translation, in his version of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, one of the designations for the sixth *sefirah*, specifically צורת זכר, was rendered using its acronym צ"ז. As the translator was unable to ascertain the meaning of the acronym from its context, he inserted a parenthesis directed to his patron and admitted: «nescio interpretari» (I do not know how to interpret it). However, later in his translation, a reference to a passage from *Sefer ha-Bahir* prompted him to interpret the acronym צ"ז as צדק זכר, rather than צורת זכר, which he then translated through the Latin expression: «iustitia in masculino».

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 145r] Et sic dicunt sapientes nostri in libro Sepher abahir quod vocatur 19 sedech, et extat testus dicens sedech sedech idest iusticiam in masculino genere צדק sequeris.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 4 p. 73] וכן אמרו שם בבהיר שנקראת צדק, בפסוק 'צדק צדק תרדוף'.

Despite not rectifying his earlier admission, Mithridates subsequently utilized his erroneous yet ostensibly credible interpretation of the acronym in his translation. This was particularly evident when, during the translation of the nomenclature of the tenth *sefirah*, he encountered the feminine form of the abbreviation.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 146r] Decime vero numerationis primum nomen vocatur Sedech nekeba צדק נקבה idest iusticia in femenino. Secundum est Malchuth idest regnum מלכות. Tercium est Israel absolute ישראל idest militans sub deo.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 4 p. 74 n. 44] העשירית מלכות. צורת נקיבה. מלכות ישראל.

Mithridates' translation indicates that his version of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* included the specific initiation of the nomenclature of the tenth *sefirah* as printed in the 1557 Ferrara edition of the text. Furthermore, it indicates that the expression צורת נקיבה was abbreviated as צ"ן, which the translator interpreted, based on the deductions discussed thus far, as: «iustitia in femenino». Convinced of his accurate interpretation of the acronym, Mithridates, upon encountering the term צדק within the nomenclature of the tenth *sefirah*, included the phrase «in femenino» in his translation. This addition,

based on the Hebrew transcription he provided, was probably absent in his copy and was intended as a clarification for his patron.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 148r] 121 est sedes chisse כסא. 122 est sedes iudicii chisse din כסא דין. 123 sedech idest Iusticia [fol. 148v] in femenino sedech צדק. 124 est misphath idest ius vel iudicium משפט.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 4 p. 79] כסא. כסא דין. צדק. משפט.

In a subsequent section of his work, Mithridates translated once again the verse from *Sefer ha-Bahir*, which likely led to his earlier misinterpretation of the acronyms.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 218r] Et exposuerunt sapientes nostri in libro Sepher abahir in textu dicente Sedech Sedech sequeris idest iusticiam et iusticiam sequeris quod secundum sedech indicat seculum venturum quod est fundamentum.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 4 p. 79] ודרשו עוד בבהיר בפסוק 'צדק צדק תרדוף', שהצדק השני רומז לעולם הבא שהוא היסוד.

In the subsequent chapter of *Ma'arekhet Shemot ha-Shavim*, Mithridates once again encountered the acronym צ"ז. Confident in his interpretation, the translator subsequently conveyed his understanding of this abbreviation in a note addressed to his patron.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 215r] Similiter etiam haxem agadol השם הגדול idest magnum nomen, et etiam hiod he vau he הא וו הא וו et elohe Iacob idest dii Iacob יעקב אלהי et fortitudo israel idest abir israel אביר ישראל et emeth אמת idest veritas et tora idest lex תורה et Iacob יעקב et 97 צו (dicit mitrydates quod Saz צו videtur sibi significare iusticiam in masculino genere et hoc amore pici).

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 5 p. 90] השם הגדול. יו"ד ה"א וא"ו ה"א. אלהי יעקוב. אביר יעקוב. אביר ישראל. אמת. תורה. יעקוב. צורת זכר.

The annotation enclosed in parentheses, «Mithridates says that Saz צ"ז appears to him to signify justice in the masculine gender, and this is for his love for Pico», is crucial for understanding the specific phase of collaboration between Giovanni Pico and Mithridates during the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. As explained before, the later stages of the relationship between the young Count of Mirandola and the convert were characterized by Mithridates' endeavors to increasingly secure the favor of his increasingly distant patron, both from practical and ideal perspectives. The missed payments and Pico's disinterest in Mithridates' fate following his arrest serve as final evidence of the deterioration of their personal and cultural collaboration. In this context, the aforementioned annotation serves as evidence of Mithridates' need and desire, at this particular stage of the translation, to secure his patron's approval through overt flattery and purported proficiency in comprehending and accurately interpreting the Hebrew texts he was mediating for Giovanni Pico. Initially, the convert was in fact compelled to acknowledge his inability to interpret the acronym in question. However, upon

purportedly resolving this issue, Mithridates chose to explicitly emphasize his interpretative capability. Furthermore, in a subsequent third translation of the verse from *Sefer ha-Bahir*: « צדק צדק » תרדוף, Mithridates opted to incorporate to the term “iustitia” (justice) the specification of “in masculino” (in the masculine gender), with the intention of reinforcing his interpretation. This addition facilitates the reconstruction of Mithridates’ thought process in interpreting these acronyms, as well as his subtle manipulative techniques in mediating certain Hebrew contents he was translating for Giovanni Pico.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 215r] et dicuntur etiam a sapientibus nostris in libro bahir sedech צדך idest iusticia in masculino et ibidem dicunt ambo hoz idest fortitudo et robur עז et memoravimus superius misterium huius iusticie sedech et quomodo etiam secunda numeratio vocatur eo nomine.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 5 p. 91] ובבהיר קורא לשתייהן צדק ועוז, והזכרנו למעלה ענין הצדק, וגם השניה נקראת כן.

The final references to these acronyms in the extant portions of Mithridates’ translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* facilitate a discussion on another common interpretative error frequently made by the convert during his work on this text.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 217r]

צז	צן
97	90 50
Iusticia in masculino	Iusticia in femenino

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 6 p. 93] ואלה הם: צורת זכר צורת נקיבה.

In this precise passage, amidst the typical array of translation, transliteration, and Hebrew transcription of the opposing names of the *Sefirot*, Mithridates opted to transcribe the acronyms he had misinterpreted not through their Latin alphabet equivalents, but by employing their Hebrew numerical value. In his examination of Mithridates’ work on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, Hayyim Wirszubski initially observed that the substitution of an abbreviation with its corresponding numerical value is a prevalent phenomenon in the extant translation of this text, occasionally altering the original meaning of the Hebrew source. This translational choice, when properly understood, facilitates the philological reconstruction of the widespread presence of acronyms and abbreviations throughout Mithridates’ Hebrew source, which Wirszubski deemed as a common characteristic of fifteenth-century copies of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*⁶⁹². Mithridates’ misinterpretation of these abbreviations as numerical values, especially when attributed to the *Sefirot* is particularly evident in the case of the

⁶⁹² See C. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 78f.

nomenclature of the *Sefirot* in *Ma'arekhet Shemot ha-Midot*. I therefore have opted to reorganize and present, with minor modifications, and additions the two equivalence schemes devised by Hayyim Wirszubsky, as found on pages 78f. of his work, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, within a single table.

	Latin Translation	Example from MS BAV Chigi A VI 190	Numerical value	Hebrew abbreviation	Meaning of the abbreviation
First Sefirah	numerus eius est 205 ה"ר.	Fol. 140r	205	ה"ר	הראשונה
Second Sefirah	numeri eius proprii sunt duo primus octonarius et tricentenarius quinarius ה"ש.	Fol. 140v	8	ח'	חכמה
			305	הש"ה	השנייה
Third Sefirah	habet autem numeros proprios binarium et septingentenarium quod indicatur per litteras xin et tau · ה"ש.	Fol. 142r	2	ב'	בינה
			700	ש"ת	השלישית
Fourth Sefirah	Numeri autem eius sunt primus trinarius et secundus octonarius · ג · ח.	Fol. 142r	3	ג'	גדולה
			8	ח'	חסד
Fifth Sefirah	Numeri eius sunt secundus trinarius et octogenarius qui indicantur per גפ.	Fol. 143r	3	ג'	גבורה
			80	פ'	פחד
Sixth Sefirah	Ex numeris vero habet duo תת thau quarum numeri sunt octingenti.	Fol. 144r	800	ת"ת	תפארת
Seventh Sefirah	Et numerus 50.	Fol. 144v	50	נ'	נצח
Eighth Sefirah	Ex numeris habet quinarium absolute.	Fol. 144v	5	ה'	הוד
Ninth Sefirah	/	/	/	/	/
Tenth Sefirah	numerus eius est 70.	Fol. 151r	70	ע'	עטרה

These equivalences facilitate the precise reconstruction and recovery of the meaning of the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* whenever Mithridates employed the numerical equivalence of the acronyms used in his Hebrew manuscript source.

3.2.2 *Flavius Mithridates, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut before the translation in MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190*

In his study of the sources of Giovanni Pico's kabbalistic conclusions, Hayyim Wirszubski identified in *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, and specifically in its translation contained in MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, one of the possible sources for Pico's theses. Within the forty-seven *Conclusiones Cabalisticæ secundum secretam doctrinam sapientum Hebraeorum Cabalistarum*, Wirszubski explicitly mentioned *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, alongside *Sefer ha-Bahir*, and Menaḥem Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*, as the possible sources for the twenty-fourth thesis.

28.24 Cum dixit lob *qui facit pacem in excelsis suis*, Aquam intellexit Australem et Ignem Septentrionalem, et praefectos illorum de quibus non est ultra dicendum⁶⁹³.

379 When Job said *who makes peace peace in his heights*, he meant the Southern Water, the Northern Fire and their commanders, and one should say nothing more about them⁶⁹⁴.

Given the incomplete state of Mithridates' Latin translation, which does not include this particular passage, Wirszubski exercised considerable caution in his hypothesis concerning this text. Recent investigations, including the present study, alongside more contemporary reconstructions of Mithridates' work for Giovanni Pico, have enabled me to demonstrate that the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* pertains to a later phase of the collaboration between the Count of Mirandola and the convert, which most likely occurred following the publication of the *Conclusiones Nongentæ*. Therefore, I posit that the kabbalistic sources employed for the abovementioned *XXIV Conclusio* according to the opinion of the Kabbalists were either the now-lost translation of Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah* or that of *Sefer ha-Bahir*, currently preserved in MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191. Consequently, the analysis of Pico's kabbalistic conclusions in relation to the translations by Flavius Mithridates indicates that the similarity in content, particularly when the conclusions are derived from widely accepted affirmations and doctrines, is not always sufficient to definitively ascertain which text served as the source for the Count of Mirandola's work. In this context, the examination of Giovanni Pico's handwritten annotations within the pages of Mithridates' works, when their chronology is reasonably established through the historical data provided by the convert in his numerous interventions, serves as a valuable indicator for understanding the possible reception of these translations. As indicated in the description of the content of Mithridates' kabbalistic translations, handwritten annotations were recorded for the copy of Menaḥem Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*, as described by Jacques Gaffarel. Pico's notes appear with varying

⁶⁹³ G. Pico della Mirandola, *900 Conclusions*, p. 66.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

frequency in MSS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 190 and 191, and are absent in MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 189 and Chigi A VI 190. Given Pico's confirmed utilization of the translation of *Sefer ha-Bahir* and subsequent treatises, which Mithridates erroneously identified as part of a single text, it can be inferred that the remaining kabbalistic works contained in MS Vat. Ebr. 191 were at least studied by the Count of Mirandola and occasionally employed as sources for his kabbalistic conclusions. Among the other remaining translations preserved in this manuscript in fact, Ḥayyim Wirszubski has identified in the *Expositio Decem Numerationum* (foll. 60v-107v), in the *Comentum Sepher Iesire* (foll. 39r-43v), and in the *Commentum Voluminis de Proportionibus Divinitatis* (foll. 43v-60r), the possible documented sources for some of Giovanni Pico's *Conclusions*⁶⁹⁵. As the Latin title attributed to the latter text suggests, this treatise is the Latin rendition of a minor *Commentary on Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Ephraim Gottlieb, followed by Saverio Campanini, have identified a specific and rare commentary that effectively summarizes the content of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. This commentary is located on foll. 136r-144r of MS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 92; on foll. 104v-110r of MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3483; and in the margins of foll. 3r-24r of MS BAV, Neofiti 27. More specifically, Ḥayyim Wirszubski's hypothesis' that saw in this commentary a possible source for the *XL Conclusio secundum secretam doctrinam sapientum Hebraeorum Cabalistarum*⁶⁹⁶:

28.40. Quotiescunque ignoramus proprietatem a qua est influxus super petitione quam petimus, ad dominum naris recurrendum est⁶⁹⁷.

395. Whenever we don't know the feature that influences a prayer that we pray, we should fall back on the Lord of the Nose⁶⁹⁸.

Indeed, the following passage of the *Commentum Voluminis de Proportionibus Divinitatis* has been appointed as an alternate source to Menaḥem Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*:

[MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191, fol. 53v] Dominus nasi id est ens ultimum attribuitur in hoc nomine et dictio dominus significat virtutem idest quia ens superius virtus est ab ente ultimo et propter hoc Intendit rabi symeon filius Iohai quando dicebat domino nasi preces effundo. Verum esset attribuere dominum nasi unitati et 40 illuc enim nos preces effundimus quia est fons scaturiens qui nunquam cessat et ad hoc intendebat sapiens qui hoc adjectivo utebatur (The Lord of the Nose, that is the ultimate being, was given this name, and the expression "Lord" signifies the virtue; and this is because the superior being is virtue from the ultimate being and this intended Rabbi Shim'on bar Yoḥai when he declared: I pour prayers to the Lord of the Nose. It would be true

⁶⁹⁵ See C. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, p. 194 n. 31; S. Campanini, "Sine me non intelliges", p. 16, esp. nn. 11-13.

⁶⁹⁶ C. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 48f., 54.

⁶⁹⁷ G. Pico della Mirandola, *900 Conclusions*, p. 68.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

to associate the Lord of the Nose with unity and the number 40⁶⁹⁹. Indeed, we pour our prayers there, as it is an ever-flowing fountain that never ends. And the sage who employed this adjective meant exactly this).

It is essential to clarify a significant aspect concerning this particular segment of Mithridates' translation. Although this text is indeed part of the work titled *Comentum de Proportione Divinitatis*, the concept of *Dominus nasi* is absent from the traditional text of the commentary as recognized by Gottlieb and Campanini. This segment, along with the translation of foll. 52r-60r of MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191, is part of the commentary traditionally titled *Perush ha-Yeri'ah ha-Qṭanah*⁷⁰⁰. Both this commentary and the one acknowledged by Gottlieb and Campanini have been attributed to Reuven Tzarfati or his school, underscoring the significant role of this kabbalist in the reception of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* within mystical circles in the Italian Peninsula⁷⁰¹. The inclusion of two texts under the same title aligns the translations of these commentaries with the previously mentioned case of *Sefer ha-Bahir* and the four short commentaries incorporated within the translation of a single text in MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 191. This scenario suggests that the two commentaries may have been sequential in Mithridates' Hebrew source, with their respective subdivisions being unclear and ultimately misinterpreted by the translator. Among the three manuscripts containing the commentary acknowledged by Gottlieb, only MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3483 also includes *Perush ha-Yeri'ah ha-Qṭanah* in the preceding pages (foll. 94r-103v), indicating a manuscript tradition that placed these two texts in close proximity. The arrangement of these texts in this sixteenth-century manuscript does not support the assumption of a shared source between Mithridates' translation and the volume housed at the Palatina Library. Nevertheless, its presentation of the commentaries independently from the actual text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, rather than surrounding it, provides compelling manuscript evidence of a textual arrangement likely reflective of Mithridates' Hebrew source. Given Mithridates' literal approach in his translations, which typically preserved the fundamental codicological characteristics of the Hebrew manuscripts he utilized, it appears unlikely that the convert or even Giovanni Pico opted to translate a brief commentary (indeed composed of two different texts) of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* long before its actual text, if the latter was purportedly contained within those same pages. A marginal annotation on fol. 44r of MS Vat. Ebr. 191, if palaeographically attributed to Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, could serve to further substantiate that

⁶⁹⁹ Chaim Wirszubski posits that this number originates from Mithridates' misinterpretation of the acronym ט"א, which means א"י טו, as א"א. See C. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, p. 49 n. 33.

⁷⁰⁰ I express my sincere gratitude to Jeremy Brown and Levana Chajes for their invaluable suggestions and collaboration, which were essential in reaching this conclusion.

⁷⁰¹ Levana Chajes addressed this subject in a presentation entitled "In the Margins of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*: The School of Reuven Šarfatti and the Earliest Italian Reception" at the Rome Kabbalah Symposium (20-22 May 2025), as well as in another presentation entitled "Text and Image: Reuven Šarfatti's *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* Commentaries and the Foundation of Visual Kabbalah" at the XXXVIII AISG Conference in Palermo (8-10 September 2025). The publication of these communications is forthcoming.

the Count of Mirandola engaged with the Latin translation of this commentary. Moreover, as previously explained, whenever Mithridates wished to highlight a passage and direct his patron's study, he typically used a lateral attention sign consisting of two horizontal dots with a somewhat wavy vertical line beneath them. In this translation, the words "Dominus nasi" and "Dominus" were indeed underlined in a manner that also may be attributed to the study of the Count of Mirandola. Consequently, given that this text is part of a manuscript whose translations were undoubtedly utilized by Giovanni Pico for his *Conclusiones Nongentae*, it may be inferred that the Count of Mirandola was at least acquainted with a summary of the principal doctrines of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, despite the likelihood that he never accessed Mithridates' translation of this specific text. Therefore, although it falls outside the scope of this study, conducting a review and producing an edition of the Latin translation of the *Comentum de Proportione Divinitatis* seems essential to further establish how doctrines from this treatise were received in Giovanni Pico's works.

3.3 Egidio da Viterbo and his scribal atelier at work on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*

As previously elucidated, the principal textual characteristics of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, notably its systematic and quasi-philosophical approach to elucidating mystical doctrines, coupled with its extensive dissemination across various kabbalistic circles associated with the Italian Peninsula, rendered the translation of this treatise, along with its commentaries, a foundational kabbalistic endeavor among Christian kabbalists during the Humanist and Renaissance periods. In addition to Mithridates' incomplete translation of this treatise in fact, Pier Leone da Spoleto, within the Humanist Florentine intellectual circle, commissioned and examined a partial Italian vernacular translation of this text, which he occasionally re-translated into Latin to facilitate its comprehension. Furthermore, less than three decades subsequent to the incomplete Florentine translations of this treatise, Egidio da Viterbo, who was then the General Prior of the Augustinian Order, produced the first extant complete Latin translation of this text in his scribal-kabbalistic workshop, preserved in foll. 69r-141v of MS BNF, Lat. 598. The annotation on fol. 118r, which states «Finis Ma'arehet: 1513 · 10 · Maii» (End of *Ma'arekhet*, on May 10, 1513), indicates that this translation can be roughly dated to the first half of 1513⁷⁰². This fact establishes this work as the earliest dated kabbalistic translation into Latin within the intellectual *milieu* whose patron was Egidio da Viterbo. This dating, in conjunction with the aforementioned gift of MS Angelica, Or. 72 to Egidio by Pope Leo X and the copy of the *Sefer ha-Zohar* in MS Casanatense 2179 by Yitzḥaq ben Avraham da Tivoli, demonstrates that the year 1513, presumed to be the year of Antonio Flaminio Biaxander's death – the first prominent Christian Orientalist in Rome – marked a pivotal moment, if not the actual commencement of Egidio

⁷⁰² See *supra* p. 82.

da Viterbo's Hebrew studies, particularly in the realm of kabbalistic scholarship. The presence of a Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* in MS BNF, Lat. 598, preceded by a Latin version of Yosef Gikatilla's *Sha'are Orah* (foll. 1r-65r), both of which serve as introductory texts to sefirotic doctrines, indicates in fact that the then General Prior of the Augustinian Order was in the nascent stages of his engagement with kabbalistic thought. The notion that these texts served as introductory materials to facilitate access to more intricate kabbalistic theories is affirmed by Egidio himself in his prayer preceding the final translation of MS BNF, Lat. 598, specifically that of Menaḥem Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*. The then General Prior of the Augustinians in fact described the preceding translations contained in that manuscript, including both *Sha'are Orah* and particularly *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, as "preludia" (preludes) to the more advanced kabbalistic knowledge presented in Menaḥem Recanati's work⁷⁰³. This admission appears to suggest the presence of a structured and systematic kabbalistic study program within Egidio's scribal and kabbalistic workshop. This program seems to follow a progression influenced not only by the availability of specific texts in the manuscripts acquired by the Augustinian General but also by the complexity of the kabbalistic content that was translated and analyzed in each treatise. Given the well-documented and progressive integration of Egidio da Viterbo's kabbalistic studies with his political and cultural engagements within the Catholic Church, it is essential to trace the trajectory of this intellectual endeavors. In this context, given that *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is among the earliest kabbalistic treatises to have been comprehensively examined by the then General Prior of the Augustinian Order and his collaborators, its edition, description, and analysis constitute a crucial foundation for evaluating the philological continuities and discontinuities in Egidio's scribal atelier's approach to kabbalistic translations and studies. The collaborative process that characterized the proceedings of the translational works produced in Egidio's scribal-kabbalistic atelier, as previously discussed, is also evident in this translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. However, given the absence of specific annotations explicitly referencing the proceedings of the works on this text, evidence must be sought within the textual, paleographical, and codicological characteristics of the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* itself.

[MS BNF, Lat. 598, fol. 69r] Ma'erehet ha eloit: ordo divinitatis:

Ordo divinitatis: firmitas: fides divina ut decet: perfectionem suam: et ut convenit credere perfecta fide: et ~~Ipse~~ ~~esse~~ hec fides requirit ut perfecte credamus: fide firmissima: ac perfecta: absolutaque: firmata in corde: quod deus est ~~eades~~ mehadesc idest renovans et creans: et Cadmon: prima causa: et scit et advertit omnia⁷⁰⁴.

⁷⁰³ See MS BNF, Lat. 598, fol. 163v. See also *supra* pp. 87f.

⁷⁰⁴ In this transcription, I have chosen to incorporate the erasures present within the translation, in order to better illustrate the features of Egidio's work. In the edition, these erasures are indeed annotated.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 1, p. 1] מערכת האלהות

הוא קיום אמונת האלהות, כאשר נאות לשלמותו ית', וכאשר נאות להאמין בשלמות האמונה. והוא, שצריך לכל בעל דתנו, להאמין אמונה שלמה אמונה מוחלטת קבוע בלב, שיש קדמון מחדש ויודע ומשגיה ויכול.

The alteration in the grammatical subject of the sentence, promptly rectified, along with the incorrect transcription of Hebrew words and their misplacement within the text in the initial paragraph of this translation, suggest that the scribe, Egidio, was endeavoring, albeit not always successfully, to keep pace with a dictation. The aforementioned colophon at the end of the translation of *Sha'are Orah* on fol. 65r of MS BNF, Lat. 598, just a few pages before the commencement of the Latin rendition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, offers interesting insights on the proceedings of these translations⁷⁰⁵. Egidio in fact declares that he swiftly annotated the translation while it was being dictated at a rapid pace, and “*currente lingua*” (interpreted as the vernacular, present language), thereby emphasizing the collaborative nature of this translational process. Furthermore, the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* appears to contain elements suggesting that the content of this Hebrew treatise was originally communicated in the vernacular language prior to its transcription into Latin. The frequent transliteration of Hebrew words in Latin characters in fact reveal interesting detail in reconstructing the peculiar pronunciation of the person dictating the translated text to Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators.

[MS BNF, Lat. 598, fol. 87v] Hec autem dicitur על פי: mente: et ut interpretatio illius. Thora scebeghedav scripta que intellectus non potest sine interpretatione: aliter pertingi non potest (Yet it also called על פי, with the mind and according to its interpretation. תורה שבכתב, the Written one, which the Intellect cannot without interpretation, otherwise it cannot be reached).

The transliteration of the Hebrew term תורה שבכתב into Latin characters as “Thora scebeghedav” suggests a pronunciation in which voiceless consonants are rendered as voiced. This phenomenon is frequently observed in the translation, as exemplified by the transliteration of the word כתר as “Gheder” (foll. 71v; 96v), the word אתרוג as either “edroc” (fol. 110v) or “edrog” (fol. 117v), and קדושה as “Gheduscia” (fol. 141v), despite being immediately followed by the Latin transliteration “cados” for the Hebrew קדוש. This particular voiced pronunciation of the voiceless consonants corresponds with the characteristics of Central Italian dialects, as identified by Emma Abate and Maurizio Mottolese in their study of vernacular translations of Hebrew kabbalistic texts preserved in Egidio’s manuscripts, such as MS Angelica, Lat. 44⁷⁰⁶. An additional characteristic that identifies the pronunciation of the dictating translator as originating from Central Italy is the articulation of some

⁷⁰⁵ See *supra* p. 131.

⁷⁰⁶ See *supra* pp. 143-146.

of the final ך as “s.” This is exemplified in the chapter title לשכת השמות, transliterated as “Liscas ascemot” (fol. 71r). Another interesting linguistic aspect in the passage is the use of the Hebrew letter ץ within the Latin transliteration of Hebrew words. As this edition of the text will demonstrate, such phenomenon is relatively common within this translation, occasionally leading to errors. An example of this is found in the title of the chapter known as שער ההריסה, which is transliterated as “Sciahar varisa” on fol. 110v. The incorporation of Hebrew letters in the transliteration of Hebrew words into Latin characters aligns with the proposal for reforming the Latin alphabet through the inclusion of the Hebrew letters ך, ם, and ץ, as articulated in Egidio’s *Libellus de Litteris Sanctis*⁷⁰⁷. Considering that this proposal addressed to Pope Leo X was composed around 1516-1517, and this translation of *Ma’arekhet ha-Elohut* is dated to the first half of 1513, a discernible consistency in the ideological approach to the study of Hebrew and kabbalistic thought can be identified from the inception of Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators’ translational efforts. Numerous sources, including David Reuveni’s *Diary* and the letters of Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter, reference Mikael Zumat, Yosef ben Avraham Hagri, and Barukh da Benevento as Egidio’s Hebrew instructors. In the absence of more precise evidence, it is not feasible to ascertain the identity of the dictating translator of *Ma’arekhet ha-Elohut*. However, its dating to 1513 precludes the possibility of Eliyyahu Baḥur Levita’s involvement in this work, as the grammarian did not arrive in Rome until 1515. The lack of precise references or signatures renders it impossible to identify Egidio’s collaborators in the organization and transcription of the Latin text. A palaeographical analysis of the pages of this translation in fact reveals the involvement of at least two additional copyists, alongside Egidio himself, in the transcription of *Ma’arekhet ha-Elohut*. While in certain instances the distinction between the cursive handwriting of different copyists is readily apparent, more often the similarity and uniformity of the writing conventions they employed render the differentiation of individual hands more challenging. Moreover, on fol. 120r, Egidio’s handwriting exhibits variations, potentially attributable to the rapid pace of dictation or the fatigue associated with an extended writing process, resulting in different forms of the same character appearing on the same page. In other instances, such as on fol. 364v of MS BNF, Lat. 598, the conclusion of the Latin translation of Menaḥem Recanati’s *Commentary on the Torah* is signed and seemingly attributed to Egidio da Viterbo. However, a direct comparison on the same page with the final prayer, written in Egidio’s distinctive handwriting, reveals that at least the concluding sections of this translation were transcribed by a different copyist. Egidio da Viterbo also engaged in the study and re-elaboration of his translations over the years, as evidenced by the

⁷⁰⁷ See *supra* pp. 90-97.

presence of marginal annotations in a different colored ink, which were added to those already existing on each page.

[97r] [...] Gimel hariscinot: tres prime: ordo retrahendi locum sephiroth: en soph: cheter: hocma: scribuntur etiam recte: una super alia: ensoph: cheter: hocma: bina: inde: in lateribus alia: Tria illa dextere in dextera hesed · in sinistra pacad · infra in medio tipheret flexum parum in hesed: sub tipheret in dextra nezac: sub hesed: in leva hod sub pahad: et regione simul: sub his in medio sub tipheret Iesod: flexum non nihil in tipheret Malcut sub iesod: in levam plus quam iesod in pacad: ubi plus a din. Tria prima ideo ponuntur unum supra alterum: sine dextera et sinistra: ob magnitudinis gradum: et profunditatem: quam humana ratio omnino attingit: et sinistra non potest iudicari in abditis sed in notis: ubi levum et dextrum: sunt causa et effectus in inferioribus: et quia hec tria non capiuntur ab homine: ideo non est ibi leva vel leva: sed oportet unire unitate equa et recta: et ibi non nisi misericordia: et ob significare unitatem suam: ideo simul possunt: ut filum simul: et feceret ex tribus unum caput: nec remanet sermo: nobis nisi de tertia bina: et non nisi ut in scriptura dicitur: sic Bina dicitur Rex superior: Iustitie et Iudicii Rex: unde numquam iniuria: et Creator: ideo dicitur dixit deus fiat lux: eloim: sic intentio in orationibus: sunt ad · 3m · ibi in 3bus est racmim tantum et negatio Din: non possumus loqui: tamen vere hec tria claudunt omnem potentiam: quia sunt hec tria substantia et fundamentum omnium. Tertia eloim nota est aliquam: de qua non clare: ideo non dixit quod iustitia: vel tale: leva sinistrave: sed unite: omnino: licet omnia continent	[...] Tres prime quomodo? Ordo sephiroth Hesed pahad Tipheret 10 sephire Nezac Hod Iesod dixit MALCUT in levam Tria prima recte una sub altera: Ratio humana non attingit Leva ibi non potest Iudicari levum et dextrum in causis perfectis · 3a · prima non capiuntur ab homine levam ibi non: sed unite Unitate equali Misericordia ibi tantum est Tria hec ut caput Sermo non nisi de · 3a · bina Non nisi in scriptura tantum Bina Rex superior Iustitie Eloim: dicit sub lux Creator est Orationes ad · 3m · Misericordia tantum in tribus Tria: sunt omnia: substantia et · 3 · Elohim: notior · aliquanto: est non clare Non din: non levum

This passage, which will be later further examined for its philological significance, clearly illustrates the layered process of translation and annotation employed in Egidio's scribal workshop. As

previously demonstrated, the translation process, which followed a dictation, resulted in a text that more closely resembles an annotation from a kabbalistic lesson on a specific text, rather than a literal word-for-word translation. The translation was subsequently summarized in the marginal annotations, which facilitated the study and comprehension of each passage. The annotations transcribed in bold characters represent passages in Egidio da Viterbo's handwriting, distinguished by a red-brownish ink that differs from the main dark brown/black ink used for the translation of the treatise and the majority of its marginal notes. This distinction suggests a subsequent examination of the content within these pages of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, wherein Egidio appears to be actively engaged in comprehensively understanding the concepts elucidated in the treatise. Therefore, the then General Prior of the Augustinians added in the margins a series of concise summaries, diagrams of the *Sefirot* that mirror the organization presented in the primary text, and the inclusion of brief comments and questions.

[115v] [...] Est 2 alia heresis: quasi Idolatria ut dicitur erigebat laterem et adorabat illum in Senedrin: in varouin: in chittin: hec de iesu dicuntur: quod cum peniteret: et ad magistrum accessit orantem: Criat scema: legere scema audi israel: et reppulit eum: ille ratus se repelli: iratus et stomachatus laterem erexit et adoravit et hec omnia fecit que postea sunt secuti: multa fecit be chesciaphav: de negromantia que est ut Idolatria · ut dicitur in Mose mehcassepha ne vivam sinito: striges: strangulantes contra statuta dei · ut dicitur: prohibitum facere perstigras visui: et hec sunt hereses ·	Laterem adorat De IESU quid dicant impii hebrei Nigromantia ·

The annotations in the margins of this passage demonstrate an emotional and ideological engagement with the text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. The reference to Christianity as a secondary heresy and form of idolatry, with an implicit allusion to Jesus, serves as the catalyst for a marginal tirade against the “impious Jews”. As previously discussed in the preceding chapters, Egidio's translations of kabbalistic texts and his examinations of Hebrew and Aramaic treatises were aimed at seeking confirmations of Christian dogmas. The following passage, along with those that will be analyzed in subsequent chapters, offers further clear examples of this approach, particularly in relation to the Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*.

[74r] Ia etiam tantum habet quam totum nomen 4r litterarum. Deus perfectus cui nihil addi nec diminui potest: ' non est nisi punctus: non potest legi nisi addatur minima littera: que fit flatu ך	Sic est iot vav: iod male: cur Ia: significat: ut iot he: uau deus non dividitur · ך

· sic est minima littera in quantitate: et minima in facilitate: scilicet ia: ia · ante יוד significat · 20 · הא significat etiam · 26 · cum ia · male scribitur: sic nihil potest dividi nec detrahi deo: et tantum significat totum quam pars: sic in hoc tantum nomine: tantum pars significat quantum totum: tantum significat nomen 4r litterarum: et Ia: et iot vau: et iot iot vau: est scem amiiuhad: nomen iod iod vau: sunt · 52 · que significant ut iehuel: הואגואל: sunt 52 · sepe dicitur · hu guel: ipse est redemptor: · בָּכַל · sic לְבָךְ in toto corde tuo: utrumque 52 · significat ut nomen 4r litterarum: sic dicitur deus benedixit Abrahe · בָּכַל · idest cum · 52 · qui est numerus nominis sacri: iehuel dicitur metatron: et adonai superioris: quia equivalet: ponitur el: quia omnia nomina angelorum propriorum cadunt in el: item כָּלֵב: cor enim Regit nos sic princeps ille et angelus qui regit mundum scilicet adonai inferior: qui dicitur iehuel [...]. 5 6 15 10 6 13 6 20 Male 26 ה ו ה י 45 יוד הא ואו הא יוד הא וו הא 10 12 10 20 52 ·	Iod minima littera Nomen totum significat quantum pars Ia · ut nomen quia indivisibile sic hostia nostra huguel: sepe dicitur · 52 · toto corde tuo: 52 · בכל לבך בכל: benedixit deus Abrae⁷⁰⁸ Angeli · in el: nomina propria:

In the margins of this passage, which elucidates the names of God and their corresponding numerological values, there is a reference to the consecrated host of the Christians, called “hostia nostra”. The concluding diagram at the end of the page elucidates the conceptualization methodology employed by Egidio in relation to the numerological concepts articulated in the treatise. In addition to the extensive annotations found in the margins of the text, the incorporation of schemes, comments, as well as questions and explanations within the body of the translation underscores the primary pedagogical objective of this work on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*.

[84v] [...] (REGULA universalis quando numerus convenit: et est nominatio legis: non repugnans divine perfectioni intelligitur pro eodem:)	Numeri harmonia: Quomodo

The incorporation of a numerological rule into the main text of the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* indicates its function as a didactic treatise aimed at acquainting Egidio with kabbalistic

⁷⁰⁸ A *manicula* points to the line above.

doctrines and the interpretative rules developed by kabbalists for engaging with the mystical interpretation of the Scriptures and other kabbalistic texts. An intriguing aspect that illustrates how the didactic objectives of this translation intersected with the rapidity of the dictation process and the resulting contingencies is the method of synthesizing complex concepts articulated within the treatise through a transcription composed of questions and answers. As will be demonstrated through the subsequent comparison, these dialogic passages were also expanded to include further elucidations developed in Egidio's workshop on the concepts articulated in the treatise.

ואמר 'עשר ולא תשע', שלא להפריד הראשונה באצילות מהתשעה לגודל מעלתה, [Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut, ch. 3, pp. 37-38], ולא האחרונה באצילות מאותה שלפניה למעוט מעלתה, כי צד היחוד שוה בכולן, וכמו שאמרו בספר יצירה 'נעוץ סופן בתחילתן'. כי מסוף דבר נמצא ראשו, ומראשו נמצא סופו, ואין סוף בלתי ראש, ולא ראש זולתי סוף כיוצא בזה, כי ראש דבר וסופו שוים במציאותו ובאחדותו, כי לא ימצא זה זולתי זה, דומה למה שאמרו רז"ל 'תחילת המחשבה הוא סוף המעשה', למי שמשכיל בעניינו ובעיקרו, כאשר יתבאר בדגל מחנה בנין.

ואמר 'עשר ולא אחד עשר', שלא למנות הענין המעולה אשר זכרנו לספירה אחת והיות אחד עשר, בעבור כי לגודל מעלתה אין שם המספר נתפש בו. ובדגל מחנה בנין יתבונן טעם הענין לבעלי העבודה, עם מה שיתבאר עוד שם מנהגם וטעמם, במעלת הספירות עצמן בעלותן מעלה אחת על אחת.

[71r] [...] Cur decem non novem: iot: ve lo tet · quia deus est tantus et infinitus: ut numerari non debeat: Respondetur: quod quantuscumque magnus: numeratur tamen quia omnino unus est. Secundo si dixit Malcut non debet numerari quia ordo aut parum est: Respondetur quod Bareta ponit decem: et nisi posuisset: potuisses dubitare de summo: et de ultimo: sed tenendum quod dicit: Nec decem et non · 11 · et etiam ut dixit in sepher izira: fixus est finis: in principio: idest finis et principium sunt simul: quia ubi finem ponimus: ibi principium est: quia finis invenietur in capite et contrarium non possumus enim illa soingere: caput et sopho: finis: sunt equalia et simul in deo: unitas enim ita est ut principium sine fine non sit: nec contrarium: principium cogitationis finis operis: principia scilicet cogitatio: alia sephira inferiores sunt operantia hic in imis: sephiroth omnes sunt idem principium et finis: in se: sed sunt cause effectuum hic: et per eorum ordinem: earum ordo cognoscitur. Cur 10 · non · 11 · quia forte ensoph est supra cheder: sic · 11 · Respondetur quod ob magnitudinem nomen non iungitur numero: et ratio intelligitur cabalistis hominibus huius servitii: (idest cultus: sic magia cultus:) Contra · scilicet dixit ergo non est	iscalto Deus sine propter quid Deus cur numeratur: finis et principium simul: in deo Sopho Ensoph super cheter non in numero ob magnitudinem Magia cultus

numerus 1 · quia omnis idem: Respondetur: quod hec attributa nominantur ex effectibus et ex recipientibus	Numerus 1 quomodo?

An additional noteworthy feature of the Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is its reference, both within the main text and in the margins, to other treatises upon which Egidio da Viterbo and his kabbalistic and scribal workshop collaborated: Yosef Gikatilla's *Ginnat Egoz*, presented here with the Latin title "Hortum nucum", and *Sha'are Orah*. As detailed in the description of the volumes of translations prepared with and for Egidio, a Latin translation of *Ginnat Egoz* is preserved on foll. 405r-468v of MS BNF, Lat. 527/1, and in some vernacular excerpts⁷⁰⁹. However, the pages of this translation do not correspond with the "Carta 319" referenced in this Latin version of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, nor does the later – around 1523 – dating of MS BNF, Lat. 527/1 suggest any dependency between these two texts. As previously demonstrated, a common practice among Egidio and his collaborators, particularly in their earliest works, was to annotate the margins of the translation the corresponding page number of the Hebrew manuscript used as source. This numbering system was intended to facilitate the cross-referencing and analysis of passages translated into Latin alongside their original Hebrew versions. This intention is evidenced in the passage discussed at present by the reference to an unspecified folio 216. Therefore, I would contend that the reference to "Carta 319" associated with the mention of *Ginnat Egoz* is intended to allow to cross-reference this passage with an as yet unspecified Hebrew manuscript containing this text.

[72r] Mahne binian: in libro qui dicitur hospitium edificii corporis humani: defectus non est in causa: que habet gradum superiorem effectum: ut carbo flamma: unde declaratur ratio graduum horum. Scito hanc esse substantiam substantiarum et fundamentum omnium: in hoc servitio. Et Decem Sephirot sunt divine · res: ut meminimus: ubi unitas sine mutatione sed fundamentum omnium: (De horto nucum · questio · Carta 319)	216 flam(m)a Carbo substantia substantiarum Hortum nucum · 319 ·

As elucidated in the previous descriptions, the Latin translation of Gikatilla's *Sha'are Orah* precedes that of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* on foll. 1r-65r of MS BNF, Lat. 598, suggesting that Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators engaged with this text around the early months of 1513. However, the reference to this treatise in the translation is rather general, lacking specific identification of the folios of the Hebrew source to which this text pertains.

⁷⁰⁹ See *supra* pp. 142 and 144.

[75v] [...] In alphabeto · א'ק · ubi unus: unum denarium: unum centenarium: sic in abaco eadem littera ponitur in uno: in decem: in centum: sic permutantur: unde · ח · significat 400 · et · 40 · et · 4 · ut hic · ut ח quod habet 4r vexilla: idest nomina principalia: questio saar haora: 4r vero vexilla claudunt omnes Sephirot in se simul: ut ibi dicitur in Sciaar aora [...].	vexilla:

3.3.1 The main characteristics of Egidio da Viterbo's translation of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut: looking for a Hebrew original

[69r] Ma'erehet ha eloit: ordo divinitatis: Ordo divinitatis: firmitas: fides divina ut decet: perfectionem suam: et ut convenit credere perfecta fide: et hec fides requirit ut perfecte credamus: fide firmissima: ac perfecta: absolutaque: firmata in corde: quod deus est mehadesc idest renovans et creans: et Cadmon: prima causa: et scit et advertit omnia: providentiaque omnia regit maschia: et potest omnia: et firmitas omnis est credendo legem totam: scriptam: et non scriptam: conclusio legum omnium est in hiis duabus: que omnia claudunt.	211 · carta · fide firma opus est Cadmon deus principium Deus facit: scit potest: omnia Lex non scripta declarat

[141v] Intentio orantium chi hu be: quod ipse in exercitu suo: cum dixit plena est omnis terra: iesod: inde in decimam: que dicitur honor dei: de loco suo idest Tipheret: et honor dei pahat · dicemus quod secunda est locus: quia sapientia salomones trahit: a ensoph · etiam in bahir locus tipheret: dicitur Rex dei in · 3a · sit intentio: cum litteris et punctis. Regnum Tertia: Dor vador decima est: generatio it et venit. Gheduscia cados cados: non sic vere meturghem idest interpretibus · ramban sic: dixit primum cados significat decimam · et hec intentio cadis orationis [...] La hesed · ad octavam ubi cum deo zadic: finis · Maareac elaïd	281 Sapientia · locus : a Generatio: Targum:

The preceding passages present sections from the initial and concluding pages of Egidio da Viterbo's Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, as preserved in MS BNF, Lat. 598. A notable feature of these folios is the marginal reference to the page of their corresponding Hebrew manuscript source, which appears either as a simple number, as seen on fol. 141v, or as a number preceded or followed by the word "Carta", as observed on fol. 69r. This form of numeration is present on most pages of this translation, facilitating the reconstruction of certain features of this volume, even in the apparent absence of the original Hebrew manuscript employed by Egidio and his collaborators. The numbering of 211-281 accompanying the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* indicates that its Hebrew source comprised approximately 70 folios. This likely accounts for both the recto and verso as a single page, as observed in the translations of *Sefer ha-Peliah* and MS Casanatense 3154⁷¹⁰. The commencement of the Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* with a reference to folio 211 suggests that its Hebrew manuscript source was part of a more extensive collection of texts, most likely of kabbalistic nature. It can therefore be deduced that, although this translation emerges from a process of synthesis and annotation of a scholarly dictation, it retains sufficient detail to facilitate the reconstruction of the primary philological characteristics of the Hebrew manuscript that served as its source. This reconstruction enables the integration of this translation and its source into a potential *stemma codicum* of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. It may also facilitate the identification of the exact manuscript used as the basis for this specific Latin rendition of the treatise among the extant manuscripts. In her thesis in fact, Levana Chajes has identified the primary textual features that differentiate the extant copies of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. These differences include the presence of the aforementioned note regarding the erasure of content with which Rabbi Yitzḥaq disagreed, the inclusion of a visual diagram corresponding to the subdivision presented in the chapter titled *Ma'arekhet ha-Seder*, and the flexion of the *Sefirah Yesod* either towards *Tiferet* or *Paḥad*, as depicted in concurrent versions of the same chapter. Additionally, there is a variation in the title of *Ma'arekhet ha-Ta'am*, which in some manuscripts is referred to as *Sha'ar ha-Ta'am*, and the presence of one or both glosses explicitly added to the chapter titled *Sha'ar ha-Shem*⁷¹¹. Thus, in the subsequent sections, I will endeavor to compare Egidio's Latin translation with these textual variants to ascertain which branch or branches of the textual tradition it appears to represent.

3.3.1.1 R. Yitzḥaq note

ושלילת הגשמות הוא, שהאלוה אינו מוגבל ואינו גוף ולא כח בגוף, וכלל השלילה, [Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut, ch. 2, pp. 5-6] שאינו מוגבל לא במקום ולא בזמן, אבל היה הוה ויהיה (סא"מ חסד כאן מה שחלק עליו ר' יצחק ז"ל) [...] וזהו שאמר הכתוב 'וכל צבא

⁷¹⁰ See *supra* p. 134.

⁷¹¹ See L.M. Chajes, *On the Discourse of Unity and the Discursive Unity of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, pp. 29-38.

השמים עומדים על ימינו ושמאלו', וכי יש ימין או שמאל להקב"ה, אלא אלו מימינים לזכות ואלו משמאילים לחובה, והכל לפי מעשה התחתונים, כאשר יתבאר למטה ויתבונן עיקר בעבודת הטעם. ושלילת הפירוד הוא כאשר ראוי להמין, שהוא שכל גמור. וכן ראוי להמין שהשכל גמור אינו שכל נפרד כמו שכל המלאכים.

[69v] [...] Tria ergo removentur ab eo: a sapientibus: corpus: partitio: permutatio: non habet corpus: nec finem nec virtutem in corpore: nec finitur loco: nec tempore: sed fuit · erit · est · et divisio ab eo tollitur. Sed est intellectus perfectus: et non partitus. Intellectus autem angelorum est divisus	3a auferuntur a deo: Intellectus: finitus ·

Egidio da Viterbo's translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* does not present the Latin rendition of the annotation that indicates the erasure of the concepts with which R. Yitzḥaq disagreed. Levana Chajes' research on the extant pre-print volumes of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* indicates that the absence of this note is an uncommon textual feature. Only a limited number of manuscripts in fact, specifically MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 231, MS Vat. Ebr. 211, and MS BNF, Hébr. 804, exhibit this characteristic⁷¹². The manuscripts also exhibit an inversion of the chapters titled '*Asiriyyot* (Tens), *Shiv'iyyot* (Sevens), and *Shminiyyot* (Eights), wherein the *Shiv'iyyot* precede the '*Asiriyyot*. In Egidio's translation however, the chapter entitled "Porta decem" begins on fol. 133v and is succeeded by "Sciavar Scibavit" on fol. 134v. Indeed, this sequence adheres to the order found in the majority of manuscripts, which do include R. Yitzḥaq's annotation. Furthermore, a detailed examination of Egidio's Latin translation of this passage, in comparison with the Hebrew version, reveals that this section is rendered in a significantly condensed form. This makes it impossible to definitively ascertain whether the absence of this note is due to its omission in the original Hebrew version of the text used as a source for this translation by Egidio and his collaborators, or if it was simply not translated due to the rapidity of the dictation and synthesis process employed in transcribing this text.

3.3.1.2 Ma'arekhet ha-Seder

The research conducted by J.H. Chajes on the kabbalistic genre of the *Ilanot* has elucidated the extent to which texts such as Yosef Gikatilla's *Sha'are Orah* and *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* have contributed to the visual systematization of the sefirotic doctrine⁷¹³. It is, therefore, unsurprising that most of the manuscripts of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* include diagrams intended to visually depict the sefirotic structure appended to the chapter titled *Ma'arekhet ha-Seder*. This section of the treatise is specifically devoted to elucidating the proper sequence and arrangement of the *Sefirot* in relation to

⁷¹² See *Ibid.*, p. 32 n. 134.

⁷¹³ See J.H. Chajes, *The Kabbalistic Tree*, pp. 25-36.

one another, making such visual representations an essential component of the explanation. Levana Chajes' research on the visual diagrams within the extant volumes of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* has identified a diverse array of shapes and forms employed to visually elucidate and organize the sefirotic structure of *Ma'arekhet ha-Seder*. The various typologies of diagrams do not appear to correspond to distinct manuscript families or textual traditions. These representations typically illustrate the hierarchical arrangement of the names or letters of the *Sefirot*, with the three superior ones aligned vertically in succession, while the remaining seven adhere to the conventional orientations of left, center, and right, along with the respective connecting lines. Often framed, these diagrams may also present the names of the Patriarchs, Solomon, and David. Finally, the globular medallion-shaped structure of the ilanot seem to emerge only in manuscripts dating from the fifteenth century onward. Egidio da Viterbo's Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* seems to feature a sefirotic diagram immediately following the beginning of *Ma'arekhet ha-Seder* on fol. 95v. As indicated by the corresponding annotation in the margins, this section of the text was contained on folio 224 of the Hebrew source upon which this translation was based.

Maareht: ordo regule nominum: Quomodo procedunt⁷¹⁴

⁷¹⁵Hesed: Ghevura: Tipheret:

Malcut

Bina

Hesed

Ghevura:

while *Tiferet* is situated centrally between them. *Netzah* occupies the center of the final line, concluding *ex abrupto* this second diagram. Thus, while the initial comprehensive diagram appears to illustrate the sefirotic succession, the subsequent depiction seems to focus additionally on the accurate spatial arrangement of the *Sefirot*. The spatial arrangement of *Hokhmah* and *Binah* on the right and left sides of *Keter* appears to highlight a distinctive feature of this diagram, which may have initiated the spatial subdivision of the *Sefirot* from the three superior ones. According to the text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Seder* and most of the diagrams preserved in the manuscripts of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, these three *Sefirot* should indeed be positioned vertically, one above the other. Given however that these two diagrams appear as the result of the interaction between the specific translational process employed in the scribal-kabbalistic workshop of Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators, and the textual and graphic characteristics of the Hebrew manuscript used as the source for this translation, the distinctiveness of the diagram in Egidio's volume cannot be conclusively maintained. The inclusion of two diagrams instead of one, along with the specific erasures in the initial depiction and the inversions and abrupt termination of the second, appears in fact to be influenced by the rapidity of the conventional dictation process employed in the composition of this translation. In attempting to describe through this process a visual element present in the Hebrew manuscript, the individual dictating appears to have initially articulated the sequence of the *Sefirot*, followed by an explanation of their spatial arrangement. However, the pace employed in elucidating these structures seems to have caused the copyist to prematurely transcribe the names of the *Sefirot*, to reverse their order in an effort to keep pace with the dictation, and to abruptly end their transcription. The subsequent elucidation of the Sefirotic structure in *Ma'arekhet ha-Seder* also discloses details regarding the characteristics of the Hebrew volume employed for this Latin translation.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 7, p. 98] וסדר ציור מקום הספירות הוא, שמשמין שלש הראשונות זו על גב זו ממש. ולמטה מהם לצד ימין חסד. ולצד שמאל פחד לעומתו. ולמטה מהן בין החסד והפחד, התפארת, נוטה כלפי חסד. ולמטה מהתפארת אל הימין, נצח, תחת החסד. ולצד שמאל לעומת הנצח תחת הפחד, ההוד. ולמטה מהן בין נצח והוד תחת תפארת, יסוד, נוטה קצת אל התפארת. והמלכות תחת יסוד, נוטה אל השמאל יותר.

[97r] [...] Gimel hariscinot: tres prime: ordo retrahendi locum sephirot: en soph: cheter: hocma: scribuntur etiam recte: una super alia: ensoph: cheter: hocma: bina: inde: in lateribus alia: Tria illa dextere in dextera hesed · in sinistra pacad · infra in medio tipheret flexum parum in hesed: sub tipheret in dextra nezac: sub hesed: in leva hod sub pahad: et regione simul: sub his in medio sub tipheret Iesod: flexum non nihil in tipheret	[...] Tres prime quomodo? Ordo sephirot Hesed pahad Tipheret 10 sephire Nezac Hod Iesod

Malcut sub iesod: in levam plus quam iesod in pacad: ubi plus a din.	dixit MALCUT in levam

The Ferrara edition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* presents variations in the arrangement of the *Sefirah Yesod* and in the delineation of the position of *Malkut*.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 7, p. 99 n. 27] נוטה קצת אל הפחד.

As observed in the edition and by Levana Chajes, this variant aligns more consistently with the subsequent passage of *Ma'arekhet ha-Ta'am*⁷¹⁶:

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 8, p. 108] ובעבור שהו אחרון במעלה מקבל מן הכל. ואמרו כי איננו מלא רחמים כמו התפארת, וזהו שרשמוהו נוטה קצת אל השמאל.

However, this variant is present in only eleven manuscripts containing *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* out of a total of 69. These volumes are: MS Jerusalem, The National Library of Israel, Heb. 4°8739; MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 211; MSS BNF, Héb. 803, Héb. 806, Héb. 825; MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 2773; MSS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mich. Add. 9 and Poc. 208; MS Jerusalem, Private Collection; MS Frankfurt am Main, University Library Johann Christian Senckenberg, Oct. 101, and MS Leipzig, Leipzig University Library, B.H. fol. 15⁷¹⁷. The analysis of these variants in relation to Egidio's Latin translation suggests that his Hebrew source conformed to the majority of manuscripts, which indeed place *Yesod* below *Tiferet*. This observation appears to apply equally to the variant concerning the description of the placement of *Malkut* immediately thereafter, which also appears in the Ferrara edition:

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 7, p. 99 n. 28] נוטה יותר אל השמאל מן היסוד.

3.3.1.3 *Ma'arekhet or Sha'ar*

Most of the characteristics examined thus far have proven inconclusive in determining the features of the exemplar of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* that served as the basis for Egidio's translation, or they have aligned it with the majority of the volumes preserving this text. A distinguishing feature of Egidio da Viterbo's Hebrew rendition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is the title attributed to the eighth chapter of the treatise *Ma'arekhet ha-Ta'am*. On fol. 109v in fact, this title is transliterated as "Sciar

⁷¹⁶ See *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 7, p. 99 n. 27; L.M. Chajes, *On the Discourse of Unity and the Discursive Unity of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, p. 33.

⁷¹⁷ I thank Levana Chajes for providing me this list. Among these volumes MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 2773 and MS Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Mich. Add. 9 share another interesting detail, the presence of an opening poem, which is also present in the Ferrara edition (See L.M. Chajes, *On the Discourse of Unity and the Discursive Unity of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, pp. 30f.).

taam” indicating that in its original Hebrew form, it was presented as שער הטעם. Levana Chajes identifies that this distinctive title appears in only five of the 69 extant manuscripts of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*: MS BNF, Hébr. 802; MS JTS, 2367; MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 265; MS Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Titkarsága, Kaufmann A 175; and MS BSB, Cod. Hebr. 240⁷¹⁸. Both Egidio da Viterbo’s translation and the Hebrew source upon which it is based can thus be incorporated into this list.

[109v] Sciar taam: ubi reditur ratio sephirot: Negativa diximus: Tria superiora negative iustitiam habent: quia dextrum et levum: non ibi: ubi Iustitia et misericordia: non tamen negamus hec omnino illic: sed ideo negamus hec illic: quia non est nobis facultas comprehendendi: tamen veritas est: quod omnes essentie illic clause sunt: et omnis res clauditur in illis · ergo est intus in inferioribus hec due et inferiora sunt in superioribus: ergo et illic sunt: sed negantur: non quod non sint: sed quod effabilia non sint.	Carta 226 · post · Tria illa: negativa: Tria illa continent omnia

3.3.1.4 Glosses added to *Sha'ar ha-Shem*

An additional critical aspect to consider when identifying the various manuscripts containing *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is the inclusion of two glosses appended to the nineteenth chapter of the treatise, *Sha'ar ha-Shem*, along with their respective placements within that same chapter⁷¹⁹. In most existing volumes, both glosses are typically present and can either be included within the chapter, or almost at its end. In Egidio’s translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, the glosses, explicitly identified as such, are incorporated near the conclusion of the chapter between the end of fol. 139r and fol. 139v. Moreover, it is suggested that the initial addition should be incorporated into the preceding content of the text through the phrase “additum: quod pretermiserat”.

[139r] [...] Hagaha: additum: quod pretermiserat: cum moyses dixit si petant nomen · quid dicam eis? Intelligit nomen 4r littere: ubi in fine dictionum 4r est nomen · li · iot ma ך · et c · petebat mahud: quid est: quotiens demonstratum in hoc nomen a mose: et passuc ostendit in fine litterarum: ut scehina est supra: ita et sub his est. Hactenus inveni datum mosi in sinai: dixit Moses quidem nomen et quid dicam. Moses orabat nomen magnum tipheret: et	nomen: in fine litterarum Quid est · roganti

⁷¹⁸ See L.M. Chajes, *On the Discourse of Unity and the Discursive Unity of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, p. 29 n. 122.

⁷¹⁹ See *Ibid.*, pp. 29f.

Mittens legatarius: legatus est decima: mittens est Tipheret: decima est nuncius:	

3.3.2 *Perush Zulati and Egidio da Viterbo's translation of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*

In the preceding sections, it was elucidated that the absence of citations from the *Sefer ha-Zohar* within the text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* has been interpreted either as indicative of an opposition to the dissemination of its doctrine or as suggesting that the composition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* may have preceded the emergence of the circulation of zoharic materials in the medieval 14th-century context⁷²⁰. In Egidio da Viterbo's Latin rendition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, there are explicit references to *Sefer ha-Zohar* on several occasions, specifically on foll. 76r, 80v, 83r, 84r, and 86v, both within the main text of the translation and in its margins.

[76r] Comentum · Dicitur per pelec: ob macseva: que dicitur Aleph: pele alef: eedem littere: sunt enim · 26 · duo iot: et vau: sunt · 26 · pele: · פלא · lecta et contrario dicitur alef · et sunt scem: macseva prima. Hocma dicuntur superiora rerum aliarum: Thora cheduma: dicitur lex prima: hocma superior: creata 2000: annos ante mundum unde ait · 2000 · anni creavit eam prius: [...] sic fit lex prima. In zoar · dicitur quod Thora incipit cum ב · quia cum beraha: et fundamentum superior hocma [...]. Trumma ghedola: e centum unum. Tria illa nomina significant benecot: [...].	prima: macseva: Alef · Pele: 26. Sapientia creata · 2000 · anni ante mundum

[*Perush Zulati*, p. 57]⁷²¹

פלא. פי' על שם שהיא נאצלת מן המחשבה הרמוזה באל"ף: **חכמה אלהים.** פי' כל דבר עליון יקרא חכמה למה שלמטה ממנו, וחכמה רמז לחכמה, ואלהים רמז לבינה:

[p. 58]

תורה קדומה. פי' החכמה העליונה הנקראת תורה שקדמה לעולם אלפיים שנה, ואלפיים שנה תבינהו מפסוק ואהיה שעשועים יום יום.

[p. 57]

תרומה גדולה. פי' 'תרו מה', דע לך כי הברכה משלושת כנגד עשר מעלות שכליות הנחלקות לשלוש מערכות.

The reference to *Sefer ha-Zohar* is situated within a passage prefaced by the term “Comentum” (commentary). Consequently, I compared this and other apparently extravagant sections of Egidio's translation with *Perush Zulati*, the principal commentary by Reuven Tzarfati on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. This comparison revealed significant similarities, indicating a re-elaboration and a partial

⁷²⁰ See *supra* p. 156.

⁷²¹ See *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, pp. 57f.

Latin rendition of this text within the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. This commentary was in fact frequently transcribed in the margins of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, in a format where the commentary closely follows and elucidates the content of the primary text of the treatise. A partial list of volumes exhibiting this specific layout of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, with *Perush Zulati* in the margins, includes: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 265; MS Warsaw, Library of the Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute, 155 (now lost); MS Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Kaufmann A 175; MS Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Mich. Add. 9; MS BSB, Cod. Hebr. 92⁷²². The subsequent passage appears to demonstrate that this particular layout format characterized Egidio's Hebrew manuscript, which served as the source for his translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*.

[75v] Mia scepha: ex abundantia. Dicitur et hocma timor domini timor domini: יראת יהי sunt 611: תורה · Tau 400 · res · 200 · sunt 611 · sic timor domini: significat thora: idest sapientia est Timor domini. Item יראת · concludit decem essentias: alef: est macseva prima unde omnia: י · significat hocma: ר · significat bina: quia est נ · bezurada in figura sua scilicet versa: ת · habet 4r vexilla. In alphabeto · אֵיָק · ubi unus: unum denarium: unum centenarium: sic in abaco eadem littera ponitur in uno: in decem: in centum: sic permutantur: unde · ת · significat 400 · et · 40 · et · 4 · ut hic · ut ד quod habet 4r vexilla: idest nomina principalia: questio saar haora: 4r vero vexilla claudunt omnes Sephirot in se simul: ut ibi dicitur in Sciaar aora · Pele etiam dicitur: idest mirum · Textus: Secunda dicitur sapientia et secunda dicta est sapientia ex ain invenietur idest ex nihilo: et ain · significat ensoph: non finem idest sine fine: hoc dicitur irat: timor: et cum hoc cum · 3a · bina simul: intelligitur: dicitur etiam paras prima tephila: philateriarum: sanctifica mihi primogenitum: hocma enim est primogenitum: ostendit hec parasciot: quia ibi · sunt · 4r · quibus demonstrantur 4r sephirot: hesed · pacad Tipheret: et hocma et bina quasi pro una: prima parascia: ubi primogenitum: significat hocma: quod est primum	218 · Comentum: carta: Sapientia est Thora: vexilla: pele mirum: 217 hocma primogenitus⁷²³ Tephila significat · 4r · prima⁷²⁴

⁷²² I am indebted to Levana Chajes for this elencation. The number of manuscripts that include *Perush Zulati* in the margins of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is still under scholarly investigation.

⁷²³ A cross preceeds this marginal note.

⁷²⁴ Below this marginal note there is another cross.

procedens et primogenitus. Secunda ubi scribitur: et est cum ducet te: ex mizraim: ubi est trasmutatio numeri: per Regem qui est Bina: que facit contra naturam.	2a exitus e mizraim

The marginal annotations of this passage reveal that the initial section of the page translates a portion of the Commentary to *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, as located on folio 218 of Egidio's Hebrew source. Subsequently, the section of the translation labeled as "Textus" corresponds to the *incipit* of the section of *Ma'arekhet Shemot ha-Midot* dedicated to the names of the Second *sefirah*. In the margins of this passage, it is noted that this portion of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* was preserved on folio 217 of Egidio's Hebrew source. This indicates that Egidio's Hebrew manuscript of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* also included a copy of *Perush Zulati*, which was transcribed in the margins surrounding this treatise. The likelihood that this commentary was originally directly associated with the Hebrew text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* in Egidio da Viterbo's source for his translation appears to account for the seamless integration of the commentary and its subsequent re-elaboration with the main treatise, typically without any interruption in continuity. The explicit references to a commentary, which have enabled us to identify this "Comentum" as *Perush Zulati*, are indeed infrequent. In most cases, such as the passage presented below, the text of the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is integrated with and fundamentally intertwined with that of its commentary.

[72r] [...] Ordo nominum: midot: idest sephirot: midot sunt magna experte ex nominibus versantibus in ore cabalistarum: imponuntur ante nomina hec: et ex iis que hec fiunt: ut Iustitia: misericordia: vel mixta. Et Quidam recepere: ex Thora: vel ex prophetis. Inveniuntur etiam ex historiis: et si essent multiplicata nomina: essentque plura queque nos narramus: que narrabimus sufficient: dicemus enim Vexilla quasi scientia in sanctuario. Incipiemus vocatam primo coronam ain: diximus ensof: Infinitum: Sunt tres simul essentie havaia: alef: intelligitur Macsceva: in vehie: ioth significat hocma: Ain: patet: 120 · levavi oculos meos in montes me ain: unde veniat auxilium mihi · A. ergo significat macsceva summam: Iot: hocma: n. Bina quia · 50 · omnes decem essentie havaiem: dicuntur	[<i>Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut</i>, p. 53] מערכת שמות המדות הם רוב השמות אשר לעשר הספירות המורגלים בפי בעלי העבודה, מהם אשר הבינו הם מצד הפעולות ההוות בעולם השפל, ומהם אשר קבלו בסתרי התורה והנביאים וכתובים, ומהם בסתרי האגדות והמדרשים, ואם רבו שמותם זולתי מאשר נזכיר. אמנם אלה אשר אזכור, הם אשר ימצאו בעלי העבודה בהם, והם הדגלים החונים על המשכן. ועתה נתחיל שמות הספירה הראשונה. נקראת כתר עליון. [p. 54] אין, מן הכתוב 'מאין יבוא עזרי'. [<i>Perush Zulati</i>, p. 54] אין. כל דבר נעלם יקרא 'אין'. פירוש אחר, נוטריקון 'א' הבה 'י'ראה 'נ'אמונות, והוא רמז 'לג' חיות [...] פירוש אחר 'א' רמז למחשבה כמו שאתה פוטח את פיך בהזכרת אל"ף לאין תכלית כן המחשבה יורדת לאין סוף ותחלית, וה'י' רמז לחכמה הנקראת

omnes corone: sed quia illa est prima vocatur per antonomasiam corona: quia ante omnem.	ראשית כן ה' ראשית בשם העצם, וה' רמז לבניה כנגד שעריה.

Moreover, in particular instances, such as the forthcoming discussion of the passage from *Ma'arekhet Shemot ha-Midot* on the Seventh and Eighth *Sefirot*, a comparative analysis of the text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, Egidio da Viterbo's Latin translation, and Reuven Tzarfati's *Perush Zulati* demonstrates that the Latin version is, in fact, an almost *verbatim* translation of the latter text, rather than the primary treatise⁷²⁵.

השביעית נצח. שוק הימין. עמוד הימין. יום חמישי למספר הימים. השמינית הוד. שוק השמאל. [Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut, p. 72].
עמוד השמאל. יום ששי למספר הימים.

[85v] [...] SEPTIMA Nezech נִצָּח · omnes qui timent deum habent potentiam vincendi in nezech sunt littere hizuac: הִיִּצּוֹחַ significat foras: eedem littere נִיִּצּוּחַ vincere extrinseca: et potentias malas Moses cepit hanc mida ut vincen[te]s essent fortes mundi: ipse versum crus dextrum: vocantur enim duo crura: ut in homine: quia homo est ad similitudinem superiorum midot: et ibi sunt crura argentea idest hec inferiores midot: ꠔamud iamin: Columna dextra dicitur: erant due in santuario significantes has duas: omnia enim vasa et alia erant similitudinem spiritualium: Salomon enim vocabat illa preparatio omnis ut fortitudinem et c. Octava dicitur hod: qui se sanctificant merentur se pulcritudinem induere: ab his cruribus · 2bus · provenit omnis profetia et fit perus: sine voluptatibus et vino ·	[Perush Zulati, p. 72] השביעית נצח. פ' הוא לשון ניצוח כי כל מי שהוא ירא ה' יש לו כח הניצוח לנצח הבריות החיצוניות, ומשה רבינו ע"ש החזיק בזאת המדה להיות כח הניצוח מאותם גבורי הארץ: והוא כנגד השוק הימין. כי האדם נברא במדות עליון: עמוד הימין. פ' שני עמודים היו בבית המקדש שהיו כנגד נצח והוד כי כל ענייניו וכליו תכונות רוחניות והיו נקראים ימין ובעוז, ימין כנגד נצח ובעוז הוד כשמו כן הוא: השמינית הוד. פ' כל מי שהוא ירא השם ומקדש עצמו יהיה ראוי להתלבש בהוד והדר, כי מאלו השני שוקים מתפשטת הנבואה ואין הנבואה שורה אלא מכה נקיות ופרושיות:

The absence of translations for the expressions “יום חמישי למספר הימים” (the fifth day in the count of days) and “יום ששי למספר הימים” (the sixth day in the count of days) indicates that, in this and other instances, Reuven Tzarfati's commentary not only accompanied but fully supplanted in Egidio's Latin rendition the original text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. This feature demonstrates the pervasive

⁷²⁵ I am referencing the edition of *Perush Zulati* found in the margins of the aforementioned Beqer edition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Both of these editions employ eclectic methods, as neither text has thus far been subjected to a philologically rigorous critical edition.

and fundamental influence of *Perush Zulati* on Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators' comprehension and study of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Therefore, the account of the interaction between the textual and paratextual elements, alongside the interplay between the primary text of the treatise and its commentary in Egidio's Hebrew source, elucidates how the codicological features of this manuscript influenced the resultant translation. Although the texts of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and *Perush Zulati* were in fact, at least in part, considered distinct textual units, their amalgamation, juxtaposition, and even substitution of content ultimately culminated in an eclectic Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which integrated the treatise and its commentary into a single, final textual outcome. In light of the semi-diplomatic approach adopted in the edition of this translation presented in the subsequent volume, future research should aim to more precisely distinguish between the sections of the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* as a treatise and *Perush Zulati* within the Latin rendition by Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators. However, such study should also remain aware, and account of the deliberate intentionality behind the integration of these materials into a single text, which continued to be recognized and referred to as *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, despite its eclectic nature. These deliberate interventions and distinctive translation choices are, in fact, intricately linked to the collaborative translation and study process employed within Egidio's scribal-kabbalistic workshop. The integration of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and its commentary within a single text underscores an approach to kabbalistic translation that favored a deep and practical understanding of the doctrines of each text over their precise, word-for-word rendition into Latin.

3.3.3 Extant Hebrew copies of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* within Egidio's kabbalistic library

3.3.3.1 MSS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3087 and 3098

The delineation of the characteristics of Egidio da Viterbo's Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* has facilitated the reconstruction of the codicological, palaeographical, and textual features of the Hebrew source that served as the foundation for this work. In this chapter, I will examine and clarify the relationship between this translation and the extant copies of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* that have been recovered from the volumes in Egidio's kabbalistic Hebrew library, based on the data collected thus far. Among the kabbalistic Hebrew manuscripts formerly part of Egidio's collection, four codices contain in fact copies of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. These manuscripts are: MSS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 3087 and 3098; MS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 92; and MS London, British Library, Harley 5510. Both MSS Casanatense, 3087 and 3098 were previously identified among the volumes that belonged to Antonio Flaminio "Biaxander" before becoming part of Egidio's

collection⁷²⁶. These two volumes exhibit distinctive textual characteristics that preclude them from any substantive comparison with the Latin translation under examination. As determined by Levana Chajes, MS Casanatense 3098 is the sole extant copy of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* in which the chapters are not divided into *Ma'arekhot* and *She'arim*, but are instead exclusively titled *She'arim*⁷²⁷. Given that Egidio's translation clearly delineates the aforementioned distinctions between the chapter titles, any dependency on this volume can be definitively ruled out. MS Casanatense, 3087, which appears to lack any annotations in Egidio's handwriting, contains on foll. 4r-38v a version of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* that deviates from the textual characteristics observed in Egidio's Latin translation. Significantly, this manuscript positions the sefirotic *ilan* at the conclusion of *Ma'arekhet ha-Seder*, rather than at its beginning, placing it immediately before the initiation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Ta'am*, which is indeed referred to as *Sha'ar* in Egidio's translation. Crucially, this particular copy of the treatise does not include *Perush Zulati* in its margins, a feature whose integration into the Latin translation, as previously discussed, became a defining characteristic of Egidio's work.

3.3.3.2 MS München, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 92

MS BSB, Cod. Hebr. 92 is indeed a miscellaneous volume comprising mystical-kabbalistic content distributed across 220 folios. The majority of the texts within this manuscript are brief excerpts ranging from 1 to 6 folios, which are accompanied by more extensive treatises. These more extensive writings are: Abraham Abulafia's *Or ha-Sekhel* on foll. 31r-68r, two *Commentaries on Sefer Yetzirah* on foll. 75r-99r and 99r-116r, *Sefer ha-Bahir* on foll. 116v-129r, *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* on foll. 133r-157r, and Yitzḥaq Abrabanel's *Rosh Amanah* on foll. 167r-201r. Numerous handwritten annotations in the margins of this volume substantiate that this manuscript was part of Egidio da Viterbo's library⁷²⁸. The observation that these annotations appear to engage directly with the Hebrew text of various treatises, without any discernible mediation, has led me to infer that they correspond to a stage in Egidio's kabbalistic studies during which his proficiency in Hebrew had evidently advanced beyond the level demonstrated in his initial translations, such as that of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. An analysis of the *incipit* of the version of *Sefer ha-Bahir* included in this volume, alongside Egidio's Latin translation of the text found on foll. 151r-170v of MS BNF, Lat. 527/2, reveals no evidence of textual dependence between these two versions.

[MS München, BSB, Cod. hebr. 92, fol. 116v]	[MS Paris, BNF, lat. 527/2, fol. 151r]

⁷²⁶ See *supra* pp. 80-82.

⁷²⁷ See L.M. Chajes, *Discourse of Unity and Discursive Unity of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, p. 29 n. 122.

⁷²⁸ Egidio's handwritten annotations on this manuscript are located on the front cover guard, as well as on foll. 25r, 73r, 181v, and 182v. This manuscript became part of the collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB) through the mediation of Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter (see also *supra* p. 130).

ומאי מלא ברכת השם, אלא כל מקום שנאמר בית הוא ברכה, בְּרָא בְּרֵאשִׁית וְאִין רֵאשִׁית אֵלָא חֲכָמָה וְאִין חֲכָמָה אֵלָא בְּרָכָה, דְּכָתִיב וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת שְׁלֹמֹה וַיִּי נָתַן חֲכָמָה לְשְׁלֹמֹה. מִשָּׁל לְמֶלֶךְ שֶׁהָשִׂיא בָּתּוּ לְבָנּוּ וְנָתַנָּה לוֹ בְּמַתָּנָה עָשָׂה בָּהּ כְּרִצּוֹנָךְ. מֵאִי מִשְׁמַע דֵּהֲאִי בְּרָכָה לִישְׁנָא דְּבִרְךְ, דְּכָתִיב כִּי לִי תִכְרַע כָּל בְּרִךְ מִקּוֹם שְׁכָל בְּרִךְ כּוֹרַע לִי	Quomodo intelligitur plenum benedictione dei: nisi quod locus unde venit ב · est braha ut dicitur: benedicit deus Salomonem: et Deus dedit sapientiam Salomonis et ב · est braha et hocma idem. Proverbium: Rex qui dedit uxorem filiam suam filio suo: et dat munus: fiat ut voluntas sua: quomodo intelligitur? Quod hec benedictio intelligitur lingua genuflectendi: idest hocma: dicitur ei flectatur omne genu: ille est locus quod omne genu: flectitur ei:

A preliminary examination of the copy of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* contained in this manuscript, alongside its comparison with the Latin translation produced in Egidio's scribal atelier, appears to support the conclusion of a lack of textual dependence between these two versions of the treatise. However, the particular characteristics of this copy necessitate more comprehensive analysis. The text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* preserved in this volume ends with the completion of *Ma'arekhet Shemot ha-Midot*, thus presenting a notably partial and seemingly intentionally abbreviated version of the treatise. Therefore, unless the seemingly unlikely loss of a substantial number of quires is posited, this abbreviated version contrasts with the fact that Egidio's Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is complete. The section of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* preserved in this volume, however, includes in its margins the *Perush Zulati*, a feature that closely aligns this copy with Egidio's translation from a layout perspective. Moreover, from the beginning of *Ma'arekhet Shemot ha-Midot* on fol. 141v to its conclusion on fol. 157r, the two texts become so intricately interwoven, due to the extension of the commentary, that they appear to constitute a single textual entity. This spatial disposition within the page closely mirrors the reconstruction of the layout of Egidio's Hebrew manuscript of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* which served as the basis for its Latin translation, as previously described. A visual analysis of this manuscript offers a clearer depiction of the interaction between the codicological and textual characteristics of these texts, which culminated in the distinctive features of Egidio's Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Further investigation is therefore necessary regarding MS BSB, Cod. Hebr. 92 to ascertain the context of its composition and to examine the characteristics of the predominantly abbreviated or notably concise texts and fragments it encompasses.

3.3.3.3 MS London, British Library, Harley 5510

MS BL, Harley 5510, represents a comprehensive collection of mystical, philosophical, and kabbalistic texts, featuring extensive marginal annotations by Egidio da Viterbo, which encompass

nearly every page of this volume⁷²⁹. Emma Abate and Bill Rebiger have recently conducted a study of this manuscript to ascertain Egidio's engagement with the kabbalistic text *Keter Shem Tov*, attributed to Abraham ben Axelrad of Cologne, which is preserved on foll. 136v-141v. Their research has illuminated the specific passages that captured Egidio's interest, as well as his capacity to read the Hebrew text without apparently relying on a Latin translation⁷³⁰. The direct approach to the Hebrew text that characterized Egidio's annotations on *Keter Shem Tov* is similarly evident in the copy of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* preserved on foll. 158r-204r. The text is assigned a numeration from 311 to 412, which appears to be inconsistent with the numbering of the Hebrew source utilized for Egidio's 1513 Latin translation of this text. As previously elucidated, within the margins of this translation on foll. 69r-141v of MS BNF, Lat. 598, the numeration extends from "211 · Carta" to "281". Several further characteristics suggest that the Latin translation is not dependent on this specific Hebrew text. These include the absence of a commentary, particularly *Perush Zulati*, in its margins, the lack of a sefirotic scheme in *Ma'arekhet ha-Seder*, and the use of the title *Ma'arekhet ha-Ta'am* instead of the rarer *Sha'ar*, which is preserved in Egidio's Latin translation.

[109v] Sciar taam: ubi reditur ratio sephirot: Negativa diximus: Tria superiora negative iustitiam habent: quia dextrum et levum: non ibi: ubi Iustitia et misericordia: non tamen negamus hec omnino illic: sed ideo negamus hec illic: quia non est nobis facultas comprehendendi.	Carta 226 · post · Tria illa: negativa: Tria illa continent omnia

[MS BL, Harley 5510, fol. 166v] מערכת הטעם שמימין של⁷³¹ הראשונות זו על גב זו · טעם אשר רשמו בעלי העבודה של ראשונות זו על גב זו ולא רשמו בהן ימין ושמאל הוא מפני אשר זכרנו כי לגודל מעלת השלש והעלמתן אין כח בדעת האדם להתבונן.	prime non una super aliam Non dextrum et levum vis homini non eo

⁷²⁹ See E. Abate-B. Rebiger, *The Christian Reception of Keter Shem Tov: Egidio da Viterbo's Annotations in MS London, British Library, Harley 5510*, pp. 188f. and

⁷³⁰ See *Ibid.* pp. 192-198. See also S. Campanini, *Utriusque linguae egregie peritus et prudens. Federico Fregoso Cardinale ebraista e l'identità del suo familiaris ebreo «grandissimo cabalista»*, in «Materia Giudaica» XX/XXI (2016), pp. 29-44, esp. p. 35, 40f.

⁷³¹ The final ן is corrected from an initial א.

As evidenced by the varying Latin translations of כח as either “facultas” or “vis,” the analysis of the marginal annotations in MS BL, Harley 5510, when compared with the translation of MS BNF, Lat. 598, often reveals distinct translational choices for identical passages.

[MS BNF, Lat. 598, fol. 69v] Marehach hic liber facit ut intelligamus que a deo removenda sunt: ut remaneat cognitus· perfectus atque unus: oportet ergo auferre corpus et omnia imperfecta: ac credere quod unus perfectusque est. Negamus omnia ob imperfectionem: affirmamus tamen omnia virtute et omnipotentia. Tria ergo removentur ab eo: a sapientibus: corpus: partitio: permutatio: non habet corpus: nec finem nec virtutem in corpore: nec finitur loco: nec tempore: sed fuit · erit · est · et divisio ab eo tollitur.	Deus unus perfectus: 3a auferuntur a deo:

[MS BL, Harley 5510, fol. 158v] מערכת האחדות הם השלילות הנאותות לשלול מן האלוהות לשלימות אחדותו ואיך יתנהג השולל בהן · והוא שצריך לכל בעל דתנו להאמין בענין האלוהות שהוא אחד ומיוחד יחוד גמור כאשר יתבאר. ומאמר הראשונים בענין יחוד השלם הוא שנאמר אחדות שלימה ומאמרם זה יתחייב לכל שלם באמונת הייחוד לשלול מהם ג' שלילות מודעות לכל משכיל בענין האלוהות : גשמות ופרוד ושנוי ושלילת הגשמות שהאלוהות אינו גוף ולא כח בגוף וכלל השלילה שאינו מוגבל לא במקום ולא בזמן אבל היה והווה ויהיה ·	UNITAS credere divinitatem: unam unitate perfecta 3s separationes 1 Nudatio et separatio corporis et sensus Nes corpus nec virtus in corpore Nec Terminatum: nec in loco Nec in tempore: Sed fuit et est

These passages once again illustrate Egidio’s varied treatment of the same concepts across different periods of translation and study of the text of *Ma’arekhet ha-Elohut*. Regarding the notion of שלילות, Egidio’s 1513 translation refers to the three characteristics that should not be attributed to the Divine Nature as “que a Deo removenda sunt” (the things that must be removed from God). This phrase employs the gerundive form of the verb “remove,” which appears again in the passage and is alternated with the synonymous verb “auferre” (to withdraw/remove) both in the text and in the marginal annotations. In his annotation of this passage from *Ma’arekhet ha-Elohut* in MS BL, Harley 5510, Egidio does not employ a periphrasis but instead translates שלילות as “separationes.” Additionally, the primary characteristics of גשמות, פרוד, and שנוי are translated differently between the 1513 translation of *Ma’arekhet ha-Elohut* and the annotations on fol. 158v of MS BL, Harley

5510. Egidio's first translation of this text renders these concepts as "corpus" (body), "partitio" (partition), and "permutatio" (alteration), while the annotations accompanying the Hebrew text of MS Harley 5510 do not immediately offer a Latin version of these terms. These concepts are, in fact, promptly categorized into three distinct groups, each followed by its respective explanation. The concept of גשמות is thus interpreted as "nudatio et separatio corporis et sensus" (the exposure and separation of body and senses). In subsequent annotations, פרוּד is translated as the Latin "divisio" (subdivision), and שנוי as "mutatio" (change). In summary, it can be deduced that the translations provided within the annotations of this passage in MS Harley 5510, while not entirely divergent from the previous version, appear more poignant and precise than those offered in the translation in MS BNF, Lat. 598.

In certain instances, particularly those where within the translation in MS BNF, Lat. 598 the text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and its commentaries are intertwined, the 1513 translation offers additional interpretations and elucidations of each concept, in comparison to the annotations found in MS BL, Harley 5510, which present only partial translations of these passages.

[MS BNF, Lat. 598, fol. 82v]	
TIPHERET a peer: pulcritudo: et caput omnis pulcritudinis · תִּפְהֶרֶת duo t · 800 · 7: 200: sunt mille: pe · 8 · a 81 · sunt · 1081 ·	1081 ·
caput eius aurum optimum: aurum obrizum: פָּז 87 · mille א · 1081 ·	aurum: obrizum
· erunt · 82 · littere vero Tipheret sunt · 5 · sunt 87 · (dicitur hazara galgul: reditus rote: e multo parum: vel contrarium) · ROM dicitur	87 ·
tipheret Altitudo: Altitudo holem significat macsceva: sciurech chibuz: significat tipheret: quia est unum inter duo ut sciurec.	Numeri extenuatio: et contrarium:
Arachia dicitur dividens inter aquas: et aquas. Sciurec significat tres pedes mercava: et Tipheret illis concluditur et tres midot ostendit.	Firmamentum aquarum:
Maharia riscion idest quasi librans medius: inter illa duo contraria · quasi primus arbiter: duorum illorum Inter duas coronas contrarias: ipse quasi conciliator. Cav emzai filum medium ·	· 3a ·
dicitur tipheret: adonai: quod significat · 26 · quod est · כו · et quando fit repetito a prima littera: veniunt 106 · et nomen: קו quod significat filum: et 106 · ut venit: a nominis magni numero · כו ·	primus arbiter conciliator · filum medium
Zahar Mas · dicitur: causa mas: effectus femina.	· כו · קו · 106 · 26 ·
Scito: quod essentia ab hac venit beraha: in malcut: ideo utrumque Adonai dicitur: ideo dicitur mas hec iot he vau he: בִּרְכָה · 227 · יֹכֶר	Pythagoras: mas: femina: Mas: causa: effectus femina: iot he: Tiferet:

· 227 · benedictio ergo malcut hinc venit. Declarat Moses in · 70 · linguis idest modis · 70 · et nomen magnum 7m 70 dividitur: verba mea ut ignis et malleus malleatoris rumpentis saxum: et scintille veniunt. Sicut lex: est unum nomen sanctum: sed dividitur in omnia: quicquid est quod ad deum pertinet in lege datum est. Et dictio beraha: tenet in se marem et feminam: vis tipheret transit per malcut: mas Tipheret: Malcut femina: utrumque est in beraha: כה בר Filius dicitur (ut supra quod procedit a macseva. Macseva cogitatio producat filium: sic intelligentia producat verbum) Bar ergo filius pro tipheret: adonai: et co: pro malcut. Beraha etiam trina ponitur: in passuc scribere: in benedictione Aaron ter ponitur adonai: ter Bar: 606 · ter כה: 75 · 606 · תדו: cum 75 · תדועה · sunt 681 · ideo dicitur beatus populus qui scit iubilationem non sed therua: vaieda quandoque non scire ut cognovit adam uxorem: idest iunctus est illi: non dixit populus qui scit terua: sed qui iungit terua: in qua⁷³² coeunt duo: sed beatus qui scis operibus hec duo iungit: angens et passum: activa passivis:	zahar: mas beraha Lex mosis: 70: verbum filius: Pater⁷³³ Pater Macseva: Filius hic adonai Bar: Adonai ter: Trinitas Therua: beatus populus qui scit Iubilationem: Non beatus qui copulat hec · pater primo: inde bar: 3° 10 · que · spiritus sanctus dedit

[MS BL, Harley 5510, fol. 160v] הששית תפארת · רום⁷³⁴ בשורק⁷³⁵ · מכריע ראשון קו האמצעי · קו השוה · אדם במרכבה שהוא רגל שלישי · מדת יעקב · אביר ישראל · סבא · זכר · שרים · אב · איש · חתן · אמת · שמים · רקיע · אור · אור הראשון · מאור הגדול.	<u>Rum cum sciurec:</u> Linea media Homo Iacob Abir · antiquus Mas: Princeps: Pater · sponsus Celi: lux prima.

This excerpt from the section concerning the various appellations of the Sixth *Sefirah* clearly demonstrates the independence between the 1513 Latin comprehensive translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and the Latin annotations pertaining to the same text segment in MS BL, Harley 5510. As previously noted, the translation in MS BNF, Lat. 598 incorporates explanations from the

⁷³² The word “sunt” is erased.

⁷³³ Upon these marginal notes there is a drawing of a cross.

⁷³⁴ The ר is corrected in the supralinear space, possibly by Egidio (see below).

⁷³⁵ The ק is corrected from ה. Due to the color of the ink, it might be inferred that Egidio himself penned this correction.

commentaries on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which elaborate on each translated concept. In contrast, the annotations in MS BL, Harley 5510 are confined to a direct translation of only some of these terms, encapsulating more extensive sections of text within a shorter passage. The presence of minor corrections in darker ink within the Hebrew text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* on fol. 160v MS BL, Harley 5510 is particularly noteworthy. The marginal annotations by Egidio appear to be inscribed with the same ink color, suggesting that these textual interventions can be attributed to the Cardinal. This attribution not only indicates the possibility of a collation of materials during the processes of reading and annotating this text but also, more importantly, demonstrates Egidio's ability to engage directly with the Hebrew text he was studying. Consequently, the comparison of the aforementioned passages elucidates the progression of Egidio's kabbalistic studies and his translation methodology, which appears to have led to sustained engagement with the same texts over time. Nonetheless, in the Latin colophon appended on fol. 204r of MS BL, Harley 5510, Egidio explicitly aligns the primary objective of his studies and annotations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and the other texts in this manuscript with the cultural and mystical research he pursued through his extensive translations of kabbalistic texts analyzed thus far.

[MS BL, Harley 5510, fol. 204r] Fundamenta prior Lucis bene porta Locavit. Iste Liber moles altius edificat. Prima Illic tantum arcanorum elementa videre est: Cepimus hic claras cernere Lucis opes. Maius opus superest: intus penetralia celi Tentanda: vulgi non adeunda pede. Hic puris opus est animis: Mundissima mens hic Tollenda in superum numina: surgat humo: Que Moses prius: et que proles alma Tonantis: Mostrarunt: alto hoc lumine: nosse licet (Previously, the Gate of Light laid the groundwork. This book constructs even higher pillars. While the former was about seeing the initial elements of such secrets, here we have begun to discern the clear properties of the Light. Now, a greater endeavor unfolds: striving to penetrate the innermost realms of the sky, inaccessible to anyone's foot. This is a work for pure souls: the cleanest mind, which is to be elevated to the highest powers, shall ascend from the earth. Through this great light, may it be permitted to understand what Moses first, then the genial offspring of the Thunder revealed).

Considering the ideological continuity between this declaration and the colophons of Egidio's kabbalistic translation in MSS BNF, Lat. 598, 527/1, and 527/2, among others, a comprehensive edition of the annotations within MS BL, Harley 5510, alongside those from other volumes preserved in Egidio's collection, would be of considerable value for future research. Such an edition, which should also incorporate the corresponding Hebrew texts, would substantially enhance the analysis of Egidio da Viterbo's engagement with various kabbalistic writings over the years and the reception of their doctrines. Moreover, it could provide further insights into their chronological sequence or, at the very least, inform hypotheses regarding their approximate dating. In the case of MS BL, Harley 5510, the Latin colophon on fol. 97r, located at the end of the copy of *Sha'are Orach* that begins this volume,

offers substantial information that seems to aid in clarifying the origins of this manuscript and contextualizing its production.

[MS BL, Harley 5510, fol. 97r] Finis Liber Lucis: ut dicitur ab aliis porta lucis · Quem mihi Iudei provincie provincie scripsere: Carpentorates: hortante Legato: Domino Cardinali Aus[corum ?] (End of the Book of Light, also called by others the Gate of Light, which the Jews of the province of Provence composed for me in Carpentras at the behest of the ambassador, the lord Cardinal of Auch ?).

According to Egidio da Viterbo's testimony, this manuscript, transcribed in a Sephardic non-square bookhand, was specifically copied for him in Carpentras by members of the local Jewish community. This was done at the request of the Pontifical ambassador of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin, under whose jurisdiction Provence and Carpentras were included. These territories, which at that time were not incorporated into the Kingdom of France and were instead under the jurisdiction of the Pope through the administration of his *legati*, represented the sole region in France where the Jewish community was permitted to reside following the expulsion of 1394⁷³⁶. Between 1513, the year in which Egidio da Viterbo started translating kabbalistic texts, and 1541, François Guillaume de Castelnau de Clermont-Lodève served as the papal ambassador and administrator in Avignon and the French pontifical enclave. Appointed by Pope Leo X, he simultaneously held the position of Archbishop of Auch (Civitas Auscorum)⁷³⁷. Additionally, in 1517, the diocese of Carpentras was assigned to the Humanist Jacopo Sadoletto, who would later be elevated to Cardinal under Pope Paul III in 1536⁷³⁸. As previously discussed, the translational activities within Egidio da Viterbo's kabbalistic and scribal workshop progressed at a notably rapid pace from their initiation around 1513 until his elevation to Cardinal in 1517. Given the simultaneous occurrence of Egidio's engagement with kabbalistic translations, notably that of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, and the appointment of the individual responsible for the transcription of this quite extensive volume in Carpentras as ambassador, it is reasonable to deduce that the annotations on this volume, including those on its copy of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, may be ascribed to a later stage in Egidio's kabbalistic studies. In the absence of more precise chronological references, such reconstruction remains hypothetical and does not permit the attribution of these *marginalia* to a specific year. Therefore, the existence of a Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which reflects the content of a now seemingly lost Hebrew source, alongside at least four other complete or partial copies of this treatise within Egidio da Viterbo's Hebrew manuscript collection, appears consistent with his repeated study of kabbalistic

⁷³⁶ See e.g. R. Moulinas, *Les Juifs du Pape en France*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1981.

⁷³⁷ See A. Clergeac, *Chronologie des Archevêques, Évêques et Abbés de l'Ancienne Province Ecclésiastique d'Auch et des Diocèses de Condom et de Lombez. 1300-1801*, Abbeville, Imprimerie F. Paillart, 1911, pp. 4; 178.

⁷³⁸ See e.g. R.M. Douglas, *Jacopo Sadoletto. 1477-1547*, Cambridge (MS), Harvard University Press, 1959; F. Luciola-E. Spangenberg Yanes, *Jacopo Sadoletto Umanista e Poeta*, Roma, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2014.

texts. This practice, coupled with a persistent and enduring quest for Hebrew manuscripts that could offer superior textual traditions, has been reconstructed as a fundamental characteristic of the scholarly methodology employed in Egidio's scribal and kabbalistic Roman workshop⁷³⁹.

3.4 Egidio da Viterbo looking for kabbalistic confirmations of Christian dogmas through *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*

In the preceding chapters, I examined how the interpretative framework initially articulated by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in his dissemination of Kabbalah and kabbalistic knowledge among Christians was subsequently received and reinterpreted by other Christian kabbalists, including Johannes Reuchlin, Francesco Zorzi, and Egidio da Viterbo⁷⁴⁰. This analysis specifically concentrated on their methodology in studying and translating Hebrew kabbalistic texts, aiming to elucidate how these interpretations, akin to biblical supersessionism, led these kabbalists to seemingly identify confirmations of Christian doctrines within Jewish kabbalistic treatises. The extensive annotations present in the margins of Egidio's Latin translations are essential for understanding the interactions between these renditions and Egidio's supersessionist and Christianizing approach to kabbalistic studies. This chapter specifically seeks to elucidate, through significant examples, how certain sections of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* were reinterpreted in light of their purported references to Christian doctrines.

3.4.1 *Ecce: Trinitas hic clara*

[75v] [...] Trom agedola: unum ex centum: et lex prima: · לב · semite · 32 · in sepher izira. Spiritus dei: Ruiach sceliscit: spiritus 3s idest bina et tertie sephira: (Trinitas mire: hic:) vestimentum: deus operitur veste: et celi facti sunt luce vestimenti [...].	Spiritus: ecce Trinitas: clara:⁷⁴¹

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 4, p. 57f.] תרומה גדולה. תורה קדומה. ל"ב נתיבות שהזכיר בספר יצירה. רוח אלהים, כלומר רוח [Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut, ch. 4, p. 57f.] השלישית הנקראת אלהים. טלית, כמו שאמרו רז"ל 'נתעטף הקב"ה בטלית'. לבושו של הקב"ה, כמו שאמרו 'שמים מהיכן נבראו מאור לבושו של הקב"ה'.

This passage is of significant interest as it appears in a section spanning foll. 75v-77v, where the translation is meticulously and explicitly divided between text and commentary. The scribe, who does not consistently appear to be Egidio, although he was evidently adhering to his directives,

⁷³⁹ See *supra* p. 138.

⁷⁴⁰ See *supra* pp. 73-76.

⁷⁴¹ The drawing of cross starts from "Spiritus" and reaches the marginal note below.

seemingly paused the transcription of the translation to insert a personal commentary: “Trinitas mire: hic” (Marvelously the Trinity: here), which was subsequently enclosed in parentheses to distinguish it from the actual text of the translation. In the margins of this passage, the same comment is annotated as “Ecce Trinitas: clara” (Behold, the Trinity is clear), accompanied by a drawing of a cross that extends from the previous annotation “Spiritus” (the Spirit). The translation of the properties of the Second *Sefirah*, “רוח אלהים”, as “Spiritus dei” (The Spirit of God) and “רוח השלישית” as “Spiritus 3s” (The Third Spirit), when examined in the context of the supersessionist idea prevalent among Christian kabbalists, who interpreted kabbalistic texts as conveying Christian doctrines, becomes in the eyes of Egidio and his collaborators a marvellous and clear reference to Trinitarian personhood within the text of *Ma’arekhet ha-Elohut*. This apparent reference and Christianized reinterpretation of the doctrines within this text becomes even more intriguing when juxtaposed with the remainder of the translation preserved in the same folio, as well as the annotations that accompany it in its margins.

[75v] [...] Textus: Secunda dicitur sapientia et secunda dicta est sapientia ex ain invenietur idest ex nihilo: et ain · significat ensoph: non finem idest sine fine: hoc dicitur irat: timor: et cum hoc cum · 3a · bina simul: intelligitur: dicitur etiam paras prima tephila: philateriarum: sanctifica mihi primogenitum: hocma enim est primogenitum: ostendit hec parasciot: quia ibi · sunt · 4r · quibus demonstrantur 4r sephirot: hesed · pacad Tipheret: et hocma et bina quasi pro una: prima parascia: ubi primogenitum: significat hocma: quod est primum procedens et primogenitus. [...] Trom agedola: unum ex centum: et lex prima: · לב · semite · 32 · in sepher izira. Spiritus dei: Ruiach sceliscit: spiritus 3s idest bina et tertie sephira: (Trinitas mire: hic:) vestimentum: deus operitur veste: et celi facti sunt luce vestimenti.	217 hocma primogenitus.⁷⁴² Tephila significat · 4r · prima⁷⁴³ Spiritus: ecce Trinitas: clara:⁷⁴⁴

⁷⁴² A cross preceeds this marginal note.

⁷⁴³ Below this marginal note there is another cross.

⁷⁴⁴ The drawing of cross starts from “Spiritus” and reaches the marginal note below.

The elucidation of the term “primogenitus” (firstborn) as it pertains to the Second *sefirah* appears to have facilitated its association with Christ, as the second person of the Trinity⁷⁴⁵. These two purported Christological references are annotated in the margins of the translation with two cross drawings. As previously elucidated, the Trinitarian reference linked to the mention of the Divine spirit as “Spiritus 3s” is accompanied by an identical illustration⁷⁴⁶. The passages in question seem to have been interpreted as elements of a cohesive explanation of a doctrine concerning the distinct persons of the Christian God, encompassing both Christ and the Holy Spirit. Additional references to alleged mentions of the Trinitarian doctrine throughout the treatise can be found on foll. 78v, 82v, and 97v. This last reference, in particular, pertains to the succession of the first three sefirot within *Ma'arekhet ha-Seder*, depicted as “Tria prima recte una sub altera” (The first three vertically one below the other). Furthermore, the doctrine of the Divine Name, encompassing the first three *Sefirot* within itself is also apparently linked by Egidio to the concept and depiction of the Trinity, as apparent on foll. 135r and 137v.

[137v] [...] Porta Nominis · Scito primo quod Tria superiora concluduntur in sex litteris a ה · ה · vau ה : a ה ia: inde vau he: ob ensoph: demonstrandum: a ה · significat en soph ia · hocma: vau he bina: et 3s hee significantur Mosi: cum deus misit eum ad liberandum populum de israel · non aperuit tamen israeli: quod recepisset prima seorsum a ה · inde ia · inde vau ה.	nomen · sex litteris: En soph · אה: Hocma: ia bina: ה Tres in nomine⁷⁴⁷:

Almost all the purported trinitarian references in this translation mentioned thus far are visually indicated by the drawing of a cross in the marginal annotations. Consequently, given the importance of these *marginalia* in guiding the analysis of these treatises, it can be inferred that the crosses annotated in the margins of the translation in these and other cases convey, through an immediate visual medium, the presence of a doctrine potentially associated with Christian teachings, which was indeed reinterpreted through a Christianized, supersessionist approach to the text. The frequent use of the illustration of a cross in the *marginalia* is thus a notable characteristic of Egidio’s translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, as well as in other texts produced within the same scribal-

⁷⁴⁵ See also *infra* pp. 208-214.

⁷⁴⁶ Further references to the Holy Ghost in relation to the Trinity, and thus indicated by the drawing of a cross, can be found on foll. 102r and 130v of MS BNF, Lat. 598.

⁷⁴⁷ Before these words, there is the drawing of a cross that reaches the marginal notes above.

kabbalistic *milieu*. This practice was meant to facilitate the identification of Christianized references that were interpreted to be present throughout these texts. Therefore, an analysis of the occurrences of these crosses throughout the margins of the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* contributes to establishing the Christianized kabbalistic imagery present in this text according to Egidio's perception.

3.4.2 Egidio's kabbalistic image of Christ through the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*

In addition to fol. 75v, a cross is depicted in the margins of foll. 76r, 76v, 77r, 78v, 79r, 82v, 83v, 86v, 87r, 88v, 93r, 97r, 100r, 102r, 104r, 105r, 108v, 115v, 121v, 124v, 125r, 130v, 133r, 135r, 135v, 137v, 139v, and 140r of Egidio da Viterbo's Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Considering that some of these pages contain two or three of these depictions, it can be inferred that approximately 40 illustrations of a cross accompany the text of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. The majority of these drawings are accompanied by sections of the translation that reference either the Trinity or Jesus. Given the close association between the cross and the figure of Jesus, such an examination can be considered crucial in determining the nature and characteristics of the kabbalistic image of Christ that Egidio da Viterbo could extrapolate from this translation. Fol. 78v features three illustrations that appear to clearly elucidate the Christianized imagery associated with these crosses to the kabbalistic doctrines expressed in the translation.

[78v] [...] Alam bina: ex Ia: idest ex hocma. Bina enim mechabelet recipit. Item ia: male: intelligitur docet deus quod ex medio nominis sui: fit totum: quod scilicet in eo pars non sit minor toto: cum natura omnino fit pars ut in omni alio: esse: essentia. יד · 20: הָא · 26 · ut nomen. Etiam vult ostendere: quod significat tria superiora: spina: iod: he: macseva: hocma: Bina. [...] Or alvus: lux vestimenti: hocma: Bina quod a veste provenit Albus vestimenti: sciamaim: dicitur es: et maim: igni et aqua Macseva: aque dicuntur: et Hocma ignis: ut de manu dextra Ignis sic Thora dicitur Ignis: Bina est medium et concilians aque que finem non habent: sunt superiores igne. Bina significat 3s essentias primas. Ben ia: filius ia: בֶּן יָהּ · בִּינָה: filius dei. Tevuna: תְּבֻנָה · est ut bina · נָה · significat superiora: vau cum tipheret: et sua: ה · Bina: remanet · תְּבֻנָה · בֵּית: filia: inde nun: filia nun: significat decimam inferiorem: que lactet ex · 50 · portis Bina.	natura: et pars: Deus simplex omnino Trinitas: Ia · quid: Spina: hocma bina Cheter spina: corona spinea⁷⁴⁸ vestimentum ignis aqua: medium ben ia.⁷⁴⁹ Filius dei: bina: Filia nun

⁷⁴⁸ A cross is traced from the top of these three lines to "Amen" below.

⁷⁴⁹ A cross is drawn near to this marginal note.

[...] Item Rochev bechor: רֹכֵב · בְּכוֹר בכור: est relatum: equem respectu equi: et contrarium: sic eques significat duo: utrumque scilicet dicit becor: significat primogenitum (Dei filius ergo est eques) quia rocheb: qui habitat super cherubim cherubim intelliguntur sephiroth inferiora: infra bina: et est mercava:	primogenitus ⁷⁵⁰ Eques super cherubim

The initial reference in this passage pertains to the First *sefirah*, *Keter*, which is equated with the thorn and thus associated with the crown of thorns worn by Jesus during his crucifixion⁷⁵¹. The subsequent reference to Jesus is linked to the *sefirah* Binah, interpreted as “בן יה”, translated as “Filius Dei”. The final reference pertains to the concept of the Firstborn. The three distinct instances in which the cross is employed to direct the reader’s attention to doctrines interpreted as pertaining to Christian dogmas are indicative of the type of Christological imagery that Egidio and his collaborators perceived within this particular kabbalistic text. The initial cross is indeed indicative of a passage seemingly linked to a particular episode from the Christian Gospel, specifically the Crucifixion, as is also evident on fol. 121v⁷⁵².

[121v] vides etiam quod forma hominis honorata est: et concluditur in decem sephiroth: licet factus est · 7m. In capite: enim sapientia et intelligentia · hocma ve tebuna: in cerebro enim sapientia et intelligentia: 2a et tertia: et per brachia supra extensa sunt alia: sic ideo sephiroth: et decem digiti manus et pedum in monumentum. Dicitur non relinquere cadaver supra arborem in nocte: quam iniuria est deo suspensus: listis latro fur:	10 · zephiroth: maledictus qui suspensus: Listis latro: ⁷⁵³

⁷⁵⁰ A cross is drawn near to this marginal note and the one below, that are also tied with a bracket.

⁷⁵¹ This episode is narrated in Mk 15,17; Matt 27,29; and Jn 19,2. See e.g. Mk 15,17: «And they clothed him with purple, and platted a crown of thorns, and put it about his head».

⁷⁵² Additional instances where the drawing of the cross is employed to impart Christianized interpretations to more general biblical passages or concepts not explicitly associated with the figure of Jesus or the Trinity can be found on the following folios: 77r, 83r, 93r, 100r, 108v, 115v, 135v, 140r. The annotation on fol. 83r shall be compared with that on fol. 87r in order to understand its Christianized interpretation.

⁷⁵³ The drawing of a cross is traced below this marginal note. See Deut 21,23: «His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day; (for he that is hanged is accursed of God;) that thy land be not defiled, which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance» reprised by Paul in Gal 3,14: «Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree». See also the description as thieves of those who were crucified with Jesus in Lk 23,39-43: «And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, If thou be Christ, save thyself and us. But the other answering rebuked him, saying, Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom. And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To day shalt thou be with me in paradise».

The two additional crosses on fol. 78v serve as visual symbols to convey Christian interpretations of this kabbalistic text, specifically relating to broader conceptualizations of the figure of Jesus, such as that of the “Son of God” or the “Firstborn”. More specifically, the crosses located in the margins of foll. 77v, 78v, 82v, 83v, and 97r are all associated with the concept of the “Son” or the “Son of God”. The annotation on fol. 82v is of particular interest in this context, as it associates the figure of the Son with the Word and the Father, thereby alluding once again to the Trinity and, most importantly, to the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Word at the beginning of the *Gospel of John*⁷⁵⁴.

[82v] [...] Et dictio beraha: tenet in se marem et feminam: vis tipheret transit per malcut: mas Tipheret: Malcut femina: utrumque est in beraha: בְּרַחָה Filius dicitur (ut supra quod procedit a macsceva. Macsceva cogitatio produciens filium: sic intelligentia produciens verbum) Bar ergo filius pro tipheret: adonai: et co: pro malcut. Beraha etiam trina ponitur: in passuc scribere: in benedictione Aaron ter ponitur adonai: ter Bar: 606 · ter כַּה: [...]	verbum filius: Pater⁷⁵⁵ Pater Macsceva: Filius hic adonai Bar: Adonai ter: Trinitas

The relationship between Jesus, as the representation of the “Son”, and the kabbalistic doctrine of the “קו האמצעי”, as illustrated by the annotation “Filius est Cav” (The Son is the קו) accompanied by the depiction of a cross on fol. 83v, is particularly significant in elucidating how a purely kabbalistic concept may have been interpretatively Christianized through the persistent association of broader concepts with the figure of Jesus. Furthermore, it demonstrates how the figure of Jesus could, conversely, acquire kabbalistic implications.

[83r] [...] Tres simul sunt essentie: hesed Tiferet et bina unde heset. Tria genera misericordie in hac concluduntur: ideo dicunt חַסֵּד · hesed per primam litteram. Tipheret per 2am: bina per enim que est 50 · porte: emet veritas sunt littere que extenduntur ex litteris: filum medium veniens a cerebro idest macsceva et est intra: אֵם · אֵם · est	Spiritus 3a in uno: 146

⁷⁵⁴ Jn 1,1-5; 14: «In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not [...]. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth».

⁷⁵⁵ Upon these marginal notes there is a drawing of a cross.

filum medium: מ a moac et macseva: et est Toch: idest inter duo scilicet אהרן sunt · 13 · midot	
[83v] vezehu: et hec et c. · supra est principium et finis medium: inde hic dividit nomen in tres partes. Sciamaim dicitur celi: quia in eo Ignis et aqua: ut es maim: misericordia et pacat Rachia firmamentum: dividit aquas superiores: 5e sephirot superiores: et quinque inferiores. [...] Dies etiam dicitur: quia racmim omnia vocant alba et clara Bocher dicitur idest Mane: et Zaffara: dicitur in talmut et targum de bocher zaffara: et arabi dicunt mane zaffara crocum et nos latini dicimus aurora croceo velamine fulgens: bocher zaffara: mutantur: 3 · et S mutantur: zadi: et samac: quia dentibus fiunt: sic erit saffara quasi clarum ut saphirum quod pertinet ad racmim: בוקר cape בר filium · קו cav est filius · עֲדָנָה · dicitur voluptas: et fluviu: נַהָר · fluviu: גַּן · eden dicitur voluptas pulcritudo Tipheret: fluviu: est iesod: hortus est decima: malchut:	Carta 222: celum: Ignis: aqua · firmamentum: zaffran 3 in S Saphir⁷⁵⁶ Filius est Cav: hortus: voluptatis: fluviu: que:

Additional instances of the depiction of a cross in reference to notions related to Jesus are frequently observed within the translation, contributing to the formation of a kabbalistic representation of Jesus as interpreted by Egidio, based on the doctrines articulated in *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. The crosses on foll. 75v, 78v, and 125r are linked to references to the concept of the “Firstborn”. Notably, both the concepts of the “Son” and the “Firstborn” are usually related within this treatise to the Second *sefirah*, commonly translated as “Sapientia”, which, in the annotations of 75v, has been associated with the Second Person of the Trinity, that is Jesus. It is therefore significant to observe that on foll. 76r, 87r, and 93r, the depiction of the cross is connected to conceptualizations of Divine Wisdom and the Second *sefirah*. An additional significant context in which the representation of the cross associated with Jesus and the Christianized interpretations of kabbalistic doctrines is evident is within the messianic references included in this translation on foll. 86v, 104r, 105r, 124v, 133r, 139r. In recognizing the importance of Egidio’s millenarian perspective in influencing his actions within the Catholic Church, it is crucial to trace and contextualize these specific messianic references within his translations⁷⁵⁷. This examination should aim to elucidate the millenarian and kabbalistic imagery associated with the Messiah that Egidio developed over the years as a cultural foundation for his involvement in specific religious, intellectual, and even political movements. The following passage concerning the conditions surrounding the final advent of the Messiah ben David

⁷⁵⁶ The drawing of a cross is positioned near this word.

⁷⁵⁷ See *supra* pp. 106f.

is of considerable interest in reconstructing the cultural context that influenced Egidio's political activities, such as his association with David Reuveni and Shlomo Molko, figures traditionally linked to a Messianic perspective associated with the tradition of the Messiah ben Yosef⁷⁵⁸. The kabbalistic imagery associated with the figure and the advent of the Messiah appears in fact to have served as a foundational cultural inspiration for his kabbalistic and millenarian writings over the years.

[86v] Dicunt · 5 · una Camera est in celo ubi anime sunt: et non en mesciac ben david ba: non venit messias filius david: vad scigiclu: nesciamot scebeguf donec desinant anime que sunt in corpore: camera enim illa dicitur guf corpus: רַקָּ camera que facit misericordiam et Iustitiam Iesod dicitur illa camera Capiens misericordiam et iustitiam a superioribus [...].	Messias in fine⁷⁵⁹ anime in corpore guf

In other instances, such as in the passage below, the relationship between the concept of the Messiah as articulated in the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and Jesus does not appear to derive solely from the Christian perspective that regards Jesus as the Jewish Messiah. Instead, it also stems from the association with specific passages of the Gospel. Significantly, Egidio's supersessionist interpretation of Kabbalah and Scripture appears to have facilitated the identification of a reference within this section of the text to the portrayal of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem on the back of a she-ass⁷⁶⁰.

[133r] ve chi ioma: firmitas eius: Tephilot orationes matutinas 4r per horas primas abram fecit: quando veniunt prime 4r hore: 2e isac: 3e Iacob: vespertine in noctem: statuit Iacob placet vespertina deo: ubi misericordie magne: ut vigilie noctis prima: asinus rugit: 2a canes clamant: 3a uxor fabulator cum viro:	265 · orationes quando vespere Iacob vigilie

⁷⁵⁸ See *supra* pp. 112f.; 117; 121.

⁷⁵⁹ A cross is drawn next to this marginal note in Egidio's brownish ink, usually used in later annotations.

⁷⁶⁰ This narrative is documented in all four Gospels, specifically in Mk 11,1-11; Matt 21,1-11; Lk 19,28-35; and Jn 12,12-15. Notably, the Gospel of Matthew is unique in its specific mention of the she-ass: «And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto the mount of Olives, then sent Jesus two disciples saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her: loose *them*, and bring *them* unto me. And if any *man* say ought unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send them. All this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass. And the disciples went, and did as Jesus commanded them, And brought the ass, and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set *him* thereon. And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strawed *them* in the way. And the multitudes that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the Son of David: Blessed *is* he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest. And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved, saying, Who is this? And the multitude said, This is Jesus the prophet of Nazareth of Galilee». See also Zech 9,9: «Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee: he *is* just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass».

infantesque lactant: prima hesed: abram ille est Asinus Abrae: et partus: Mosi: et Mesie: et mezuman le mesciac: excitat abram filum misericordie per decimam: bos pachad: evadet hesed tempore Messiae [...].	super asinam ⁷⁶¹ Messias · Asinus Mosi

Through this comprehensive, albeit preliminary, analysis of Egidio's explicitly Christianizing annotations in the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, it becomes possible to elucidate the intricate kabbalistic interpretation of the Trinity and Jesus as the Christ, as derived from this text according to Egidio's Christianized perspective. This examination also facilitates a clearer understanding of how the supersessionist approach to kabbalistic thought, adopted by Christian kabbalists, interacted with their pre-existing doctrinal knowledge and the actual content of kabbalistic texts. Consequently, a comprehensive analysis of Egidio's translations shall be undertaken to elucidate the mechanisms facilitating these associations and to explore their potential cultural implications within his writings.

3.5 Considerations on Mithridates' and Egidio's translations of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut: developments of the translational methodology for kabbalistic texts from the late 15th to the early 16th century

The preceding sections have analyzed the primary characteristics of the two Latin translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, one composed by Flavius Mithridates for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in the late 15th century, and the other by Egidio da Viterbo and his collaborators in the early 16th century. This comprehensive analysis of the two texts aimed to examine and elucidate the development of ideologically related yet practically distinct approaches to the translation of kabbalistic texts by these intellectuals. As previously explained in fact, the examination of these two translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is of particular significance, as it facilitates a direct comparison of the distinct translational outcomes derived from the same pivotal text within the Italian kabbalistic tradition. In conclusion, through a direct comparison of the *incipit* of these translations, I seek to encapsulate some final reflections on the significant transformations in these scholars' methodologies for translating and analyzing kabbalistic texts over time, while acknowledging the aforementioned, enduring ideological and interpretative consistencies.

[*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, ch. 1, p. 1] מערכת האלהות הוא קיום אמונת האלהות כאשר נאות לשלמותו יתברך וכאשר נאות להאמין בשלמות האמונה, והוא שצריך לכל בעל דתנו להאמין אמונה שלמה אמונה מוחלטת קבוע בלב שיש קדמון, מחדש ויודע, ומשיג, ויכול, וקיום אמונה זו הוא באמונת התורה כולה, רוצה לומר תורה שבכתב ותורה שבעל פה.

⁷⁶¹ The drawing of a cross is between these words.

[MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, fol. 132r] (pice scias quia hoc vocabulum maarecheth מערכת est equivocum ad ordinem, dispositionem, proportionem, considerationem, fatum, seriem, precium et multa alia ne confundaris si contingeret me uti uno pro alio intelligas quodcumque velis in hebraico non est nisi marechet pro quo ut plurimum in hoc libro ubi invenero ponam seriem: tu nunc scis).

Incipit primum capitulum de serie divinitatis. Maarecheth aelahuth idest series divinitatis est permanencia vel confirmatio seu stabilitas fidei divinitatis prout convenit ad perfectionem ipsius dei sancti et benedicti. Et prout convenit ut credatur in perfectione fidei. Et est quidem quod oportet unumquemque qui habet fidem et religionem nostram Abraae ut credat credulitate firma perfecta et fide absoluta fixa in corde quod est antiquus innovans [132v] et sciens et curat particularia et potens omnia. Et verificatio huius credulitatis non aliter est quam verificatio vel credulitas totius legis, legis inquam non solum scripte sed etiam de ore nate que sunt continencia et universalitas omnium legum, quia omnis lex scripta declaratur per manus legis de ore nate.

[69r] Maʿerehet ha eloit: ordo divinitatis: Ordo divinitatis: firmitas: fides divina ut decet: perfectionem suam: et ut convenit credere perfecta fide: et hec fides requirit ut perfecte credamus: fide firmissima: ac perfecta: absolutaque: firmata in corde: quod deus est mehadesc idest renovans et creans: et Cadmon: prima causa: et scit et advertit omnia: providentiaque omnia regit maschia: et potest omnia: et firmitas omnis est credendo legem totam: scriptam: et non scriptam: conclusio legum omnium est in hiis duabus: que omnia claudunt.	211 · carta · fide firma opus est Cadmon deus principium Deus facit: scit potest: omnia Lex non scripta declarat

In the preceding sections, I have already elucidated how Mithridates employed a highly stringent and literal approach to translation from Hebrew. In contrast, the kabbalistic and scribal atelier of Egidio da Viterbo adopted a more flexible translation methodology, which can be likened to an accurate scholarly annotation of a dictated translation and a comprehensive study of the text. The variations in translation practices appear to reflect the distinct roles assumed by the patrons who commissioned these works on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. As previously mentioned, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola seemingly provided the manuscripts from which Mithridates conducted his translations. He awaited Mithridates' works on the texts of these volumes and subsequently studied these translations. Furthermore, he seemingly mandated strict adherence to the original Hebrew texts, a requirement to which Mithridates conformed, often at the expense of clarity in the resulting Latin translation. The annotation addressed to the Count of Mirandola, which Mithridates includes before the commencement of the actual translation, clearly demonstrates Pico's external perspective on the act of translating this text. Its content in fact underscores Mithridates' necessity to justify and clarify his most contentious or complex translational choices to his patron, as well as his endeavor to

influence Pico's interpretation and study of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* from afar⁷⁶². The sometimes geographical and, more importantly, factual distance between Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and his translator likely resulted in a clear distinction between the act of translation and the study of kabbalistic texts. The varying number of annotations in Pico's handwriting suggests that this separation may have contributed to Giovanni Pico's limited engagement with many of the extant translations produced for him by Mithridates. This is particularly evident in MSS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, where the remnants of Mithridates' translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* are preserved, and Vat. Ebr. 189, which show no indication or evidence of Pico having engaged with these translations. Even in the absence of direct evidence concerning Pico's reception, the examination of the specific and intriguing case of Mithridates' work on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* serves as a valuable case study. This analysis, given Mithridates' strict linguistic fidelity to the Hebrew sources, facilitates a philological reconstruction of a particular branch in the transmission of this text. Furthermore, it allows for the historical hypothesis of reconstruction of a distinct phase in the collaboration between the Count of Mirandola and his translator of kabbalistic texts, through the contextualization of Mithridates' annotations and creative adherence to Giovanni Pico's translational directives. The absence of Giovanni Pico from the translation process of this and other kabbalistic texts, as demonstrated through the previous analysis, presents an intriguing contrast to the stringent cultural directives he apparently imposed on his translator's work, from the adherence to a preferred translational approach to his direct selection of the texts translated by Mithridates. Given the foundational significance of Giovanni Pico's interpretative approach to Kabbalah, the distinctive translational method used for kabbalistic texts adopted by him and his collaborators warrants considerable scholarly attention. The results of these translations and their respective methodology ought in fact to be compared to the intellectual pursuits of other Christian kabbalists who aligned themselves ideologically with the Count of Mirandola. Contrary to Giovanni Pico, Egidio da Viterbo was indeed significantly engaged not only in the acquisition of manuscripts and the elaboration of a cultural program aimed at translating selected kabbalistic texts, but also in the production of the majority of the Latin translations generated in his scribal and kabbalistic workshop. The case of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is particularly noteworthy for comparative analysis, as Egidio's active involvement in the translation process is evident through a palaeographical examination of its text. His handwriting, although not graphically representable in an edition, is in fact frequently identifiable from the transcription of the very *incipit* of this work presented above. Given the dating of this specific text to 1513, it can be inferred that Egidio da Viterbo was actively engaged in the translation process, personally annotating and synthesizing a substantial portion of the kabbalistic materials translated from his teacher's dictation from the inception of his

⁷⁶² For the translation of this text, see *supra* p. 168.

interest in kabbalistic studies. His nearly continuous involvement in the translation and transcription of these texts thereby rendered him personally responsible for their final textual outcomes. Consequently, the inclusion of comments and annotations, predominantly authored by Egidio himself, who also sponsored this comprehensive endeavor, is particularly significant for understanding the reception of each translation. Egidio da Viterbo articulated in his writings the ideal continuity he discerned in scholarly pursuits, particularly in relation to the interpretation of kabbalistic doctrines as expounded by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Paolo Ricci, and Johannes Reuchlin. Concurrently, he employed a distinctive, collaborative, and notably proactive approach to the translation of kabbalistic texts, as previously delineated. Consequently, in the preceding sections, I sought to elucidate, through a comprehensive analysis of segments of this text and its annotations, how Egidio's active engagement in the translation process of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* shaped his interpretation of the text and distantiated him from his ideal predecessor. Moreover, given the nascent stage of Egidio's engagement with kabbalistic studies during the composition of this translation, I tried to demonstrate how the analysis and edition of his Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* serve as a foundational case study. This work should be regarded as a benchmark for assessing other translations produced within Egidio's intellectual circle, as well as for understanding the evolution of Egidio's kabbalistic conceptions, particularly given the substantial impact of kabbalistic thought on his political, cultural, and religious pursuits.

Conclusions

The preceding chapters, which focus on the Latin translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, have positioned these texts as not only an intriguing aspect of the treatise's reception throughout the centuries but also as a significant case study in evaluating how translations constituted the initial and foundational form of mediation of kabbalistic Jewish content to a broader Christian audience. An additional critical aspect that emerged from their philological and historical analysis is the significance of the translational techniques and methodologies employed in the two distinct intellectual endeavors of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and of Egidio da Viterbo. Despite the ideological continuity that Egidio identified with Pico's works and his approach to Kabbalah, the markedly different translational methodologies employed seem to reflect two distinct, albeit ideally interconnected, cultural and historical contexts. The strictly literal translation method employed by Flavius Mithridates for all his works at the behest of his patron, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, appears to reflect the initial experimental stages of the onset of the Christian kabbalistic movement. Kabbalistic doctrines were at that time largely unfamiliar to Christians, as there apparently had been no prior efforts to translate these texts into Latin. As a result, the effort to uncover obscure esoteric doctrines required a precise alignment with the original Hebrew text, emphasizing linguistic accuracy to the extent of strictly adhering to foreign syntactic and grammatical structures, rather than prioritizing stylistic elegance in the resulting Latin translations. As elucidated in the specific case of Mithridates' translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, his strict adherence to the Hebrew original employed as the source for his work enables a detailed reconstruction of the codicological and textual characteristics of the predominantly lost or unidentified manuscripts he utilized. This fact facilitates a more accurate assessment of the potential stemmatic significance of Mithridates' translations in comparison to the extant Hebrew versions of each treatise. However, in the case of Mithridates' Latin rendition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, this evaluation yields limited results due to the incomplete nature of Mithridates' extant translation. The fragmented state of this translation, along with the incorrect assembly of its final quires, appears to reflect the abrupt conclusion of these initial attempts to engage with Kabbalah among Christians. Following Giovanni Pico's dissemination of kabbalistic doctrines within his *Conclusiones Nongentae* and his subsequent inquisitorial dispute, the collaboration between the young Count of Mirandola and his translator concluded controversially. Mithridates began to articulate grievances against his patron, citing a series of missed payments and expressing general dissatisfaction with his former student. Conversely, Giovanni Pico's interest in recovering Mithridates' books following his arrest, coupled with his substantial disinterest in the convert's fate, appears to indicate a clearly strained relationship. The Count of Mirandola never managed to recover the translations he had commissioned to Mithridates, as these works entered in the papal collection.

As reconstructed in the previous pages, these texts included the quires, most of which were likely loose, of Mithridates' translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which Giovanni Pico probably never read. This translation, either complete or already missing some parts, was subsequently assembled alongside other loose quires of Mithridates' translations in MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190. The final outcome of Egidio da Viterbo's Latin rendition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is indeed reflective of the cultural context of the early 16th century in which this translation was produced. In the intervening decades since Mithridates' earlier endeavor to translate *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* into Latin, the ideas on Kabbalah of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, along with his supersessionist approach to the study of its texts, had become prevalent, albeit still regarded with suspicion by some scholars. Therefore, Egidio da Viterbo engaged with kabbalistic treatises with the objective of genuinely uncovering and comprehending the secrets and affirmations of Christian doctrines that kabbalistic texts were purported to preserve. The translations produced in his scribal and kabbalistic workshop were thus the outcome of a collaborative pedagogical and translational effort aimed at truly understanding and elucidating the kabbalistic mysteries. The translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, dated 1513, represents one of the earliest kabbalistic works to be examined within this context, offering a foundational example for evaluating the development of kabbalistic studies and translational methodologies in Egidio's atelier. A meticulous examination of the principal variants within the textual tradition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* has facilitated the reconstruction of the main characteristics of the Hebrew original source employed for this translation in order to establish its stemmatic significance. This analysis has also revealed the presence of sections from *Perush Zulati*, Reuven Tzarfati's most important commentary on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, integrated within the translation text, occasionally even supplanting the treatise's text. The incorporation of explanations and even portions of a commentary within the Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* highlights the importance attributed in this scholarly endeavor to understanding the meaning and accurate interpretations of kabbalistic doctrines. The annotations accompanying the translation text have enabled an evaluation of Egidio's reception and interpretation of its content, with a particular focus on the purported references to Christian doctrines and dogmas identified by Egidio and his collaborators within this specific text. The comparative analysis of these translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which followed the extensive editorial process of these texts, has become inherently intertwined with a re-evaluation of the manuscripts containing Latin translations of kabbalistic and Hebrew texts produced within the same intellectual endeavors that conceived them. These extensive examinations have enabled me to present the first comprehensive description of the content of these volumes, including the kabbalistic vernacular translations produced for Pier Leone da Spoleto, as well as the Hebrew sources that served as the foundation for some of these renditions. In this context, the analysis of the extant volumes from

Egidio da Viterbo's library has enabled me to determine that MS Casanatense 3154 was utilized as the Hebrew source for both Latin translations of *Sefer ha-Peliah* produced in the Cardinal's scribal workshop. Furthermore, I could prove as well that MS BML, Plut. II 48 was used as the Hebrew source for the "Zohar parvus" on foll. 259v-286v of MS BAV, Vat. Lat. 5198. The analysis of these manuscripts, in conjunction with a comprehensive review of the principal sources concerning the origins of Christian Kabbalah and the biography of Egidio da Viterbo, has facilitated the reconstruction of an ideal trajectory of this movement from late 15th-century humanist Florence to the early 16th-century Roman papal court. This reconstruction seeks to position Christian Kabbalah within its appropriate cultural, religious, and political contexts, with particular emphasis on situating this movement within the broader framework of the development of kabbalistic studies in the Italian Peninsula within their respective epochs. Particular attention has been devoted to examining the political and cultural roles played by prominent members of the Tuscan and Roman Jewish communities, such as the Da Pisa family, as well as their interactions with local Christian elites and intellectuals. As evidenced by the sources and the extant manuscripts owned by these distinguished Jewish scholars, the study of kabbalistic thought was indeed a pivotal component of their cultural education. Thus, a thorough historical analysis of Kabbalah in Italy during these periods, which incorporates the Christian kabbalistic movement as a fundamental component of its evolution, emerges as an essential research objective. This analysis should encompass significant considerations regarding the interactions between Jewish and Christian kabbalists, as well as the exchange of ideas and manuscripts between these groups, which this thesis, within its limitations, has endeavored to initiate. Numerous aspects warrant further analysis, as their examination extended beyond the scope of this research. For instance, a more comprehensive investigation into the cultural interests of prominent Jewish families engaged in the study of Kabbalah, such as Da Pisa or Ḥalfan, which shall include an examination and description of the extant manuscripts within their collections, could yield valuable insights into the dissemination of kabbalistic materials and the subsequent reinterpretation of doctrines specific to the Italian Peninsula. In examining the historical context of Italian kabbalistic circles, both Jewish and Christian, from the late 15th century to the mid-16th century, it is imperative to focus on the millenarian and messianic expectations that emerged during this period. In the preceding sections, I have introduced some preliminary observations regarding David Reuveni and Shlomo Molko's messianic movement in connection with the biography of Egidio da Viterbo. Based on the initial findings of this research, it is essential to conduct further textual, philological, and documentary investigations into the historical interplay between kabbalistic studies, Jewish messianic movements in Italy, and the concurrent Christian millennialism aimed at reforming the Catholic Church. As previously discussed, this analysis will involve a thorough examination and possibly the

editing of the texts studied by both Jewish and Christian kabbalists, whether in Hebrew or Latin. Moreover, this study shall investigate the autograph annotations inscribed by these scholars in the margins of their readings. These *marginalia* serve indeed, to varying extents, as critical sources for comprehending the reception of these texts and for situating kabbalistic studies within their appropriate historical context. The methodological and practical challenges associated with editing kabbalistic texts with these specific objectives also arose in the edition of the Latin translations of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, presented in the second volume of this thesis. The discussion of these issues provide valuable insights into the future developments of this research, as well as serve as an informative benchmark for future editions. As will be further elucidated in the discussion of the specific editorial conventions applied to each translation, in alignment with previous publications on the subject, I approached the edition through a semi-diplomatic method. The objective of this methodology was to preserve the essential graphic and translational characteristics of the manuscript version of each translation, while offering a legible transcription of these texts for readers who may not be familiar with the handwriting of the respective authors. The deliberate focus on the material aspects of these translations, aimed at providing valuable historical insights into the practical elements involved in the production of these texts, led me to exclude additional crucial information that might be included in a more comprehensive edition of these texts. Specifically, I chose not to incorporate in the *apparatus* of these semi-diplomatic editions any biblical quotations or citations from other authoritative sources referenced within *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, and consequently included within these translations. Moreover, in the case of Egidio's Latin translation of this text, doctrines and sections of *Perush Zulati* were incorporated seamlessly. Consequently, unless the commentary is explicitly referenced, I have chosen not to annotate these inclusions within the translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, as Egidio regarded them as integral to a single and unified translational outcome. Future research in the textual analysis of this work should aim to identify, where feasible, the specific sections of *Perush Zulati* that were incorporated into Egidio's translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*. Additionally, the integration of biblical and authoritative citations to assess potential reception within the *apparatus* of these translation editions could represent a significant advancement in the broader editorial initiative, aimed at publishing these texts, or even a prospective Hebrew edition of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and its commentaries. In the context of Egidio da Viterbo's translation of this text, a significant aspect of the edition is the inclusion of marginal annotations that engage with the primary translation. The inclusion of these annotations is particularly significant, as they often offer valuable insights into the reception of the doctrines within these translations. Considering that Egidio da Viterbo employed marginal annotations even in Hebrew manuscripts, occasionally of the very texts he had translated, it is imperative to conduct more comprehensive

studies on these *marginalia*. Such studies should aim not only to ascertain the historical significance of these annotations but also to potentially develop more refined methodologies, techniques, and digital tools for their edition. Their transcription would indeed facilitate their accessibility and study alongside the Hebrew and Latin texts they accompany.

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UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI MODENA E REGGIO EMILIA

Dottorato di ricerca di interesse nazionale in Studi Religiosi

Ciclo XXXVIII

Between Proportion and Order. The Latin translations of *Ma 'arekhet ha-Elohut* between Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Egidio da Viterbo (MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190 and MS BNF, Lat. 598). Part 2/Editions.

in co-tutela con l'École Pratique des Hautes Études

Candidata PEPOLI Margherita

Relatore italiano (Tutor): Prof. Fabrizio Lelli

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e il patrimonio culturale”.

Editorial conventions

Mithridates' translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, preserved on foll. 132r-150v; 212r-221v of MS BAV, Chigi A VI 190, has been edited in accordance with the standard editorial conventions of the "Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola". Consequently, all abbreviations in Mithridates' translations have been expanded. For the sake of readability, the orthographic distinction between the sounds "u" and "v" has been introduced or standardized, while the inconsistent rendering of the letters "ti" and "ci" has been retained. Scribal errors or corrections are noted in the footnotes, while all Latin transcriptions of Hebrew words have been elucidated in the footnotes. A notable feature of this translation is the translation of the abbreviations associated with the Ten *Sefirot* with their respective numerical values. Consequently, each instance where this substitution occurred has been addressed and elaborated upon in the footnotes. This semi-diplomatic edition does not include references to biblical or authoritative citations.

Flavius Mithridates' Latin translation of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut

[132r] Incipit liber de ordine vel proportionem vel serie vel consideratione divinitatis marecheth aelahuth¹. Et veniant ad me miserationes tue domine et salus tua secundum dictionem tuam. Capitula huius libri sunt XX omnino, primum est de proportionem divinitatis, secundum de proportionem² unitatis, tertium vero de consistorio nominum, quartum de proportionem nominum proprietatum, quintum de nominibus equalibus. Sextum de nominibus oppositis agentibus, septimum de proportionem ordinis, octavum de proportionem vel serie rationis nonum de porta destructionis. Decimum de porta hominis undecimum de curru superiore, duodecimum de porta mundi, tertium decimum de denariis, quartum decimum de septenariis, sextum decimum³ de octonariis decimum septimum de nomine, decimum octavum de intentionem nominis. Decimum nonum de intentionem sanctificationis, vicesimum de intentionem benedictioni(s) benedicite. Finiunt capitula. (pice scias quia hoc vocabulum maarecheth מערכת est equivocum ad ordinem, dispositionem, proportionem, considerationem, fatum, seriem, precium et multa alia ne confundaris si contingeret me uti uno pro alio intelligas quodcumque velis in hebraico non est nisi marechet pro quo ut plurimum in hoc libro ubi invenero ponam seriem: tu nunc scis).

Incipit primum capitulum de serie divinitatis.

Maarecheth aelahuth⁴ idest series divinitatis est permanencia vel confirmatio seu stabilitas fidei divinitatis prout convenit ad perfectionem ipsius dei sancti et benedicti. Et prout convenit ut credatur in perfectione fidei. Et est quidem quod oportet unumquemque qui habet fidem et religionem nostram Abraae ut credat credulitate firma perfecta et fide absoluta fixa in corde quod est antiquus innovans [132v] et sciens et curat particularia et potens omnia. Et verificatio huius credulitatis non aliter est quam verificatio vel credulitas totius legis, legis inquam non solum scripte sed etiam de ore nate que sunt continencia et universalitas omnium legum, quia omnis lex⁵ scripta declaratur per manus legis de ore nate. Et declaratus fuerit hic articulus removebuntur a mente tua dubia prout in cultu destructionis exponetur, quia lex removet omnes opiniones extraneas et erratas facie fidei⁶ et credulitates malas quas memoramus in hoc capitulo precipue, quia sunt quedam secte in fide et credulitate que tenent varias opiniones ut est illa que negat articulum principalem et dicit quod

¹ Latin transliteration for מערכת האלהות.

² Proportiones.

³ Mithridates seems to forget to list the content of chapter 15.

⁴ See *supra* n. 1.

⁵ The words "De ore nata" are erased.

⁶ Mithridates writes the word "fides".

mundus est eternus vel antiquus et hec secta negat dominum Iod he vau he⁷ et dixerunt non est hu⁸ ipse. Sunt autem alie secte que dicunt mundum esse novum verum tamen negant scienciam innovantis eum circa particularia inferiora et dicunt quomodo et qualiter scit el⁹ idest deus? An sit vel esse potest sciencia in helion¹⁰ idest altissimo? Quidam vero alii concedunt scienciam ipsius dei et removent providenciam particularem fundantes se per comparationem celsitudinis et excellencie dei respectu viltatis creaturarum et decernunt in hoc quod non est sciencia et cogitacio nec cura in adinventionibus et rebus humanis et faciunt hominem similem piscibus maris. Et conclusio summatim secundum scientiam eorum est quod reliquit dominus eth¹¹ terram vel orbem accidentibus, seu casui et fortune. Quedam vero alie secte tenent innovationem sciencie et curam circa particularia verum determinant esse impossibile quod sit aliqua res super quam vel de qua non indicet intellectus vel natura quia seculum secundum consuetudinem suam regitur et negant per hoc miracula et prodigia que fiunt per mutationem nature quod dicuntur supernaturalia que dicuntur miracula manifesta et querunt hi inve(ni)[133r]re seu assignare rationem et naturam sive aliquid motus nature in ipsis miraculis. Secte autem quas memoravimus ultra se habent alias opiniones varias et diversas hanc scilicet ab illa quare una dicit sic et alia dicit aliter, de quibus non est opus in presencia memorare. Verum summa et conclusio manans ab omnibus illis est destructio legis tocus vel partis eius vel educere res occultas et secretas in parabolas et convertere eas in fabulas et veteres avias et aniles. Verum tamen fides et credulitas nostra est quod lex in omnibus narrationibus eius et misteriis eius a principio eius usque ad finem eius sunt misteria de quibus nec intellectus nec natura aliquo modo cadit nec rationes naturales vel secundum intellectum assignari possunt, quia sic pervenit ad nos cabalistiche de ore in os per sucessionem traditam scilicet unius ab altero usque ad moisen legislatorem nostrum in monte synai. Testes autem fideles huius vere fidei et credulitatis sunt precepta quorum usus est in ecclesia sancta israel et que sunt in usu per traditionem unius ab ore alterius. Et hec est maior testificatio que superat omnes credulitates et fides quas memoravimus. Et intelligitur hoc et percipitur in verbis magni doctoris Rabi moyseos filii naamani Gerundinensis in particula vade ad pharahonem circa rationem preceptorum, qui dixit in hec verba: Et quando grata est deo aliqua ecclesia vel multitudo vel persona particularis ut veniat in tantum quod faciat cum eis aliquid prodigium per mutacionem et alterationem moris et consuetudinis seculi et preter morem ordinis naturalis declarabitur omnibus irritacio harum opinionum falsarum et cessatio illarum prodigium namque illud et miraculum supernaturale cuius cause latent, ostendunt quod mundus habet innovatorem et scientem omnia et curantem particularia

⁷ Letter by letter Latin transliteration for the Tetragrammaton.

⁸ Latin transliteration for יהוה.

⁹ Latin transliteration for אל.

¹⁰ Latin transliteration for עליון.

¹¹ Latin transliteration for את.

et potentem super omnia. Et cum fuerit hoc prodigium vel miraculum predictum et deter[133v]minatum seu decretum ab ore alicuius prophete predicentis declarabitur ab eo amplius veritas prophetie quod sit et quod loquatur elohim¹² cum homine et ideo dixit testus in lege scripta de prodigiis et miraculis supernaturalibus, ut scias quod ego dominus Iod he vau he¹³ sum in medio terre, ad indicandum providenciam particularem quod non reliquit dominus Iod he vau he¹⁴ terram accidentibus seu casui et fortune secundum opinionem eorum. Et dixit quidem ut sciatis quod ego dominus Iod he vau he¹⁵ in medio terre sum et alibi ut scias quia non est similis mihi in tota terra ad indicandum et ostendendum super potencia sua quod ipse inperat in omnibus unde considera hos testus quorum unus dicit ut scias quod domini Iod he vau he¹⁶ est terra ad indicandum novitatem quod si terra sua est et ipse creavit eam ex non ente vel ain¹⁷. Alter vero dicens ut scias quoniam non est similis mihi in tota terra est ad indicandum omnipotenciam quod scilicet ipse deus potens est super omnia nec aliquis prohibet in manu sua. Ergo signa et prodigia supernaturalia sunt testes fideles de credulitate et fide creatoris et de tota lege, huc usque sunt verba dicti magni doctoris, sic itaque habes quod per credulitatem legis que venit per successionem traditionis cabalistiche tradite de unius ore in os alterius usque ad moisen qui recepit de monte synao verificabitur et confirmabitur credulitas et fides divinitatis in perfectione sua et fixio fidei et credulitatis est talis quando facimus commemorationem¹⁸ de signis prodigiis et miraculis illis supernaturalibus in corpore nostro et in domibus nostris et in ore nostro et in manu nostra cotidie et quocumque anno. Et per hoc quidem verificabitur nobis misterium ac si vidissemus cum oculis nostris omnia quia per continuationem et perpetuitatem patrum qui viderunt ea miracula et prodigia et qui docent ea et narrant filiis suis, memoria eorum non periit de semine eorum et filiis nec [134r] oportet ut verificetur de novo misterium quia forte etas non est digna nec meretur ut fiant sibi miracula manifesta omni tempore hoc autem misterio in cordibus nostris fixo verificabitur nobis premium retributionis et punitionis in misterio preceptorum quod ipsa sunt articuli fidei religionis et credulitatis sicut prolixius dixit magnus docto(r) de his loquens et amplius de hoc misterio in comento suo.

Capitulum secundum de serie unitatis

Series autem unitatis sunt abstractiones seu negationes que dicuntur Seliloth שלילות quas convenit abstrahere ab ipsa divinitate ad perfectionem sue unitatis. Et quomodo debet eis uti ille qui abstrahit

¹² Latin transliteration for אלהים.

¹³ See *supra* n. 7.

¹⁴ See *supra* n. 7.

¹⁵ See *supra* n. 7.

¹⁶ See *supra* n. 7.

¹⁷ Latin transliteration for אין.

¹⁸ The words “de credu” are erased.

vel negat. Et est quidem quod oportet omnem habentem seu tenentem fidem et religionem nostram ut credat de misterio dei benedicti seu divinitatis quod est unus et unicus hebraïce hehad umïuchad biehud בייחוד אחד ומיוחד seu proprius cum unitate absoluta et perfecta pro ut declarabitur inferius. Et sermo antiquorum de hoc misterio est sermo unitatis perfecte, quod dicatur deus unus est, secundum fidem antiquorum priorum nostrorum. Et ex eo autem quod ipsi dixerunt hoc: necesse est ut omnis perfecte credens credulitatem unitatis vel unionis abstrahere seu negare ab eis tres negationes per se notas ut principium per se notum omni intelligenti circa misterium unitatis. Que quidem sunt: Gismuth pherid xinnui גשמיות פירוד שנוי idest corporeitas vel incarnatio separatio vel divisio seu realis distinctio, mutacio vel alteracio seu varietas vel transmutatio. Abstrahitur autem corporeitas vel incarnatio hoc modo secundum quod ipsa definitur ipsa inquam abstraccio corporeitatis. Et est quod deus benedictus non est mugbal מוגבל idest determinatus vel definitus et non est corpus nec virtus in corpore seu potencia ad¹⁹ corpus et summa abstractionis vel negationis huius scilicet particule quod ipse [134v] non est determinatus nec definitus seu contentus nec in loco nec in²⁰ tempore sed quod fuit in preterito, et est in presenti erit in futuro nihil indigens. Hic deest totum illud quod diviserat magnus magister rabi isaac filius magni doctoris quod distruxit (sic est in hebraico pice). Et hoc est quod dixit testus et tota milicia celorum stabant a dextris eius et sinistris eius. Quomodo fieri potest? Numquid est dextra vel sinistra apud deum sanctum et benedictum? Sed hii quidem dextram faciunt docentes meritum hii vero sinistram faciunt dicentes damnationem. Et totum hoc fit secundum opus et actionem inferiorum ut declarabitur inferius. Et declarabitur articulus huius rei in misterio cultus nationis. Abstractio autem seu abnegatio distinctionis realis vel separationis est quod oportet credere et tenere pro primo principio quod ipse deus benedictus est intellectus perfectus seu absolutus, sechel gamur, שכל גמור. Et sic oportet credere quod intellectus absolutus vel perfectus non sit intellectus separatus vel distinctus hebraïce sechel nifrad שכל נפרד idest intellectus separatus cuiusmodi est intellectus angelorum sed oportet credere quod est intellectus perfectus sechel xalem unicus unitate absoluta שכל שלם מיוחד in tantum quod non sit finis nec terminus perfectioni unitatis sue. Abstractio vero mutationis vel alterationis seu varietatis continetur duobus modis, quorum unus dicitur sinui mahsava idest mutatio cogitationis vel imaginationis שנוי מחשבה, secundus vero dicitur mutatio vel varietas operis seu actionis hebraice sinnui pehulla, שנוי פעולה. Et misterius mutacionis cogitationis est illud quod indicant quidem testus secundum simplicem sensum eorum in quibus fit sermo de deo sancto et benedicto mutatione vel varietate cogitationis in misterio creationis et huiusmodi, ut invenitur non solum in ipsa creatione mundi sed etiam [135r]²¹ in verbis sapientum nostrorum cabalistarum et

¹⁹ The preposition “ad” is repeated twice.

²⁰ In is repeated twice.

²¹ Etiam is repeated twice.

per omnes libros eorum et in libris agade²² et in libris midraxim²³ de his que dicuntur de creatione ut est illud misterium quod dicitur in libro agade²⁴ quod dixit luna coram deo sancto et benedicto Domine seculi potest ne fieri ut duo regis utantur una corona? etc. Et velluti in illo alio misterio quod dicitur in libro brexith raba²⁵ quod dixit sabatum coram deo sancto et benedicto Domine seculi omnibus dedisti filium matrimonialem vel parem et deus sanctus et benedictus dixit ei cheneseth israel²⁶ sit tua filia par etc. Et veluti illud aliud quod dicunt quod deus sanctus et benedictus hedificabat secula et destruebat ea et dicebat hec mihi placent et hec mihi non placent. Et velut est illud aliud quod dicunt in misterio creationis quod combinavit proprietatem²⁷ clemenciarum cum proprietate iudicii et creavit seculum et similia illis quorum cultus declaratio continetur in residuis seu paxillo consistorii nominum יתר הלשכות. At vero misterium alterationis seu transmutationis operationis vel actionis quod dicitur xinnui pehulla²⁸ dividitur in duo misteria similiter quorum unum vocatur regiminis vel consuetudinis et aliud quod dicitur xemoth²⁹ idest nominum, hebraice hanaga xemoth הנהגה שמות. Misterium autem hanage³⁰ idest regiminis est quod indicant testus de regimine dei sancti et benedicti erga mundum hunc inferiorem quem quandoque regit iudicans, quandoque vero miseretur vel clementatur sive in universali et circa universalia sive in particulari erga particularia, et velut peniteant eum mali vel boni quod scilicet mutatur de bono in malum vel de malo in bonum, sive in loco uno sive in misterio multorum vel plurium sive in misterio unici et singularis persone. Et misterium nominum est quod scilicet invenitur in scriptura vel alibi de nominibus suis. Quorum quedam ostendere videmus [135v] clementias quedam vero iudicium et velut dividatur et varietur vel³¹ ex nominibus suis videatur suscipere alterationem. Et tres he abstractiones seu abnegationes continentur in verbo seu vocabulo unitatis perfecte. Continencia autem credulitatis et fidei unitatis in perfectione est quod ipse deus benedictus non est corpus nec virtus in corpore nec intellectus separatus nec variatur de cogitatione in cogitationem nec de actione in actionem nec de regimine in regimen et quod ipse est intellectus perfectus et absolutus et purus et simplex unitus vel unicus in omnibus partibus nominum suorum et in omnibus partibus proprietatum suarum. Et alteratio seu transmutatio operationis que est ex parte regiminis non est nisi ex parte recipientium, quia qui ambulat in puritate sua in rectitudine observat domum receptionis sue bonam que derivata est vel decreta ab ipso deo benedicto. Et qui retorquet viam suam se habet ut ille qui non curat se se ut distet a bono derivato vel

²² Latin transliteration for הגדה.

²³ Latin transliteration for מדרשים.

²⁴ See *supra* n. 22.

²⁵ Latin transliteration for בראשית רבא.

²⁶ Latin transliteration for כנסת ישראל.

²⁷ The word "iusticie" is erased.

²⁸ Latin transliteration for שנוי פעולה.

²⁹ Latin transliteration for שמות.

³⁰ Latin transliteration for הנהגה.

³¹ The word "vel" is written between above the line.

decreto ab ipso deo et recipit contrarium determinatum vel directum etiam ab ipso deo sancto et benedicto. At tamen ex parte ipsius dei sancti et benedicti non est res mala nec polluta nec inmundum que descendat a celo quia ipse simplex est et regimina eius simplicia et pura sunt similia ad illud quod dicunt sapientes nostri quod in futuro tempore deus sanctus et benedictus educit solem de vagina sua et comburet etc. etiam illi alii dicto quod scilicet iusti convertunt et transmutant proprietatem iudicii in proprietatem clemencie et impii convertunt vel transmutant proprietatem clemencie in proprietatem iudicii, quia iusticia iusti non solum est sibi pietas et benedictio sed etiam vicinis suis et generationi seu etati sue. Impietas autem impii est misphath³² idest iudicium et din³³ idest iudicium et maledictio sibi et vicinis suis et etati sue. Et retributionem manuum eorum faciet eis. Et secundum hanc viam est misterium transmuta[136r]tionis nominum. Et quamvis dicant sapientes nostri quod ubicumque invenitur elohim hoc nomen אלוהים sic scriptum quod indicat proprietatem iudicii et ubicumque invenitur Adonai³⁴ idest hoc nomen Iod he vau he יהוה scriptum quod indicet proprietatem clemencie, non est hoc misterium quod dividatur vel distinguatur essentia ipsius dei benedicti per nomina sua, sed quod hec sancta nomina indicant in loco suo pro providencia bona que venit ab eo vel mala, hoc est si decretum est ab eo super creaturis suis ut recipiant bonum propter meritum eorum vel contrarium propter malum eorum secundum respectum quod est in eis, hoc est in proprietatibus ipsius nominis de quibus testus dixit Rupes vel rupis perfectum est opus eius quia omnes vie eius misphath³⁵ idest iure vel iudicio sunt. Deus fidei est et sine iniquitate. Iustus et perfectus est. Dicit igitur quod opera sua idest rupis vel dei seculorum perfecta sunt et ipse in se ipso fidelis est et rectus in omnibus viis eius quasi dicat perfectus et simplex et purus in omnibus proprietatibus suis et postquam est simplex indicat vocabulum en havol אין עול idest sine iniquitate est pro retributione que est ex parte intellectus. Et sic secundum latus vel respectum equalem quod in nomine suo invenies quando in textu clemencie nomen elohim אלוהים quod indicat iudicium aut nomen Adonai scriptum per aleph daleth nun iod אדני quamvis misterium eius indicet iudicium proprie tamen indicabit clemenciam et ut memoravimus quod sapientes nostri dicunt ubicumque inveneris hoc nomen elohim³⁶ quod indicat proprietatem iudicii. Et alibi dixerunt quod non est elohim hoc modo scriptum nisi Daian³⁷ idest iudex et similiter de nomine eius scripto per aleph daleth nun iod אדני quod derivatur a vocabulo dominii Adonuth אדנות que indicat iudicium ut natum est ipsis dominis operantibus quando scilicet facit iudicium inter aleph iod tamen indicabit clemenciam. Similiter quoque invenies in testibus ire et furoris nomen proprium filium [136v] quatuor litterarum indicans per litteras suas clemenciam tamen

³² Latin transliteration for משפט.

³³ Latin transliteration for דין.

³⁴ Latin transliteration for אדני.

³⁵ See *supra* n. 32.

³⁶ See *supra* n. 12.

³⁷ Latin transliteration for דיין.

invenitur indicare iudicium et simile est illud quod dicunt sapientes nostri quod ubicumque inveneris nomen domini tetragrammaton Iod he vau he³⁸ indicat proprietatem clemencie et intelligetur hoc in cultu destructionis. Et in viris sodomitis manifestum est quod non est multum necessaria profunditas magna in misterio speculanti et intelligenti quia cum fuerit homo iustus, dans iudicium seu dator iudicii efficitur ei bonum, et quare igitur exhibit tortuosum iudicium suum? Cum vero fuerit inpius dignus est ut clemencia destruat illum et iudicet. Verum tamen profunditates verborum dominis operantibus in hac arte tradita sunt et intelligetur hoc in cultu rationis et in cultu destructionis quamvis totum articulum declarabo in cultu destructionis. Et secundum viam hanc quam declaravimus omnis qui loquitur de misteriis dei sancti et benedicti non debet figere ei neque nominibus suis nec proprietatibus suis nomen fixum et firmum nec proprietatem fixam et firmam, hoc est quod specialiter possit dicere tale nomen indicat precise iudicium et tale nomen indicat precise clemenciam et hoc aliud nomen indicat iudicium et non clemenciam, et hec proprietas clemenciam et non iudicium vel contrarium quia respectus equalis in omnibus est tam in nominibus suis quam in proprietatibus suis quia sunt providencie particulares et regimina propria et contenta seu universalizata in ipso deo sancto et benedicto et pura sunt et simplicia sine aliqua contrarietate. Contrarietas autem que apparet est ex parte recipiendum et sic manifestum est de mutatione seu transmutatione vel varietate operationis vel effectus continente regimen et nomina et quomodo debeat uti eis qui loquitur de eis. Verum mutatio cogitationis vel imaginationis que est in abnegatione seu abstractione mutationis probabitur in paxillo turmarum cum hoc etiam quod declarabitur amp[137r]lius transmutacio et operationis seu effectus. Et testus indicantes in misterio corporeitatis cuiusmodi sunt caput et oculus et os et manus et pes et auris et sic misterium motus ut est transitus et itineraria et statio et sic misteria pertinencia ad sensus cuiusmodi sunt odor et auditus et visio et loquela, odoravit dominus, audivit dominus vidit dominus locutus est dominus et huius similia omnia hec notificabuntur intelligenti in vexillo castri edificii et ex religione hominis et misterium ascensionis et descensus intelligi dabitur in serie currus probabiliter et in hoc terminatur ordo fidei et credulitatis.

Capitulum 3um de consistorio nominum

Consistorium seu ordo nominum dicitur lischath assemoth לשכת השמות, ordinavimus in hoc consistorio tres ordines seu series quarum prima dicitur series nominum proprietatum et secundus dicitur series nominum equalium tercius vero dicitur ordo vel series nominum oppositorum effectuum. Antequam igitur incipiam hunc cultum seu religionem preponam hic unam sententiam testus repetiti in venerabili libro Sepher iesire³⁹, ex quo ille testus in se continet principia

³⁸ See *supra* n. 7.

³⁹ Latin transliteration for ספר יצירה.

amphorismorum quibus operati sunt omnes qui operati sunt aliquod opus in hac sciencia et ostendit et dirigit viam omnium tremitum vexillorum et turmarum que castrametate sunt ante nos. Traditum est ibi decem numerationes sine quiditate sunt decem et non novem decem et non undecim et c. Receperunt Domini huius sciencie et operantes in illa de ore in os manifeste, quod deus benedictus seu divinitas est decem numerationes Sephiroth⁴⁰ que alio nomine dicuntur midoth⁴¹ seu proprietates, que sunt proprietates seu mores et regimina ipsius dei sancti et benedicti in hoc mundo inferiore. Et inferius ad huc loquar in misterio processionis cum hoc quod declarabitur amplius divi[137v]nitas eius in vexillo castris edificii in cultura hominis, vocavit autem eas auctor libri Sephira⁴² idest numerationem derivata a vocabulo mispar idest מספר numeri propter hoc scilicet quod est radix cuiusvis definiti in definitione numero denario et hoc quidem quia omnes centenarii et millenarii et miriades et omnes numeri quotquot sint definiti sunt definitione denarii ut notum est his qui habent noticiam sciencie arithmetice sive supputationis numerorum. Potest etiam esse quod vocabulum Sephire⁴³ derivetur a verbo saphir, ספירה ספיר, de quo scribitur sub pedibus eius quasi albedo saphyri. Ductum est etiam sine quidditate ad indicandum misterium excelsum quod procedunt ab eo vel quod vocantur sic ex parte sui ipsius quia sunt divinitas omnes decem ut memoravimus et ut ad huc memoraturi sumus infra. Iam enim intellexisti ad cultu(m) unitatis quod deitas seu deus benedictus est sine quidditate. Dixit autem in libro sepher iesire⁴⁴ decem et non novem ne separetur primum seu principium per processionem a nonario ob magnitudinem excellentie sue, et ut etiam non separetur ultima per processionem ab illa que precedit eam vel est ante eam ob minoritatem gradus eius et excellencie sue quia respectus unitatis equalis est in omnibus illis et ut lectum est in libro sepher iesire⁴⁵ planta fines earum in principio earum in principio earum quia a fine verbi invenitur caput seu principium et a principio vero eius invenitur finis eius, nec est aliquis finis sine principio nec est principium sine fine simile huic est quod principium verbi vel rei et finis eius equales sunt in essencia eius et in unitate eius quia scilicet non invenitur hoc sine illo. Et est simile illi quod dicunt sapientes nostri quod principium cogitationis est finis operis סוף המעשה הוא תחלת המחשבה vel effectus ad illum qui intellegit in misterio suo et articulo⁴⁶ [138r] suo qui declarabitur in vexillo castris edificii. Et dixit decem et non undecim ad hunc finem ne numeretur a principio excellenti et sublimato quod memoravimus pro una numeratione et dicta est undecim propter hoc scilicet quod ad magnitudinem excellencie sive nomen numeri non capitur in eo, et in vexillo castris edificii dabitur intelligi ratio

⁴⁰ Latin transliteration for ספירות.

⁴¹ Latin transliteration for מדות.

⁴² Latin transliteration for ספירה.

⁴³ See *supra* n. 42.

⁴⁴ See *supra* n. 39.

⁴⁵ See *supra* n. 39.

⁴⁶ The beginning of the word “suo” is left unfinished, though not erased, and rewritten on the next folio.

mysterii dominiis operantibus in hac sciencia cum hoc amplius quod declarabitur ibi amplius regimen eorum et ratio eorum in gradu ipsarum earundem numerationum per ascensum eius gradu unius in alterum. Et debes amplius scire quod per comemorationem meam de misterio numerationum dicendo principium et finem absit quod intencio sit ut divinitas habeat terminum principii et finis quia iam declaravimus in cultu unitatis iam secundum quod patuit ex ipsa declaratione nostra quod divinitas non definitur in termino sed intencio est de misterio processionis que habet principium et finem et ordinem ad ordinationem creaturarum per illam. Et quemadmodum de hoc ipso misterio declarabitur in cultu ordinis. Itaque debes scire quod misterium processionis quod memoravimus et quod memoraturi sumus in cultu ordinis non est res que mutata sit vel que innovata est in processu seu in procedente aliquid in quam quod non fuit ante processionem quod absit, quia iam memoravimus quod processio numerationum est divinitas ipsa benedicta. Et diximus in vexillo castri fidei et credulitatis quod divinitas non mutatur de una re in aliam rem sed misterium processionis est quod manifestata est et revelata seu dicta virtus illa clausa et occulta de potencia in actum, cuius facta prius differentia infinita exemplum est de incensione lucerne de carbone et emictente flammam, non enim nota est flam(m)a in carbone donec exierit ad actum scilicet ad lumen oculorum. Et notum est quod [138v] flamma in carbone est in potencia et per exitum eius de potencia in actum nulla novitas sit in flamma sed actus qui est lumen est innovatio facta nunc apud illum qui videt eam nunc et non ante, etiam per exitum flamme a carbone non est defectus in carbone sed bene est in carbone super flammam gradus seu excellenciam ad oculos videntis nunc, non autem antequam visa fuisse ante flammam itaque precessit gradu vel excellencia. Sic igitur est illud quod intelligitur allegoricos in hac processione, quia mutationes que sunt virtutes sunt velut facientes procedere quousque ascendat voluntas vel usque ad sublimationem voluntatis ab eo benedicto ut reveletur et manifestetur ut exeat de potencia in actum hoc est quod sit una queque virtus et virtus fundamentum ad operationem futuram exire ab eo in mundo inferiore in perfectione principii cogitationis nec miscebitur verbum eius cum verbo eius vel aliquid cum aliquo eius donec ascendat voluntas seu usque ad sublimationem voluntatis ab eo pro ut declarabitur misterium in rationis capite et memorabitur ex hoc in vexillo castri edificii. Brevitas verbi est quod non est defectus in faciente procedere nec est innovatio in procedente sed gradus procedere facientis super processum in prioritate est ut gradus vel excellencia carbonis super flamma cum hoc quod declarabitur ultra adhuc misterium et ratio gradus et excellencie sue cum rationibus et iudiciis rationum cultus et operationis in eis. Et intellige hunc articulum quia est articulus articulorum et fundamentum totius edificii cum hoc quod memorabimus semper in hoc cultu seu religione hac et eius operatione quod scilicet he decem numerationes ipse sunt divinitas ut memoravimus Benedictus sit nomen eius. Et quod deus sanctus et benedictus seu divinitas est unitus in eis absque separatione et trans[139r]mutatione seu alteratione et est fundamentum totius edificii.

Capitulum 4 de serie nominum proprietatum

Series nominum proprietatum que dicitur maharecheth xemoth amidoth מערכת שמות המדות⁴⁷ est maior pars nominum decem numerationum predictarum que sunt in visu in ore sciencium hanc scienciam et operantium per eam et colentium. Et hec sunt duobus modis, quedam sunt que cognominarunt ipsi sapientes per se ratione effectus generati et facti in hoc mundo inferiore, secundo modo adhuc in duas partes dividitur quia primo scilicet sunt quedam que receperunt cabalistiche ex occultis legis et prophetarum et agiographarum, secundo modo sunt quedam que continentur in occultis librorum agade⁴⁸ et librorum midraxim⁴⁹. Et quamvis multo plura sunt nomina illarum quam ea que memoraturi sumus tamen hec que dicemus et memorabimus sunt que sufficient et inplebunt dominos operantes in hac sciencia per ea, et dicuntur vexilla que castrametantur iuxta tabernaculum. Itaque incipiendum est de nominibus illis et dividuntur in decem particulas secundum quod numerationes ipse numero sunt X ut dictum est.

Particula prima de nominibus prime numerationis

Prima autem numeratio est hen soph hec habet nomina usitata

cheter helion Ain

Corona superior non ens

אין כתר עליון

De hac autem extat testus in agiographis dicens levabo oculos meos ad montes ex ain⁵⁰ veniet auxilium mihi. Tercium nomen est mahasaba, מהשבה, idest cogitatio vel imaginatio et de hoc nomine est usus frequens apud sapientes nostros dicentes sic ascendit in masaba⁵¹ idest in cogitatione, et alibi principium cogitationis est finis effectus vel operis. Quartum nomen est irath adonai יראת יהוה idest timor domini Iod he vau he⁵² cum veneratione, de hac extat textus in agiographis dicens [139v] Et dixit homini ecce timor domini Iod he vau he est⁵³ thesaurus eius. Et alibi ecce timor domini Iod he vau he⁵⁴ est principium sapiencie. Quintum nomen est hiccar achol עקר הכל idest articulus vel radix omnium. Sextum nomen est quod est hiadiha הידיעה haiodeiia vehaiaduuh וידועה היודע idest sciencia

⁴⁷ Mithridates writes these words on the right side of the line below.

⁴⁸ See *supra* n. 22.

⁴⁹ See *supra* n. 23.

⁵⁰ Latin transliteration for אין.

⁵¹ Latin transliteration for מהשבה.

⁵² See *supra* n. 7.

⁵³ See *supra* n. 7.

⁵⁴ See *supra* n. 7.

et sciens et scitus scilicet ex continencia numeri 305⁵⁵ et numeri 700⁵⁶. Et per eam decretum seu dolatum est totum edificium et misterium quod determinatum est per numerum tricentenarium⁵⁷ et quinarium et numerum septingentenarium⁵⁸, de hac numeratione non est cogitandum neque imaginandum quicquam quia proprietates eius recte sunt non novit homo precium eius nec ordinem nec proportionem nec seriem et usque huc pertingit cogitatio in homine. Et forte quod de ea dixerunt sapientes huius sciencie in oculo a te noli inquirere, et memorabimus nos hoc misterium in consistorio edificii in serie ordinis, primum indictum eius est unitas sive aleph א de hac enim extat textus in agiographis dicens ipse vel הוא fecit nos et ipsi Aleph non sumus quod legitur cum littera vau et scribitur cum littera aleph ac si diceret et ipsius unitatis nos sumus hebraice hu asanu vlo anahnu ammo, וְלוֹ, הוּא עֲשָׂאנוּ וְלֹא אֲנַחְנוּ עִמּוֹ, וְלוֹ. Secundum indicium et septimum nomen est אה et sunt littere aleph et he que scribuntur in nomine domini quatuor litterarum אהיה Aleph he iod he, et indicant eam prout probabitur et declarabitur in vexillo castri edificii in serie ordinis in cultura nominis. Octavum nomen est Rom maala idest altitudo superior punctata cum holem⁵⁹, רֹם מַעֲלָה. Nonum nomen est Rom axamaim רֹם הַשָּׁמַיִם idest altitudo celorum punctata cum holem⁶⁰. Decimum nomen est Rom absolute punctato cum holem⁶¹ [140r] de hoc enim extat auctoritas testus dicentis in prophetis Rom⁶² idest altitudo manus eius elevavit. Undecimum nomen est haver Cadmon אוֹיֵר קַדְמוֹן idest aer antiquus vel eternus. Duodecimum nomen est aculeus Iod littere prime nominis quatuor litterarum hiod he vau he⁶³, hebraice Coso xel Iod xebxem ben Arba othioth, אֹתִיּוֹת בֶּן ד' שְׁבַשֵּׁם בֶּן ד' קֹצֵצוֹ שֶׁל יוֹד שְׁבַשֵּׁם בֶּן ד' אֹתִיּוֹת, numerus eius est 205 ה"ר⁶⁴.

Particula secunda est de nominibus secunde numerationis

Primum nomen secunde numerationis est hochma idest sapiencia חכמה de hac enim extat textus in agiographis Et sapientia ex ain⁶⁵ invenitur et alibi et sapiencia ex ain⁶⁶ venit. Secundum nomen est quo convenit cum prima et dicitur timor Domini Iod he vau he⁶⁷ cum veneratione hirath adonai יִרְאֵת יְהוָה. De hoc enim extat testus in agiographis dicens timor domini cum veneratione est sapiencia. Et ipsa proprie vocatur hi⁶⁸ tercio nomine ex eodem testu dicente hirath hi היא יְהוָה יִרְאֵת idest ipsa in

⁵⁵ 305 = ה"ש = השנייה, meaning the Second Sefirah.

⁵⁶ 700 = ש"ת = השלישית, meaning the Third Sefirah.

⁵⁷ See *supra* n. 55.

⁵⁸ See *supra* n. 56.

⁵⁹ Latin transliteration for חולם.

⁶⁰ See *supra* n. 59.

⁶¹ See *supra* n. 59.

⁶² Latin transliteration for רֹם.

⁶³ See *supra* n. 7.

⁶⁴ 205 = ה"ר = הראשונה, meaning the First Sefirah.

⁶⁵ See *supra* n. 50.

⁶⁶ See *supra* n. 50.

⁶⁷ See *supra* n. 7.

⁶⁸ Latin transliteration for היא.

genere feminino. Et cum hoc convenit cum septingentenario⁶⁹. Quartum nomen est particula prima philateriorum, paraxa rixona xebattefillin, פרשה ראשונה שבתפלין. Quartum nomen est Bechor idest primogenitus בכור et hoc quia in prima particula philateriorum continetur Sanctifica mihi vel denario omnem primogenitum. Sextum nomen est intrinsicitas secreti reiterationis animarum penimiuth sod Gilgul anefaxoth גלגול הנפשות סוד פנימיות cuius continencia declarabitur in cultu destructionis. Et sicut etiam probabitur vel declarabitur de numero septingentenario⁷⁰. Septimum nomen est pele idest separatum vel oculum vel mirabile פלא in quantum significet tectum vel copertum ex misterio testus dicentis cum פלא, idest oculum fuerit a te et forte quod de hac dixerunt sapientes nostri de [140v] oculo a te noli inquirere. Octavum nomen est hochmath elohim חכמת אלהים idest sapiencia deorum. Nonum nomen est teruma gedola תרומה גדולה idest separatio vel elevatio magna. Decimum est lex antiqua tora keduma קדומה. Undecimum est triginta duo calles vel cor callium leb nethiboth לב נתיבות de quibus scriptum est in venerabili libro sepher iesire⁷¹. Duodecimum est Ruuah elohim רוח אלהים et spiritus septingentenarii⁷² ac si diceretur spiritus deorum quo vocatur septingenetenarius⁷³. Tercium decimum Taleth טל idest tunica vel flamen de hoc enim dicunt sapientes nostri quod deus sanctus et benedictus involuit se linteamine seu tunica. Quartum decimum est indumentum dei sancti et benedicti lebxo xel akadox baruchu לבושו של הקבה. De hoc enim extat in amphorismis Rabi eliezer⁷⁴ ubi dicitur celi ex quo creati sunt ex lumine indumenti dei sancti et benedicti. Et declarabitur hoc inferius. Quintum decimum est Din דין idest iudicium. Sextum decimum est milama idest pugna vel bellum מלחמה. Decimus septimum est Gebura idest potencia גבורה, numeri eius proprii sunt duo primus octonarius⁷⁵ et tricentenarius quinarium⁷⁶ ה"ש"ה.

Particula 3a de nominibus tercie numerationis

Primum nomen huius numerationis est intelligencia Bina בינה. De hoc enim extat textus in agiographis ubi dicitur et unitas et denarius sunt locus intelligencie habraïce ve ze mecom bina⁷⁷. Et venit exponendum quod illud quod dicunt ואיזה מקום בינה venit ubi אי indicans unitatem et denarium indicet numerum ducentenarium quinarium⁷⁸ et tricentenarium quinarium⁷⁹, quia uterque numerus scilicet

⁶⁹ See *supra* n. 56.

⁷⁰ See *supra* n. 56.

⁷¹ See *supra* n. 39.

⁷² See *supra* n. 56.

⁷³ See *supra* n. 56.

⁷⁴ Latin transliteration for ר' אלעזר.

⁷⁵ 8 = ח = חכמה.

⁷⁶ See *supra* n. 55.

⁷⁷ Latin transcription for ואי זה מקום בינה.

⁷⁸ See *supra* n. 64.

⁷⁹ See *supra* n. 55.

205⁸⁰ et 305⁸¹ sunt locus intelligencie et de hac dictum est et removetur a malo intelligencia quia 32 due vie sapiencie sculpte [141r] sunt in ea. Secundum nomen est sepher idest liber ספר. Tercium nomen est Spiritus de spiritu Ruuah meruah, רוח מרוח, et est de quo dicitur in libro Sepher iesire⁸² ac si diceret quod hic spiritus est spiritus veniens a tricentenario quinario⁸³ que vocatur spiritus terra aqua per litteras suas Aleph mem xin⁸⁴ que dicuntur unitas trigentenarius⁸⁵ et quadragenarius⁸⁶. Quartum nomen est emabanim אם הבנים idest mater filiorum. Quintum est mater mundi אם העולם Em haholam. Sextum est rex mundi, melech aholam, מלך העולם. Septimum est rex iudicii vel rex iuris, melech amixphath, מלך המשפט, ac si diceret est Rex qui est misphath⁸⁷. Octavum nomen est Rahamim Gemurim רחמים גמורים idest clemencie absolute vel vulve perfecte matrix completa. Nonum nomen est acadox baruch hu idest deus sanctus et benedictus הקדוש ברוך הוא, prout scribitur apud sapientes nostros quod involvit se deus sanctus et benedictus. Et de hoc etiam dicunt quod deus sanctus et benedictus inspexit in lege et creavit seculum, in lege quidem antiqua vel prior[e]. Et est secunda numeratio de qua diximus. Decimum nomen est helohim scriptum per aleph lamed he Iod mem⁸⁸ non ubique sed de quo scribitur in particula Geneseos: helohim xebefaraxath brexith, אלהים שבפרשת בראשית. Undecimum nomen est Dii vivi Elohim haim אלהים חיים vel dii vitarum. Duodecimum nomen est helion absolute עליון idest altissimus vel excelsus. Tercium decimum nomen est melech helion מלך עליון idest rex altissimus. Quartum decimum est el helion אל עליון idest deus excelsus. Quintum decimum est hor Allebux, אור הלבב, idest lumen indumenti. Decimum sextum est celi in plurali sine articulo xamaim שמים ex quo est celi omnibus. Decimum septimum est prudencia sive filius et filia dei תבונה thebuna. Decimum octavum [141v] est elohe kedem אלהי קדם idest dii antiquus vel dii orientis vel dii eternus. Decimum nonum est Elohe ahaboth אלהי האבות idest dii patrum vel dii patriarcharum. Vicesimum est malchut xamaim מלכות שמים idest Regnum celorum. Vicesimum primum est Eques celorum Rocheb xamaim רוכב שמים et tam de hoc quam de regno celorum inferius sufficiens declaratio fiet. Vicesimum secundum est Sedens cherubin יושב הכרובים hioseb acherubim. Vicesimum tertium est formator Geneseos hioser brexith יוצר בראשית. Vicesimum 4um est Adon achol⁸⁹ idest dominus omnium vel totius, vel dominus chol et est quidem hec numeratio quam sapientes nostri solent vocare heiuli היולי idest materia prima quam Greca lingua dicunt yle⁹⁰, sed

⁸⁰ See *supra* n. 64.

⁸¹ See *supra* n. 55.

⁸² See *supra* n. 39.

⁸³ See *supra* n. 55.

⁸⁴ Letter by letter Latin transliteration of אמש.

⁸⁵ 300 = ש.

⁸⁶ 40 = ג.

⁸⁷ See *supra* n. 32.

⁸⁸ Letter by letter Latin transliteration of אלהים.

⁸⁹ Latin transliteration for אדון הכל.

⁹⁰ Latin trascription of the word “ήλη”.

expositio eius apud sapientes nostros est virtus faciens esse vel dans esse chouah mamsi כח ממציא. Vicesimum 5um est linea viridis vel pallida seu livida Cau iarok קו ירוק. Vicesimum 6um est deprecationes vel preces que dicuntur Tahanunim תחנונים. Vicesimum 7um est tresdecim proprietates in eo hiag midoth bo, יג מדות בו. Vicesimum octavum est vite in plurali sine articulo que dicuntur hayim חיים. Vicesimum nonum est nefes idest anima נפש. Tricesimum est haxem idest nomen cum articulo חי השם. Tricesimum primum est vite nominis cum articulo hai assem הי השם. Tricesimum secundum est secretum voti Sod anneder, סוד הנדר. Tricesimum 3um est secretum animarum seu fundamentum animarum hiesod anefaxoth יסוד הנפשות. Tricesimum 4um est thesuva תשובה idest penitencia vel reductio sive conversio sive restitutio. Tricesimum 5um est Iobeleus יובל Iobel vel rivulus vel irrigatio. 36 est paraxa xenia xebatefilim⁹¹ idest particula secunda philateriorum in qua scribitur cum introduxerit te dominus ex quo narrat exitum israel de egypto. Et cum ea et per eam diriguntur oculi nostri prout in cultura [142r] hominis declarabitur. 37um est nomen domini tetragrammaton Iod he vau he יוד הא ווי הא. 38 est iudicium quod indicatur per numerum quinarium littere he secunde contente in nomine magno tetragrammaton Iod he vau he⁹², habet autem numeros proprios binarium⁹³ et septingentenarium⁹⁴ quod indicatur per litteras xin et tau הש"ת.

Particula quarta de nominibus quarte numerationis

Primum nomen quarte numerationis est hesed, חסד, idest pietas. Secundum Ahaba, אהבה, idest charitas. 3um est Gedulla גדולה idest magnitudo. Quartum vero midath Abraam מדת אברהם idest proprietas abraami. Sextum est cohen, כהן, pontifex vel sacerdos seu minister. Septimum hiamin ימין idest dextra. Octavum Rahamim Gedolim גדולים idest clementie magne sive vulve magne. Octavum habab חבב idest lac et indicat eam omnis res alba. Nonum Mizrah מזרח idest oriens. Decimum maim helionim מים עליונים idest aque superiores. Undecimum cheseph כסף idest argentum vel aviditas. Duodecimum est primus pes qui est in curru Ahath meragle amerchaba אחת מרגלי המרכבה. Tercium decimum est pene Arie meaiamin פני אריה מהימין facies leonis a dextra. 14 est dies tercia in numero dierum hiom xilixi lemispar aiamim יום שלישי למספר הימים. 15 est paraxath xemah xebattefillin, פרשת שמע שבתפילין, particula audi que est in philateriis. Et hoc quidem quia in ea scribitur et diliges dominum deum tuum. Et est ei iudicium ut declarabitur in cultura hominis. Numeri autem eius sunt primus trinarius⁹⁵ et secundus octonarius⁹⁶ . ח . ג .

⁹¹ Latin transliteration for פרשה שניה שבתפילים.

⁹² See *supra* n. 7.

⁹³ 2 = ב = בינה.

⁹⁴ See *supra* n. 56.

⁹⁵ 3 = ג = גדולה.

⁹⁶ 8 = π = 70π.

Particula quinta de nominibus quinte numerationis

Primum nomen quinte numerationis est pahad פחד idest timor. Secundum est Gebura גבורה idest potencia. Tercium est midath adin caxa קשה מדת הדין idest proprietas iudicii gravis vel difficilis vel fortis. [142v] Quartum vero est midath adin xel maala, מעלה של מדת הדין idest proprietas iudicii superior. Quintum est midath isac יצחק מדת idest proprietas hisac vel risus. Sextum est midath airah מדת היראה idest proprietas timoris cum veneratione. Septimum est midat acduxa הקדושה idest proprietas sanctitatis vel sanctificationis seu preparationis. Octavum est xor xebamerchaba שור idest taurus qui est in curru, nonum est maarab מערב idest occidens vel comixtio vel ex crespusculo. Decimum est levi לוי idest levita vel diaconus vel comes. Undecimum est xor abar שור הבר idest taurus silvestris. Duodecimum est masculus e montibus mille zachar mibhemoth barerei aleph זכר מבחמות בהרי אלף. Et in libro agada⁹⁷ indicarunt etiam per illum masculum ad timorem cum veneratione que est hira יראה. Et signum huiusmodi est 216 numerus litterarum utriusque. 13um est hieor יאור idest fluvius vel rivulus seu lucens. 14um est din דין idest iudicium quando dicitur absolute. 15um est zahab זהב idest aurum. 16 est hoser עושר idest divicie vel opes quia inde veniunt. 17um es mimaim ממים idest ignis ab aqua de quo fit comemoratio in venerabili libro Sepher iesire⁹⁸. 18um est nahas accadomi נחש הקדמוני idest serpens antiquus vel prior vel magica antiqua vel prior. 19 est virtus Samaelis chouah samael כה סמאל. Sunt autem quidem de dominis operantibus in hac sciencia qui vocant etiam nomine 20 Mizbeyah מזבה idest imolatio vel altare. Et 21 marhe מראה idest visio vel aspectus vel color, de quo scribitur in textu et dixit helohim⁹⁹ in visionibus noctis maroth allaila מראות הלילה que dicuntur in numero plurali in genere feminino et hec est una ex numero illarum. 22um nomen est misphath elohim idest ius deorum vel iudicium deorum משפט אלהים. 23um est hiom rebibi lemispath¹⁰⁰ aiamim [143r]¹⁰¹ יום רביעי למספר הימים idest dies quarta ad numerum dierum. 24 est paraxa rebihith xebattefillim idest particula quarta que est in philateriis שבתפילין. Et hoc quidem quia in ea scribitur et fiet si audicionem audieris etc. et irascetur furor vel indignatio domini prout declarabitur in cultu hominis. Numeri eius sunt secundus trinarius¹⁰² et octogenarius quinarium¹⁰³ qui indicantur per גפ.

Sexta particula de nominibus sexte numerationis

⁹⁷ See *supra* n. 22.

⁹⁸ See *supra* n. 39.

⁹⁹ See *supra* n. 12.

¹⁰⁰ Sic, instead of "mispar".

¹⁰¹ Fol. 142v ends with the transcription of Hebrew יום, then Mithridates proceeds to rewrite the 23rd name in Hebrew both in Latin and Hebrew characters.

¹⁰² 3 = ג = גבורה.

¹⁰³ 85 = ה"פ = הפחד.

Primum nomen sexte numerationis est tiphereth idest gloria תפארת. Secundum nomen est Rum bexuruc מרריע ראשון idest altitudo puncta cum xuruc¹⁰⁴. 3um nomen est machriia rison קו האמצעי idest linea media¹⁰⁵. Sextum nomen est Cau axaue קו השווה idest linea equalis vel equinoctialis. Septimum est Saz צו (nescio interpretari). Octavum nomen est homo qui est in curru Adam xebamerchaba אדם שבמרכבה. Octavum nomen est Ab אב idest pater¹⁰⁶. Nonum nomen est hes אש idest ignis. Decimum nomen est hathan חתן idest sponsus. Undecimum est emeth אמת idest veritas. Duodecimum est xamaim שמים celi in plurali et sine articulo. 13um est Rakia רקיע idest firmamentum. 14um est hor אור idest lumen vel lux. 15um est lumen prius vel lux prius vel Capitale הראשון hor arixon. 16 maor agadol מאור הגדול idest luminare maius. 17um est hamma חמה idest sol vel calor. 18um est xemex idest sol שמש. 19 est hiom rixon lemispar aiamim יום ראשון למספר הימים idest dies prima ad numerum dierum. 20 est hiom יום idest dies absolute. 21 est mane vel visitacio Boker בקר. 22 est heden עדן idest voluptas vel tempus vel delectatio. 23 est ligamentum vitarum vel vite, Seror aaim צרור חיים ac si diceretur ligamentum tercię que dicitur vite ut memoravimus [143v] vel quod dicitur ligamentum eternitatum que vocantur elohim haim¹⁰⁷ idest dii vivi vel vitarum sicut ad huc memorabimus vel etiam ex parte sui quia ipse vocatur sic quia ipse Tiphereth¹⁰⁸ est vita perfecta. Et similiter vocatur 24 nomine hes ahaim עץ החיים idest arbor vite in hoc misterio. 25 nomen est dahat¹⁰⁹ idest Cognitio vel Sciencia quia sunt est cognitio illa de qua scribitur cognovit elohim¹¹⁰. 26 est Bo בו idest in eo de quo extat auctoritas testus dicentis¹¹¹ et ecce angeli elohim¹¹² ascendebant et decendebant in eo per quod indicatur tiphereth¹¹³. 27 vocatur hiamin ימין idest meridies vel dextra. 28 vocatum xam שם idest ibi de quo dicitur in libro Sepher abahir¹¹⁴ et ibi est ocultacio maiestatis eius vsam hebion huzo ושם הביון עזו ac si diceretur quod xam¹¹⁵ est ocultatio fortitudinis. 29 Galea, choba כובע de quo dicitur in libro Sepher Abahir¹¹⁶ Et galea salutis in capite eius. Et declarabitur hoc in cultu ordinis intelligenti et scienti quod testus hic dictus est de ultima numeratione. 30 nomen est lex scripta, thora xebichtab תורה שבכתב. 31 est ignis¹¹⁷ albus vel candidus es lebana אש לבנה. 32 est preceptum affirmativum vel facias, misuath ase מצות עשה. 33 est est caput

¹⁰⁴ Latin transliteration for שורוק.

¹⁰⁵ Mithridates skips the fifth name.

¹⁰⁶ Number eight is repeated twice.

¹⁰⁷ Latin transliteration for אלהים חיים.

¹⁰⁸ Latin transliteration for תפארת.

¹⁰⁹ Latin transliteration for דעת.

¹¹⁰ See *supra* n. 12.

¹¹¹ In the MS “dicentes”.

¹¹² See *supra* n. 12.

¹¹³ See *supra* n. 108.

¹¹⁴ Latin transliteration for ספר הבהיר.

¹¹⁵ Latin transliteration for שם.

¹¹⁶ See *supra* n. 114.

¹¹⁷ The word “niger” is erased.

vel venenum idest Rox ראש. 34 est vitrum lucens vel speculum lucens aspaclaria amira אספקלריא. De 33 quidem dictum est in hordine hominis quod protegit cum duobus brachiis suis super caput suum. 35 est laxon idest lingua לשון. 36 est oculus hain עין. 38 est chouah כה idest virtus vel potencia¹¹⁸. 39 est magnus גדול Gadol. 40 est nora נורא idest venerabilis vel timendus vel venerandus et hoc quidem quando iungitur cum gadol¹¹⁹ et giber¹²⁰. 41 est midath rachamim מדת רחמים idest proprietas clemencie seu vulvarum. 42 est sedes clemencie vel vulvarum chisse rahamim כסא רחמים. 43 est sedes tercię chisse laxelixith¹²¹ [144r] כסא לשלישית. 44 est ipse sedet super eo hu ioxeb alav הוא יושב עליו. 45 hu rocheb halav הוא רוכב עליו idest ipse equitat super eo. 46 est cherub rixon primus cherubin כרוב ראשון. 47 lituus vel tuba vel cornu xophar שופר. 48 est pulsatio vel sonus extentus tekiha תקיעה. 49 est comemoratio vel memoria זכרון zicharon. 50 est maim rixonim idest aque priores מים ראשונים. 51 est leviathan¹²² idest piscis vel societas eorum. 52 est zachar זכר idest masculus vel memoratio. 53 est nissim niglim idest miracula vel prodigia manifesta ניסים נגלים, quasi dicat ea que fiunt supernaturaliter vel per transmutationem nature. 53 est Adonai sabahoth idest deus exercituum qui scribitur cum iod he vau he יהוה צבאות. Et hoc quidem quia est signum in milicia sua. 54 est sechel שכל idest intellectus. 55 est deus sanctus et benedictus haccadox baruch hu הקדוש ברוך. 56 est tefilla תפלה idest oracio vel philaterium. 57 est maniyah tefillin מנייה תפלין idest imponens sibi philateria de quibus declarabitur in cultu hominis. 58 est primogenitus magnus cum articulo habechor agadol הבכור הגדול. 59 est Gloria maior cum articulo Achabod agadol הכבוד הגדול. 60 est nomen magnum cum articulo axem agadol השם הגדול. 61 est nomen primum cum articulo axem ameiuhad השם המיוחד. 62 est Iod he vau he יהוה. 63 est debax, mel דבש. 64 nos vocamus eum in opere nostro filum pietatis hut xelhesed חוט של חסד et hoc quidem quia maior pars eius est pietas. 65 est littera vau nominis quattuor litterarum Iod he vau he, ו, 66 est Zain, ז. Ex numeris vero habet duo תת thau quarum numeri sunt octingenti¹²³.

Particula septima de nominibus septime numerationis

Primum nomen est septime numerationi(s) xok aiamin idest genu [144v] destrum שוק הימין. Secundum nomen est hammud aiamin עמוד הימין idest collumna dextra. Tercium nomen est hiom hamixi lemispar aiamim idest quinta dies in numero dierum למספר הימין יום ה'. Quartum nomen est nesah idest eternitas vel triumphus נצח, et numerus 50¹²⁴.

¹¹⁸ Mithridates skips number 37.

¹¹⁹ Latin transliteration for גדול.

¹²⁰ Latin transliteration for גיבור.

¹²¹ This Latin transcription is repeated twice.

¹²² Latin transliteration for לויתן.

¹²³ תפארת = ת"ת = 800.

¹²⁴ The text from "Quartum" to "50" was added above the beginning line of fol. 144v. נצח = 50.

Particula octava de nominibus 8 numerationis

Primum nomen est hod idest decor הוד, secundum nomen est xuc xemol שוק שמאל idest genu sinistrum, tercium nomen est hamud semol עמוד שמאל idest columna sinistra. Quartum nomen est hiom xixi lemispar aiamim הימים למספר הששי יום idest dies sexta in numero dierum. Ex numeris habet quinarium¹²⁵ absolute.

Particula nona est de nominibus 9 numerationis

Primum nomen none numerationis est hisod idest fundamentum יסוד. Secundum est iustus sadic צדיק de quo scribitur iustus est fundamentum seculi. Tercium est columna absolute עמוד hamud ut dicunt sapientes nostri quod seculum stat sub una columna de qua scribitur iustus est fundamentum seculi. Quartum est emeth אמת idest veritas que est proprietas octava inter tresdecim proprietates que est etiam proprietas Iacob ut scribitur dabis veritatem Iacob. Quintum est abir iacob אביר יעקב idest Robur vel fortitudo Iacob. Sextum est Abir israel idest robur vel fortitudo israel אביר ישראל. Septimum est ze זה idest hic vel hoc. Octavum est machriyah xeni מכריע שני idest arbiter secundus. Nonum est xalom idest pax שלום. Decimum est Arbor sciencie עץ הדעת hes adahath, quasi dicat est arbor sexte que dicitur dahath¹²⁶. Undecimum est umbraculum pacis suchath salom סכת שלום. Duodecimum est cutis vel pellis leviatan horo xel liviathan עורו של לויתן, quia in futuro tempore erit extenta super muris Ierusalem. 13 est caro leviatan בשרו של לויתן besaro xel liviathan, quia de eo fiet mercatura in foris solymorum [145r] propter hoc vocatur 14 sohareth סהרת idest circularis vel mercatrix sicut memorabimus inferius de qua dicunt sapientes nostri in libro Sepher abahir¹²⁷ et extat textus dicens quia melior est mercatura sua quam mercatura argenti. Et hec proprietas est que dicitur 15 Tora תורה lex. Et in misterio culture rationis declarabitur mercatura quam exercent Bo¹²⁸ idest In eo in foris hierusalem, 16 nomen est filia par vel matrimonialis leviatan, Bath zogo xel leviatan בת זוגו של לויתן. 17 vocatur hirath Adonai יראה יהוה idest timor Domini Iod he vau he¹²⁹ cum veneratione et de qua est testus dicens timor domini Iod he vau he¹³⁰ est thesaurus eius. Et ideo vocatur 18 hosaro xel tora אוצרו של תורה idest thesaurus vel repositorium legis. Et sic dicunt sapientes nostri in libro Sepher abahir¹³¹ quod vocatur 19 sedeck, et extat testus dicens sedeck sedeck idest iusticiam in masculino genere צדק sequeris. 20 vocatur apud magnum doctorem rabi moises filius naaman deus sanctus et

¹²⁵ הוד = ה = 5.

¹²⁶ See *supra* n. 109.

¹²⁷ See *supra* n. 114.

¹²⁸ Latin transliteration for בו.

¹²⁹ See *supra* n. 7.

¹³⁰ See *supra* n. 7.

¹³¹ See *supra* n. 114.

benedictus accadox baruchu ¹³² הוא הקדוש ברוך. 21 vocatur nomen magnum Iod he vau he haxem agadol Iod he vau he הא ואו הא השם הגדול יוד הא ואו הא. 22 vocatur subsistencia vel conffirmatio vel permanencia animarum intellectivarum kiium anexamoth קייום הנשמות et hoc quidem quia ex xam volant et redeunt ad seculum venturum. 23 vocatur lumen septentrionatum vel lumen repositum hor assaphum, אור הצפון. 24 vocatur proprietas pietatis in abstracto midath hasiduth מדת חסידות. 25 vocatur proprietas memento vel masculinitatis midath zachor מדת זכור. 26 vocatur sabatum שבת xabath vel requies. 27 vocatur dies septima ad numerum dierum hiom xebihi lemispar aiamim יום שביעי למספר הימים. 28 vocatur signum simile sexte cum sigillo vau ¹³³ et hoc quidem [145v] quia est tentio corporis et est indicium ad tenctionem similem vau littere אות דומה לששית בחותם ואו כי הוא משך הגוף ורמז למשך הדומה. 29 vocatur lixon idest lingua לשון quia est simile lingue. 30 sciendum quod omnia indicamenta eius sunt indicamenta sexte in misterio clemenciarum. 31 codex קדש idest sanctus. 32 nomen est chol vel omne vel totum vel ornatum vel universalizatum כל. 33 est anima mundorum hai haholamim הי העולמים. 34 fluuius clarus nahar נהר (non nahar mithridatis cum ע) de quo scribitur et fluuius exibat de heden ad irrigandum eth ¹³⁴ paradisum. 35 vocatur rox idest caput ראש de quo scribitur caput verbi tui veritas est. Et est illud caput super quo est galea. 36 tradidit mihi doctor egregius Rabi salomon filius adrithi ¹³⁵ quod traditum est ei a magno doctore Rabi moyses filio namani ¹³⁶ Gerundinensi quod hec proprietas vocatur Syon ¹³⁷ idest Syon ¹³⁸ vel signum vel speculatio et tradidit in eis signum testus dicentis Syon allaz ציון הלז idest speculatio ze ¹³⁹ est vel Syon ¹⁴⁰ ze ¹⁴¹ est, tamen non videtur sic in expositionibus suis, et cum hoc non induratur nec grave est corde nostro quia quando nomen sine articulo axem השם habitat in syon inferiore magnum est precium eius. 37 vocatur sanctus israel קדוש מלך יושב על כסאו בבית ישראל kedox israel. 38 vocatur rex sedens super sede regni sui in domo regni המלכות et vocatur sic nomine sedis sue et nomine civitatis et ad huc intelligitur hoc ex alio loco vel forte quod radix vel articulus syon est fundamentum et cum sedes completa fuerit edificabitur murus hierusalem et murus syon, quia sunt duo gradus. Et cum coinuncta fuerit hierusalem ad syon edificabitur murus hierusalem. Et intelligetur hoc etiam in curru et in cultu orationum. Et in libro bahir ¹⁴² [146r] ut plurimum vocatur Sohareth ¹⁴³ idest mercatrix vel circularis et sic locuti sunt de hac

¹³² was erased and then rewritten in the line below.

¹³³ Latin transcription for letter ו.

¹³⁴ See *supra* n. 11.

¹³⁵ Latin transliteration for ר' שלמה בן אדרת.

¹³⁶ Latin translation for ר' משה בן נחמן.

¹³⁷ Latin transliteration for ציון.

¹³⁸ See *supra* n. 137.

¹³⁹ Latin transliteration for זה.

¹⁴⁰ See *supra* n. 137.

¹⁴¹ See *supra* n. 139.

¹⁴² Latin transliteration for בהיר.

¹⁴³ Latin transliteration for סהרת.

proprietate sapientes nostri in genere feminino dicentes in libro Agade¹⁴⁴ dixit sabatum Amra xabath
coram deo sancto et benedicto ut probabitur in cultu septenariorum.

Particula decima de nominibus X numerationis

Decime vero numerationis primum nomen vocatur Sedech nekeba צדק נקבה idest iusticia in femenino.
Secundum est Malchuth idest regnum מלכות. Tercium est Israel absolute ישראל idest militans sub deo.
Quartum est cheneseth israel idest ecclesia vel congregatio israel vel militancium sub deo. Quintum
est xechina idest divinitas vel habitatrix שכינה. Sextum est Gebura idest potencia גבורה. Septimum est
tehilla idest hymnus תהלה velut in illo testu ubi dicitur hymnus ad david, ex quo est proprietas eius.
Octavum est Regnum domus david malchuth beth david מלכות בית דוד. Nonum est est Cornu Christi
vel exaltacio christi vel messie vel uncti keren amaxiah קרן המשיח. Decimum est David דוד de quo
dicunt sapientes nostri futurum est ut deus sanctus et benedictus suscitare ad israel alium davidem
prout scribitur et querent dominum deum suum et david regem eorum. Et dicit testus et david servus
meus erit princeps vel sublimatus vel exaltatus נשאי nasi. Et dicunt sapientes nostri quod regnum eius
erit quantum regnum Cesaris cum dimidio. Undecimum est regel rebihi xebamerchaba רגל רביעי
pes quartus qui est in curru. Duodecimum est facies aquile פני נשר pene naser. 13 est midath
adin xelmatta מדת הדין שלמטה idest proprietas iudicii inferior. 14 est proprietas iudicii debilis midath
adin rapha מדת הדין רפה. 25 est Saphon idest septentrio vel reposition vel tesa(u)rus צפון. [146v] 16 est
Semol שמאל sinistra. 17 Sor שור idest taurus et hoc quia lactat a quinta. Et sic declarabitur in cultu
rationis. 17¹⁴⁵ vocatur hiam ים idest mare de qua extat testus omnia flumina tendunt ad mare et mare
plenum non est. Et quia mare vel hoc vocabulum hiam est comune ad mare et ad occidens vel
comixtionem et ideo dictum est quod habitatrix est in occidente. 18 vocatur hiordanus hiarden, ירדן,
sicut dicunt sapientes nostri quod hiordanus fluvijs terre israel. 19 hiamin ימין idest dextra et hoc
quidem cum fuerit filum pietatis protractum super ea. 20 vocatur hemuna idest fides vel veritas אמונה
21 brith idest fedus ברית. 22 sal vel melah מלח. 23 seculum vel eternum seu holam עולם. 24 hi idest
ipsa in femenino genere de qua scribitur et hy היא non prosperabit et alibi hi idest ipsa est que assurgit
et alibi hi est que ambulat inter animalia. 25 est lex de ore nata Tora xebalpe תורה שבעל פה
26 est preceptum negativum vel preceptum non facias misvath lo tase מצות לא תעשה. 27 est ignis niger
hes sehora אש שחורה. 28 est ignis maior in genere femenino et cum articulo האש הגדולה. 29 est ignis
vorax in capite montis in genere femenino et cum articulo ahes ahocheleth brox ahar האש האוכלת בראש
ההר. 30 est Arcus keseth vel pons קשת. 31 est gladius hereb חרב vel ensis vel siccitas. 32 est hereb
amitapechet idest gladius vibrans vel radians המתהפכת. 33 est hereb nokemeth idest gladius ultor

¹⁴⁴ See *supra* n. 22.

¹⁴⁵ Number 17 is repeated twice.

34 est milama idest bellum מלחמה. 35 est obviatio vel oratio pegiha פגיעה. 36 est hira idest timor יראה. 37 est xabath idest sabatum vel quies שבת. 38 xamor idest observa vel expecta שמור. 39 est chabod idest gloria כבוד. 40 est laila [147r] idest nox לילה. 41 est proprietas noctis midath laila מדת לילה. 42 est challa idest sponsa vel totum he כלה vel chol quinarum. 43 est malcha מלכה idest regina. 44 est eth את idest articulus acti casus. 45 est tu in femenino genere Ath את de quo scribitur tu es cherub¹⁴⁶ extenta que obumbrat quia ipsa est cherub¹⁴⁷ secunda. 46 est hereb idest vesper ערב vel crepusculum. 47 est hereb laila idest crepusculum noctis ערב לילה. 48 est silencium solis vel tempus quando occidit sol dimdume hamma דמדומי חמה. 49 Alba vel luna lebana לבנה. 50 est phoebe vel mensis hiareiah ירה. 51 est luminare minus maor catan מאור קטן. 52 est dies secunda in numero dierum hiom xeni lemispar aiamim יום שני למספר הימים. 53 est venus vel splendor nogah נוגה de quo scribitur splendor sive venus ut hix¹⁴⁸ erit et in vexillo castri edificii dabitur intelligi hic testus. 54 est miracula ocula vel latencia nissim nistarim נסים נסתרים quia sunt secundum ordinem seculi. 55 neomenia seu mensis hodex חדש. 56 xana idest repeticio vel annus in femenino שנה. 57 aque inferiores maim tahtonim מים תחתונים. 58 maim aharonim idest aque posteriores vel ultime מים אחרונים. 59 speculum non lucens vel vitrum non lucens aspaclaria xeena meira מאירה. 60 est facies panim פנים. 61 est facies non lucentes panim xeenam meirim פנים שאינם מאירים. 62 terga vel posteriora ahoraim אחורים. 63 est imago domini Iod he vau he idest temunath adonai תמונת יהוה. 64 est visio vel aspectus ex visionibus nocturnis in genere femenino mara mimaroth allaila מראה ממראות הלילה. 65 est hain idest oculus עין. 66 est lingua laxon לשון. 67 est [147v] maie מיאה idest aspectus. 68 est nodis philateriorum keser xelli tiphillin קשר של תפלין. 69 est sapiencia חכמה hochma. 70 est Sapiencia salomonis חכמת שלמה. 71 est filia Abraami patris nostri bitto xel abraam abinu בתו של אברהם אבינו. 72 est clypeus absolute magen מגן. 73 est clypeus abraami magen abraam¹⁴⁹. 74 est magen david idest clypeus david מגן דוד. 75 est cho כה quia omnes prophete prophetati sunt cum cho. 76 est macom idest locus מקום. 77 est eth meum vel mecum vel eth denarius itti אתי. 78 est rupes vel Sur צור idest Sylex. 79 est nomen glorie xem chabod שם כבוד. 80 est nomen diadematis xem atara שם עטרה. Et domini qui operantur in hac sapiencia cognominant eam per indictia et indicant eam ad vocabulum diadematis absolute Athara sive hatereth 300¹⁵⁰ עטרה עטרת, 81 Ego Ani אני, 82 vox Col קול sine aspiratione. 83 os domini Iod he vau he pi Adonai פי יהוה. 84 manus domini Iod he vau he hiad adonai יד יהוה. 85 est chebod adonai Iod he vau he idest gloria domini יהוה כבוד. 86 est spiritus domini Iod he vau he Ruuah רוח יהוה. 87 est spiritus sanctus eius vel spiritus sancti eius Ruuah Codexo רוח קדשו. 88 vox

¹⁴⁶ Latin transliteration for כרוב.

¹⁴⁷ See *supra* n. 146.

¹⁴⁸ Latin transliteration for איש.

¹⁴⁹ Latin transliteration for מגן אברהם.

¹⁵⁰ 300 = ש.

prophetie Col nebuha קול נבואה. 89 hesba idest digitus אצבה. 90 est manus magna in feminino cum articulo haiad agedola היד הגדולה. 91 est manus fortis in femenino cum articulo haiad hahazaca היד החזקה. 92 pele idest ocultacio vel admirabilis in quantum scilicet significet tegmen vel coperimentum. 93 est nora in quantum dicitur a verbo raa נורא idest visibilis non terribilis neque timendus. Et 94 etiam est nora in quantum significet ignem. 95 nomen domini tetragrammaton Adonai [148r] אדני. 96 est nomen dei duarum litterarum hiod he יה. 97 est el idest deus vel fortis אל. 98 est helohim scriptum per aleph lamed he iod mem אלהים idest angelus vel dii vel Iudex. 99 est Custos xomer שומר et omne vocabulum indicans custodiam vel significans indicat eam. 100 est custos israel שומר ישראל. 101 est Mattatron, מטטרון. 102 est nahar נער idest puer qui custodit hostium et articulus eius nominis principalis secundum hoc nomen est vel mettatron vel matrona מטטרון et uterque indicat custodiam quia secundum glossam caldaicam custodia dicitur custodia mismereth hebraice dicitur mattrath מטרת caldaice משמרת. 103 est Archangelus mundi sar haholam שר העולם seu princeps mundi de quo dicitur puer fui¹⁵¹ et etiam senui. 104 est Assechel apoel idest intellectus agens השכל הפועל. 105 est legatus vel missus xaliah שליח. 106 est malach idest angelus מלאך. 107 est angelus redemptor Ammalach agoel המלך הגואל. 108 est redemptio Geulla גאולה. 109 est secundum quod vocant eam quidam ex dominis operantibus tefilla תפלה idest oratio vel philaterium. 110 est deprecatio tehinna תחנון. 111 est Rophe רופא idest medicus. 112 est mohes מוחץ idest vulnerator vel plagans mictens. 113 est nutrix homeneth אומנת. 114 est menecheth מינקת idest lactans vel nutriens. 115 est nutriens vel crescere faciens seu magnificans מגדלת megadeleth. 116 est sirsur סרסור idest mediator. 117 est fortis vel magnificus Adir אדיר. 118 est magnificencie omnium Adire chol אדירי כל. 118 est leb לב idest Cor. 119 est Baith בית idest domus. 119 est Tob idest bonus vel incensum טוב. 120 est El xadai אל שדי idest deus omnipotens. 121 est sedes chisse כסא. 122 est sedes iudicii chisse din דיין כסא דין. 123 sedeck idest Iusticia [148v] צדק in femenino sedeck. 124 est misphath idest ius vel iudicium משפט. 125 est hoz idest fortitudo vel maiestas עז. 126 est soror idest Ahoth אחות in quantum indicet coniunctionem vel copulationem. 127 est hu amaniha tefillin idest est hu qui inponit sibi phylateria et hoc siquidem quia ipsa recipit ab omnibus vel achol 128 est porta vel hostium deleth דלת. 129 est cena minor seoda ketanna סעודה קטנה. 130 est Asereth idest cetus vel imperatrix vel astringens vel congregatrix עצרת. 131 est elevatio teruma תרומה. 132 est principium vel caput in femenino Resith ראשית. 132¹⁵² est inicium tehilla תחלה. 133 est bichurim idest primogenita vel primicie בכורים. 134 est maaser idest decimatio vel decima מעשר. 135 est terra absolute eres ארץ. 136 est terra gratie seu terra voluntatis eres hefes ארץ חפץ. 137 est terra vitarum idest eres haaim ארץ החיים. 138 est terra israel eres israel ארץ ישראל. 139 est hierusalem ירושלם hieruxalaim vel visio pacis. 140

¹⁵¹ The manuscript has "fuit".

¹⁵² Number 132 is repeated twice.

est principium unicum vel potestas unica rexuth aiahid רשות היחיד et nullo pacto est principium vel potestas plurium vel multorum resuth arabim רשות הרבים, sicut declarabitur nobis in misterio exitus sabatorum. Et omnia hec dabuntur intelligi inferius et conclusio summaria est quod faciunt ex eo quod est principium unicum vel potestats unica principium vel potestatem multorum. 141 est syon ציון idest speculatio vel signum vel syon. 142 est civitas sancta vel sancti hir accodex עיר הקדש. 143 est civitas iusticie vel iusti idest hir assedech עיר הצדק. 144 est habitaculum seu tabernaculum mischan משכן. 145 est mikdas idest sanctuarium vel preparatio מקדש. 146 est Aron ארון idest archa. 147 est sanctum codex קדש. 148 est os leviathan ab ore non ab osse, piu xel leviathan פיו [149r] xel leviathan. 149 est Behemoth beharere aleph idest animalia in plurali femenino in montibus pasque vel mille בהמות בהררי. 150 est helo xel isac idest aries isac vel fortitudo isac אילו של יצחק. 151 est filia paris vel matrimonialis sabati est bath zogo xel xabath בת זוגו של שבת. 152 est deus Iacob Elouah Iacob אלוה. 153 est Adon אדון idest dominus. 154 est Dominus totius terre Adon chol aares אדון כל הארץ. 155 est helohe israel idest dii israel אלהי ישראל. 156 est dii terre vel elohe Ahares אלהי¹⁵³ הארץ. 157 est dii hierusalem idest elohe hierusalaim אלהי ירושלם. 158 est Dii deorum Elohe Ahelohim אלהי האלהים. 159 est Dominus dominorum Adone Aadonim אדוני האדונים. 160 est¹⁵⁴ lapis eben אבן. 161 est lapis capitalis Eben aroxa אבן הראשה. 162 est lebena idest later לבנה. 163 est lapis angularis idest Eben xethiya אבן שתיה vel lapis quem fundavit Iah¹⁵⁵ deus. 164 est Zoth idest hec in femenino singulari זאת. 165 est ixa אשה idest mulier. 166 hixa idest sacrificium vel ignitum vel ignis quinariii אשה. 167 est Corban idest appropinquatio vel sacrificium קרבן. 168 est Attath idest mundificatio vel peccatum seu sacrificium pro peccato vel purificatio (ut patet in latino) חטאת. 169 est Sahir idest hircus שער vel pilosus. 170 est Altare vel imolatio mizbeah מזבח absolute. 171 est es nehoxeth vel experimentum נחשת. 172 est altare eneam mizbah nehoseth מזבח נחשת. 173 est mensa xulchan שולחן. 174 est vinea vel paradisus vel plantacio vel basis channa כנה de qua scribitur Et chana quam plantavit dextra tua quod se habet velut Ganna גנה idest paradisus ac si diceretur Gan he idest paradisus quinariii גן ה. 175 est paradisus voluptatis Gan heden גן עדן ac si diceretur paradisus tercię que vocatur heden. 176 est Ganno [149v] paradisus eius גנו vel paradisus senarii de quo scribitur dilectus meus descendit ad paradisum eius ut si diceretur גן ו Gan vau. 177 est saltus david hiahar david יער דוד. 178 est seculum animarum holam anefaxoth עולם הנפשות. 179 est Aharith idest finis vel posteritas אחרית. 180 est finis vel consumatio tachlith תכלית vel desiderium. 181 est Azureum vel finis techeleth תכלת quia ipsa est finis omnium vel totius vel ipsius chol instar coloris azurei qui est extremus omnium colorum et iam dicunt sapientes

¹⁵³ Mithridates started this word near its Latin trascription, then erased it and wrote it again in the line below.

¹⁵⁴ The word "est" is repeated.

¹⁵⁵ Latin transliteration for יה.

nostri de techeleth¹⁵⁶ idest azureum quod ponitur in flamine, quod est finis ex quo ipsum techeleth¹⁵⁷ idest azureum simile est mari, mare autem est simile firmamento, firmamentum autem est simile sedi glorie licet etiam indicetur 182 in veste coccinea sericea que dicitur Tolahath xani תולעת שני. Et 183 in colore dibaffe seba argaman צבה ארגמן, tamen color azureus est indicium quod ipsa ornata vel contenta est seu universalizata ex chol¹⁵⁸ idest omnibus chelula min achol הכל מן כלולה et in omnibus vel cum chol ubachol ובכל ac si diceretur quod filum pietatis extentum est super ea et ipsa est cum omnibus vel cum chol הכל עם et color coccinei sericei est indicamentum quod ipsa est proprietas iudicii debilis. Et color dibaffe quod est rubeus plus quam quod coccinum indicat proprietatem iudicii fortem Azacha חזקה cum macula sua magna quam¹⁵⁹ habet ex infectione serpentis. Et dabitur hoc intelligi egregie indicamentis tegumentorum vasorum habitaculi cum profectum fuerat seu quando proficiscebatur castrum, quia est tegmen mense cum pane qui erat super eo cum vestibis azureis, quia mensa indicat proprietatem iudicii panis autem indicat proprietatem clemencie et quando panis est super mensa indicat quod pax est in terra. Et propter hoc tegebatur cum veste azurea ad indicandum quod erat ornata ex omnibus, [150r] verum tamen super hac veste ponebant etiam vasa et super vasa tegumentum erat coccyneum sericeum ad indicandum quod mensa indicabat proprietatem iudicii vel forte invenimus hanc rationem scilicet quod indicabant quod ipsa erat in omnibus vel chol¹⁶⁰ et ipsa etiam per se ut declarabitur inferius et tegebant eth¹⁶¹ archam et eth¹⁶² altare aureum que indicant hanc proprietatem veste azurea quia in archa erant tabule que indicabant tiphereth¹⁶³ et era[n]t ibi posite vel propter cherubin¹⁶⁴ que erant super ea omnia hec indicabant quod pax erat in terra. Et similiter altare aureum quia de lege sua non erat nisi ut fumigaretur tantum thimiama¹⁶⁵ super illud quod dicitur kethoreth¹⁶⁶. Misterium autem fumigationis est indicium ad continendum vel universalizandum et colligandum proprietatem iudicii cum proprietate clemencie. Verum tamen altare holocausti cooperiebant cum veste dibaffa que erat rubicundior ad indicandam lesionem que dicitur pegiha פגיעה vel offensionem quia ibi prohibiebant sanguinem pro expiatione seu redemptione anime eorum. 184 vocatur chol¹⁶⁷ idest omne ex quo ipsa est in chol¹⁶⁸ et continet eth achol¹⁶⁹ idest

¹⁵⁶ Latin transliteration for תכלת.

¹⁵⁷ See *supra* n. 156.

¹⁵⁸ Latin transliteration for כל.

¹⁵⁹ The MS has “qua”.

¹⁶⁰ See *supra* n. 158.

¹⁶¹ See *supra* n. 11.

¹⁶² See *supra* n. 11.

¹⁶³ See *supra* n. 108.

¹⁶⁴ Latin transliteration for כרובים.

¹⁶⁵ Latin transliteration for Greek “θymiama”.

¹⁶⁶ Latin transliteration for קטרת.

¹⁶⁷ See *supra* n. 158.

¹⁶⁸ See *supra* n. 158.

¹⁶⁹ Latin transliteration for את הכל.

ipsum omne. 185 est cythrus ethrog אתרוג. 186 est fructus arboris cognitionis quem comedit prior adam pri es adaath xeachal adam arixon האדם הראשון et misterium huius nominis sic intelligendum est quod ipsa est pomum vel fructus ipsius fundamenti quod vocatur hes¹⁷⁰ idest arbor et ipsa arbor est adahat¹⁷¹ idest ipsius cognitionis que dicitur tiphereth¹⁷², tiphereth¹⁷³ namque dicta est daath¹⁷⁴ ut dictum est. 187 est ficus teena תאנה. 188 est hitta idest triticum חטה. 189 est vinum observatum in uvis suis ex sex diebus Geneseos hiahin amxummar baanabau mixexeth ieme brexith ימי בראשית possumus dicere quod mesumar¹⁷⁵ significetur ex vocabulo mismereth¹⁷⁶ idest custodie quasi [150v] diceretur quod est protracta a sex diebus prioribus que sunt botrus et uve, vel possumus dicere secundum quod subauditur ad litteram scilicet a vocabulo xemira¹⁷⁷ idest custodia vel observatio vel expectacio ad indicandum magnam comprehensionem que est in futuro tempore et quidem sic est. 190 est heva חוה ava idest fabulatrix vel vivens de qua scribitur hi fuit mater omnis vivi, hi aitha em chol hai היא היתה אם כל חי. 191 dicitur dies octava ad ordinem numeri nominum dierum et per consequens omnes octonarii indicant eam. 192 vocatur he ultimum nominis tetragrammaton Iod he vau he יהוה et sic vocatur hec numeratio apud magnum doctorem rabi moises gerundinensem filium naaman¹⁷⁸ et hoc quidem quia 194 vocatur mixne tora משנה תורה idest secunda lex vel repeticio legis vel deuteronomium. Et moises legislator vocavit eam in eo libro scilicet deuteronomi nomen gloriosum ut scribitur Ad hoc ut timeas eth¹⁷⁹ nomen gloriosum. 195 est e regione huius numerationis quod vocatur oratio vel philaterium manus quod est unius domuncule, teffila xel iad xehi baith hehad אחד בית אהד תפלה של יד שהיא בית אחד. 196 est dispositio vel preparatio Azmana הזמנה et sic vocant eam domini operantes in hac sapientia hoc scilicet modo quod septem numerationes et protractio influxus que est ab una in aliam et ab hac in illa totum hoc simul vocant Azmana¹⁸⁰ et hoc quidem quia est proprietas septingentenarii et ipse septingentenarius est Azmana¹⁸¹ idest preparatio vel dispositio. 197 apud eosdem vocatur pallidula hieracroketh ירקרקת et hoc quidem ratione septingentenarii¹⁸² qui dicitur linea pallida vel viridis Cau hiaroc קו ירוק et secundum hanc auctoritatem eorum dixerunt sapientes nostri quod ester erat pallidula et filus pietatis [151r]

¹⁷⁰ Latin transliteration for עץ.

¹⁷¹ Latin transliteration for הדעת.

¹⁷² See *supra* n. 108.

¹⁷³ See *supra* n. 108.

¹⁷⁴ See *supra* n. 109.

¹⁷⁵ Latin transliteration for משומר.

¹⁷⁶ Latin transliteration for משמרת.

¹⁷⁷ Latin transliteration for שמירה.

¹⁷⁸ See *supra* n. 136.

¹⁷⁹ See *supra* n. 11.

¹⁸⁰ Latin transliteration for הזמנה.

¹⁸¹ See *supra* n. 180.

¹⁸² See *supra* n. 56.

protrahebatur super ea. Et testus dicit sic et iuditta est ester regnus equidem regnum malchuth מלכות, 198 est hebion חביון idest oculatio et hoc quidem propter coniunctionem huius cum illa unitate perfecta, 199 est sapiencia inferior hochma haharona חכמה האחרונה. 200 est Rox¹⁸³ idest capud de qua dicit david propheta et elevatur ad omne capud vel principium et hoc quidem quia ultima sublevatur usque ad summum caput per viam syphonum והמתנשא לכל לראש¹⁸⁴ numerus eius est 70¹⁸⁴.

Capitulum quintum est de nominibus equalibus

Nomina autem equalia vel equipollencia dicuntur xemoth axavim שמות השווים et quidem sunt numerationes quibus utuntur domini qui operantur in hac sapiencia et agunt vocantes eas uno et eodem nomine. Declarabo autem sub brevitate in uno textu illud quod mihi tradidit et declaravit magnus doctor Rabi isac pius¹⁸⁵ et hoc idem quod mihi ipse tradidit et declaravit. Inveni dictum apud dominos cabalistas antiquos vel priores, testus namque dicit et desponsabo te mihi semper vel in seculum et desponsabo te mihi cum sedech¹⁸⁶ et misphath¹⁸⁷ idest iusticia et iudicio et cum pietate et clemenciis vel vulvis. Et desponsabo te mihi cum emuna¹⁸⁸ idest fide, non enim est possibile quod declarari potest in hoc textu sedech¹⁸⁹ umixpat¹⁹⁰ quod scilicet indicet numerum septuagenarium¹⁹¹ et octingentenarium¹⁹² et scilicet quod sedech¹⁹³ indicet septuagenarium¹⁹⁴ et misphath¹⁹⁵ indicet octingentenarium¹⁹⁶ quia iam memoraverat leolam¹⁹⁷

וארשתיך לי לעולם

וארשתיך לי בצדק

ובמשפט ובחסד

וברחמים וארשתיך

לי באמונה

¹⁸³ Latin transliteration for ראש.

¹⁸⁴ עטרה = ע = 70.

¹⁸⁵ Probably R. Yitzḥaq ben Todros.

¹⁸⁶ Latin transliteration for צדק.

¹⁸⁷ See *supra* n. 32.

¹⁸⁸ Latin transliteration for אמונה.

¹⁸⁹ See *supra* n. 186.

¹⁹⁰ Latin transliteration for ומשפט.

¹⁹¹ See *supra* n. 184.

¹⁹² See *supra* n. 123.

¹⁹³ See *supra* n. 186.

¹⁹⁴ See *supra* n. 184.

¹⁹⁵ See *supra* n. 32.

¹⁹⁶ See *supra* n. 123.

¹⁹⁷ Latin transliteration for לעולם.

idest in seculum quod indicat numerum octingentenarium¹⁹⁸ qui est articulus seculi et sic memoravit in fine emuna¹⁹⁹ idest fidem que indicat septuagenarium²⁰⁰ et sic non esset ordo proprietatum. Verum tamen declaratio testus est quod dixit propheta ad israel per vo[151v]cabulum seu idioma prophetie que venit ab octingentenario²⁰¹ ad septingentenarium²⁰² qui est cheneseth israel²⁰³ et princeps seu archangelus israel et ideo cognominavit eam vocabulo generis femenini et dixit quod desponsabit eam ad octingentenarium²⁰⁴ qui est mundus superior et articulus eius. Et declarat postea se se cum quo desponsabit eam sibi vel ad se et dixit quod hoc faciet cum secunda que est sedeche²⁰⁵ et cum tertia que est misphath²⁰⁶ idest iudicium et postea dixit quod desponsabit eam ad se ulterius cum pietate que est quarta et cum clemenciis que est sexta hoc est quod revolvit clemencias suas super proprietates suas vel volvet comovendo vulvas suas super mensuras suas על מדותיו post hac vero dixit quod desponsabit eam ad se cum omnibus his qui sunt compadres xoxbinim ששבנים ipsi numero septuagenario²⁰⁷ vocato emuna²⁰⁸. Et itaque locutus est testus in ordine iudicii protractionis cuius articulus et protrahere filum pietatis in fidem emunam et est ordo desponsationis et sponsalium herusin et kiduxin אירוסין וקדושין et benedictionum que memorantur in omni loco bechol makom בכל מקום et testatur hic testus quod in proprietatibus sunt quedam que vocantur uno et eodem nomine, ut puta quod secunda numeratio et ultima vocentur uno nomine scilicet sedeche²⁰⁹ et quod tertia et sexta vocentur uno et eodem nomine scilicet misphath²¹⁰ et propter hoc dictum est quod secunda numeratio et ultima equales sunt in omnibus nominibus eorum si plantaveris finem in principio hec namque scilicet secunda vocatur hochma חכמה idest sapientia, hec vero scilicet ultima vocatur etiam sapientia חכמה, sed differunt in hoc quod hec scilicet secunda vocetur Sapientia elohim²¹¹ חכמת אלהים, hec vero scilicet ultima vocetur hochmath xelomo שלמה idest sapientia salomonis et hoc est quod dicunt sapientes nostri quod salomon ereditavit illam sapientiam [218r] a davide²¹² patre suo, propter hoc igitur mutatur nomen eius quod scribendum erat cum littera vau שלומו idest pax eius et scribitur cum littera he scilicet Selomo שלמה idest perfectio quinarum vel pax quinarum, ac si diceretur xelom he שלום

¹⁹⁸ See *supra* n. 123.

¹⁹⁹ See *supra* n. 188.

²⁰⁰ See *supra* n. 184.

²⁰¹ See *supra* n. 123.

²⁰² See *supra* n. 56.

²⁰³ See *supra* n. 26.

²⁰⁴ See *supra* n. 123.

²⁰⁵ See *supra* n. 186.

²⁰⁶ See *supra* n. 32.

²⁰⁷ See *supra* n. 184.

²⁰⁸ See *supra* n. 188.

²⁰⁹ See *supra* n. 186.

²¹⁰ See *supra* n. 32.

²¹¹ Mithridates writes and erases the word “salomonis”.

²¹² “A davide” was used as a catchword on fol. 151v at the end of this leaflet. This allows to join this text to the one on fol. 218r. For more information on MS Chigi A VI 190, see *supra*.

ה quod indicat numerum septuagenarium²¹³ quia nomen eius est pax. Et littera he idest quinarium est filia pacis Bath axalom²¹⁴ בת השלום ut ibidem exposuerunt sapientes nostri et dixerunt quod dixit deus sanctus et benedictus postquam nomen tuum est simile nomini meo Dabo tibi eth filiam meam prout scribitur et dominus Iod he vau he²¹⁵ dedit Sapienciam ad salomonem idest pacem quinarium לשלמה. Et hoc est quod dicunt sapientes nostri quod omnis Salomon qui dicitur in libro cantici canticorum est sanctum preter unum quasi dicunt Rex cuius pax est. Et iam nosti quod fundamentum est pax et conclusio sumaria in misterio salomonis est quod per dextram est vel fit pax in terra et ambo indicantur in nomine²¹⁶ Tetragrammaton, nam secunda numeratio indicatur in nomine Iod he vau he²¹⁷ quod est secundum nomen quatuor litterarum. Et ultima est indicata in nomine Tetragrammaton Aleph he Iod he²¹⁸. Et secunda quidem est Iod he ipsius nominis hiod he vau he²¹⁹, ultima vero est hiod he nominis Aleph he Iod he יהוהאיה et sic tam secunda quam ultima vocantur etiam hiah יה prout declarabitur et utraque illarum continet iudicium quia secunda vocatur sedech²²⁰ idest iusticia et ultima vocatur sedech²²¹ idest iusticia ad expositionem testus quem aduxi superius. Et exposuerunt sapientes nostri in libro Sepher abahir²²² in textu dicente Sedech Sedech²²³ sequeris idest iusticiam et iusticiam sequeris quod secundum sedech²²⁴ indicat seculum venturum quod est fundamentum et vocatur sic propter hoc quod non est clemencie perfecte veluti octingentarius²²⁵ sic ergo habes quod secunda numeratio et diadema et bonum vocantur Sedech²²⁶ nomine comuni vel equivoco [218v] similiter etiam teruma idest elevatio תרומה dicitur secunda et ultima sed differunt quod secunda dicitur teruma xeen lah xehur שיעור לה תרומה שאין לה שיעור idest elevatio vel separatio cui non est consideratio neque mensura vel quantitas et est quod dicitur etiam teruma gedola²²⁷ idest elevatio vel separatio maior cui non est quantitas a lege ut dicitur quod unus acinus grani immunem facit modium חטה אחת פוטרת את הכה. Et hoc quidem quod non habet quantitatem indicat sapienciam superiorem que neque comprehendi potest nec mensurari neque etiam illi potest quantitas exhiberi propter magnitudinem gradus vel excellencie sue. Ultima vero dicitur teruma chetanna xeyex lah xehur תרומה קטנה שיש לה שיעור idest elevatio vel separatio minor que habet quantitatem et per hoc indicant sapientes numerum

²¹³ See *supra* n. 184.

²¹⁴ In the text written as “axalon”.

²¹⁵ See *supra* n. 7.

²¹⁶ “Iod he vau he” was written and erased as specification of “nomine”.

²¹⁷ See *supra* n. 7.

²¹⁸ Latin letter by letter transliteration for יהוהאיה.

²¹⁹ See *supra* n. 7.

²²⁰ See *supra* n. 186.

²²¹ See *supra* n. 186.

²²² See *supra* n. 114.

²²³ See *supra* n. 186.

²²⁴ See *supra* n. 186.

²²⁵ 80 = פ = פחד.

²²⁶ See *supra* n. 186.

²²⁷ Latin transliteration for תרומה גדולה.

septuagenarium²²⁸ qui est sapiencia ultima per quam intelligenciam percipiunt sapientes et prophete. Quod autem dictum est in misterio mida²²⁹ idest measure, quod bonus oculus (idest liberalis) dat unum de quadraginta, malus oculus (idest avarus) dat unum de sexaginta oculus mediocris idest nec prodigus nec avarus dat unum de quinquaginta declarabitur tibi inferius. Simili modo secunda et ultima vocantur hoc nomine rexith ראשית idest principii sed differunt quod secunda dicitur principium principiorum quod dicitur rexith araxim ראשית הראשים, septuagenarius²³⁰ vero est principium his que procedunt ab ea et deorsum, ipsa namque recipit de supra et influit inferius ad permanere faciendum inferiores. At vero quia superior scilicet secunda est principium omnium ideo teruma gedola²³¹ idest elevacio vel separatio maior est initium decimarum et quia vocantur resith²³² est dicendum quod testus qui dicit initium sapiencie est timor domini Iod he vau he²³³ cum veneratione plurali ראשית חכמה יראת יהוה potest exponi duobus modis secundum quod due opiniones sunt de eo potest enim [219r]²³⁴ dici quod testus qui dicit rexith hochma²³⁵ sit quod indicat primam numerationem que vocatur hirath adonai²³⁶ idest timor domini Iod he vau he²³⁷, que vocatur Sapiencia. Et possibile est etiam quod indicet dictio sapiencie ad diadema quia scilicet esset ac si diceret quod initium scilicet Rexith²³⁸ est ab ipsa sapiencia que est Diadema est timor domini cum veneratione idest prima vel secunda, vel potest referri timor domini cum veneratione ad numerum septuagenarium²³⁹ quasi dicat quod principium comprehensionis secunde que est sapiencia est numerus septuagenarius²⁴⁰ qui vocatur timor domini cum veneratione יראת יהוה et tantum hoc contingit exponere quia tricentenarius et quinari²⁴¹ et ducentenarius quinari²⁴² vocantur timor domini cum veneratione יראת יהוה et additur etiam quod fundamentum etiam vocatur sic et declaratur expositio testus etiam hoc modo ut diximus quod sapiencia inferior est imago sapiencie superioris. Et omnis qui speculatur speculatur in hac imagine, quia ipsa contenta est et ornata seu universalizata ex triginta duobus callibus qui sunt designati seu descripti in tricentenario quinario²⁴³ unusquisque scilicet secundum os gradus sui seu sue excellencie. Utreque etiam ille vocantur terra eres ארץ et in ea contigit disceptatio utrum celi creati

²²⁸ See *supra* n. 184.

²²⁹ Latin transliteration for מדה.

²³⁰ See *supra* n. 184.

²³¹ See *supra* n. 227.

²³² Latin transliteration for ראשית.

²³³ See *supra* n. 7.

²³⁴ “Enim” is repeated at the beginning of fol. 219r.

²³⁵ Latin transliteration for ראשית חכמה.

²³⁶ Latin transliteration for יראת יהוה.

²³⁷ See *supra* n. 7.

²³⁸ See *supra* n. 232.

²³⁹ See *supra* n. 184.

²⁴⁰ See *supra* n. 184.

²⁴¹ See *supra* n. 55.

²⁴² See *supra* n. 64.

²⁴³ See *supra* n. 55.

sunt prius vel terra et utrum terra creata est prius quam celi. Qui enim dicunt quod terra creata est prius intencio eorum est propter tricentenarium quinarium²⁴⁴ et dicunt quod principium cogitationis est principale seu fundamentale et testus dicit super hoc dominus Iod he vau he²⁴⁵ cum sapientia fundavit terram hoc est principium terre de terra. Et dixit etiam stabiliens celos cum intelligencia. At vero ille qui dicit quod celi creati sunt prius intencio eius est quod finis operis est principalis quia octingentenarius²⁴⁶ est qui precessit gradu vel excellencia septuagenarium²⁴⁷ qui vocatur terra principalis omnino tamen terra de terra est et celi de celis sunt, quia septingentenarius²⁴⁸ et [219v] octingentenarius²⁴⁹ vocantur celi. Et he due numerationes scilicet secunda et ultima vocantur primogenitus sed differunt quia secunda dicitur bechor lasiluth בכור לאצילות idest primogenitus processioni, ultima vero vocatur primogenitus ad ea que sunt inferiora ea, bechor lema xetahtea בכור למה שתחתיה vel vocatur ultima primogenitus cum fuerit contenta seu ornata ex 32 viis sapientie que vocatur primogenitus, vel etiam potest dici quod secunda vocatur primogenitus propter hoc scilicet quod posita est in capite nominis tetragrammaton scilicet Iod he vau he²⁵⁰. Et potest etiam dici quod testus testatur hoc ipsum ubi dicit etiam Ani bechor ethnehu idest etiam ani idest proprietatem ani faciam eam primogenitum בכור אתנהו ani quia dictio qui indicat numerum septuagenarium²⁵¹ et dicit per hoc quod ponet eam in principio nominis tetragrammaton Iod he vau he²⁵², quasi dicat ad sublimandum eam sursum ad caput, vel potest dici quod dabit numerationi Ani²⁵³ proprietatem secundam que dicitur primogenitus quasi dicat quod influat super diadema quod vocatur ani²⁵⁴ ipsam secundam que vocatur primogenitus. Et secundum hunc modum erit etiam ipsa primogenitus et inuenietur primogenitus in virtute Altissimi helion²⁵⁵ quia requiret eam a rexith²⁵⁶ idest principio anni usque ad aharith²⁵⁷ idest finem anni et erit ornata seu universalizata in omnibus ut educat omnia vel chol²⁵⁸ de potencia in actum virtute altissimi helion²⁵⁹ et quidem legatus ipsius hominis similis illi est et ex eo quod declarabitur de misteriis septuagenarii²⁶⁰ in proportionem rationis quod ipsa erat duo prosopa in processione possumus intelligere ratione illius questionis quare primogenitus accipit

²⁴⁴ See *supra* n. 55.

²⁴⁵ See *supra* n. 7.

²⁴⁶ See *supra* n. 123.

²⁴⁷ See *supra* n. 184.

²⁴⁸ See *supra* n. 56.

²⁴⁹ See *supra* 123.

²⁵⁰ See *supra* n. 7.

²⁵¹ See *supra* n. 184.

²⁵² See *supra* n. 7.

²⁵³ Latin transliteration for אני.

²⁵⁴ See *supra* n. 243.

²⁵⁵ See *supra* n. 10.

²⁵⁶ See *supra* n. 232.

²⁵⁷ Latin transliteration for אחרית.

²⁵⁸ See *supra* n. 158.

²⁵⁹ See *supra* n. 10.

²⁶⁰ See *supra* n. 184.

partem duorum. Et quod ultra hoc scilicet has numerationes tricentenarius quinarius²⁶¹ vocetur bechor²⁶² idest primogenitus et non ducentenarius quinarius²⁶³ dabitur hoc intelligi in cultu denariorum. Et utraque numeratio vocatur [220r] adehad עדי עד et misterium eius est eternum et firmum et permanens quod pertinet ad utramque. Similiter etiam tam secunda quam ultima vocantur pele פלא idest occultum vel admirabile vel separatum in quantum scilicet derivatur a vocabulo chissui²⁶⁴ idest tegminis et dabitur hoc intelligi inferius. Similiter etiam utreque eedem secunda et ultima vocantur emuna אמונה idest fides vel nutrix in quantum scilicet derivantur ab omen אמן idest nutriens vel connutritum vel fidele et propter hoc dixerunt maior est qui respondet amen²⁶⁵ quam ille qui benedicit, quia qui benedicit non indicat ultimam sed memorat mundum et hi היא idest ipsa est in continencia eius, at vero qui respondet amen protrahit benedictionem vel piscinationem de hominem ad hominem idest conutrito ad conutritum quia amen אמן dicitur a vocabulo Emuna²⁶⁶ idest fidei vel nutricis et declarabitur hoc in religione orationum et in misterio benedictionum et dicunt sapientes nostri in hoc paradigma quod in bello dimicant calones et milites seu imperatores superant et vincunt seu triumphant hebraïce מנצחין והגבורין במלחמה ומתגרין בגיליירין dicitur itaque assimilatur qui benedicit caloni qui incipit incitare bellum nec potest propter suam debilitatem perficere bellum, sic itaque qui benedicit incipit cum benedictione vel piscinatione que sequitur a tricenario quinario²⁶⁷ protrahit que vocatur per se milhama מלחמה idest bellum propter hoc scilicet quod est iudicium neque perficit quia scilicet non memorat ultimam que est similitudo seu imago eius vel forte vocatur benedicens seu piscinans dimicator et bellans lohem לוחם quia scilicet omnis qui benedicit piscinando et colit deum cum oratione sua idem est ac si bellaret et superaret triumphando proprietate iudicii. Et compararunt illos qui respondent Amen²⁶⁸ in illa allegoria Ad Giborim²⁶⁹ idest gigantes seu potentes vel milites aut imperatores qui superant et triumphant in bello milhama מלחמה quia scilicet protrahunt [220v]²⁷⁰ piscinationem benedictionis a rexith²⁷¹ idest principio anni usque ad finem aharith²⁷² anni qui est numerus septuagenarius²⁷³ et sic ambe vocantur milahama מלחמה et Din דין et Gebura גבורה idest bellum iudicium et potencia. At vero quia utraque illarum est bellum et utraque illarum est iudicium

²⁶¹ See *supra* n. 241.

²⁶² Latin transliteration for בכור.

²⁶³ See *supra* n. 64.

²⁶⁴ Latin transliteration for Hebrew כסוי.

²⁶⁵ Latin transliteration for אמן.

²⁶⁶ See *supra* n. 188.

²⁶⁷ See *supra* n. 55.

²⁶⁸ See *supra* n. 265.

²⁶⁹ Latin transliteration for גבורים.

²⁷⁰ The word “protrahunt” is repeated at the beginning of this folio.

²⁷¹ See *supra* n. 232.

²⁷² See *supra* n. 257.

²⁷³ See *supra* n. 184.

et utraque illarum est potencia ideo in illa allegoria compararunt respondentes Amen²⁷⁴ ad ipsos Giborim²⁷⁵ idest potentes quia ipsi sunt Giborim idest potentes vel Gigantes qui sunt a seculo holam viri nominis Axem המה הגבורים אשר מעולם אנשי השם. Postquam vero perventum fuerit ad Geburoth²⁷⁶ idest potencias in femenino plurali, postquam divisum est vel disceptatum est disceptatur et prevalent et superant. Cum his itaque duabus numerationibus secunda scilicet et ultima accidit quinta scilicet proprietas timoris pahad que etiam vocatur hoc nomine Gebura²⁷⁷ idest potencia equivoce cum eis et omnes sunt una res et idem misterium. At vero quod dictum est maior est qui respondet Amen²⁷⁸ quam qui benedicit intelligitur quando rapit vel festinat et benedicit הטף ובירך, verum qui benedicit et intendit et cogitat in comemoratione vocabulorum est multo maior quia scilicet protrahit de conutrito ad conutritum idest ab hominem ad hominem nec sic se habet misterium in respondente Amen²⁷⁹. Contingit etiam quod tres numerationes vocentur hoc nomine Tora תורה idest lex, sed licet tricentenarius quinari²⁸⁰ octingentenarius²⁸¹ et septuagenarius²⁸², sed differunt quia tricentenarius quinari²⁸³ vocatur Tora keduma תורה קדומה idest lex antiqua vel eterna vel prior, octingentenarius²⁸⁴ vero vocatur lex scripta Tora xebichtab תורה שבכתב septuagenarius²⁸⁵ vero tora xebalpe תורה שבעל פה idest lex de ore nata. Et forte quia septuagenarius²⁸⁶ in misteriis suis indicatur quandoque ad tricentenarium quinarium²⁸⁷ qui vocatur nesama נשמה idest anima intellectiva ideo dixerunt sapientes nostri verba que sunt de ore nata non [221r]²⁸⁸ debent sibi. Similiterque septingentenarius²⁸⁹ et octingentenarius²⁹⁰ vocantur comuni nomine misphath משפט idest Ius vel iudicium et hoc quidem quando indicant de clemenciis prout scribitur in textu dicente numquid qui indicat totam terram non faciet misphath²⁹¹? Et iudicium cum clemencia? Et pro septingentenario²⁹² dicimus nos in decem diebus penitencialibus Regem iudicii cum clementia המלך המשפט et sic exposuit magnus doctor Rabi Moises filius²⁹³ naaman Gerundinensis quod est Rex qui est misphath המשפט שהוא המלך idest iudicium cum clemencia.

²⁷⁴ See *supra* n. 265.

²⁷⁵ See *supra* n. 269.

²⁷⁶ Latin transliteration for גבורות.

²⁷⁷ Latin transliteration for גבורה.

²⁷⁸ See *supra* n. 265.

²⁷⁹ See *supra* n. 265.

²⁸⁰ See *supra* n. 55.

²⁸¹ See *supra* n. 123.

²⁸² See *supra* n. 184.

²⁸³ See *supra* n. 55.

²⁸⁴ See *supra* n. 123.

²⁸⁵ See *supra* n. 184.

²⁸⁶ See *supra* n. 184.

²⁸⁷ See *supra* n. 55.

²⁸⁸ The word “non” is repeated at the beginning of this folio.

²⁸⁹ See *supra* n. 56.

²⁹⁰ See *supra* n. 123.

²⁹¹ See *supra* n. 32.

²⁹² See *supra* n. 56.

²⁹³ The MS has mistakenly “Moise filio”.

Octingenarius²⁹⁴ vero vocatur misphath²⁹⁵ prout dicit testus Sedech²⁹⁶ idest iusticia et misphath²⁹⁷ idest iudicium cum clemencia est habitaculum sedis tue, quia in hoc testu sedech²⁹⁸ indicat septuagenarium²⁹⁹ et misphath³⁰⁰ octingenarium³⁰¹, octingenarius³⁰² quidem sedes est septingentarii³⁰³ et uterque dicitur misphath³⁰⁴. Et iam octingenarius³⁰⁵ et septuagenarius³⁰⁶ dicuntur hoc nomine misphath³⁰⁷ quia misphath ad elohim pertinet הוא כי משפט לאלהים. Similiter etiam septingentarius³⁰⁸ et octingenarius³⁰⁹ et octonarius secundus³¹⁰ dicuntur Rahamim³¹¹ idest clemencie vel vulve, sed differunt quia septingentarius³¹² dicitur rahamim gemurim רחמים גמורים idest clemencie vel vulve absolute, octonarius vero secundus³¹³ dicitur Rahamim Gedolim רחמים גדולים idest clemencie maiores vel vulve magnifice et de eis testus dicit et cum clemenciis magnis congregabo te, octingenarius³¹⁴ vero dicitur Rahamim mezugim רחמים מזוגים idest clemencie vel vulve temperate, quia est Arbiter octonarii secundi³¹⁵ et octogenarii³¹⁶ et ideo dicitur octingenarius³¹⁷. Ambe quoque numerationes he scilicet octogenarius secundus³¹⁸ et octingenarius³¹⁹ vocantur el idest deus אל. Et in misterio el intelligantur clementie et etiam cum illis duabus convenit septuagenarius³²⁰ quod vocetur etiam [221v] el³²¹, prout scribitur in testu dicente ego sum el beth el³²² idest deus domus dei et continetur tunc a clemenciis que sunt fundamentum, et similiter octonarius secundus³²³ vocatur clemencie a testu dicente deus deorum dominus locutus est

²⁹⁴ See *supra* n. 123.

²⁹⁵ See *supra* n. 56.

²⁹⁶ See *supra* n. 186.

²⁹⁷ See *supra* n. 32.

²⁹⁸ See *supra* n. 186.

²⁹⁹ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁰⁰ See *supra* n. 32.

³⁰¹ See *supra* n. 123.

³⁰² See *supra* n. 123.

³⁰³ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁰⁴ See *supra* n. 32.

³⁰⁵ See *supra* n. 123.

³⁰⁶ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁰⁷ See *supra* n. 32.

³⁰⁸ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁰⁹ See *supra* n. 123.

³¹⁰ See *supra* n. 96.

³¹¹ Latin transliteration for רחמים.

³¹² See *supra* n. 56.

³¹³ See *supra* n. 96.

³¹⁴ See *supra* n. 123.

³¹⁵ See *supra* n. 96.

³¹⁶ See *supra* n. 225.

³¹⁷ See *supra* n. 123.

³¹⁸ See *supra* n. 225.

³¹⁹ See *supra* n. 123.

³²⁰ See *supra* n. 184.

³²¹ See *supra* n. 9.

³²² Latin transliteration for Hebrew אל בית אל.

³²³ See *supra* n. 96.

אל אלהים יהוה דבר. Similiter etiam utreque he numerationes vocantur Rex scilicet septingentenarius³²⁴ et octingentenarius³²⁵ et cum eis communicat etiam septuagenarius³²⁶ in hoc nomine et ee differunt quia septingentenarius³²⁷ dicitur rex mundus vel mundi melech Aholam מלך העולם, octingentenarius³²⁸ vero dicitur Rex consumentis vel superior³²⁹ מלך של מכלה ut regat mundum inferiorem et propter hoc dixerunt in libro syphre³³⁰ quid interest inter vota et iuramenta? Hoc scilicet quod qui vovet iurat per vitam regis etc. Et septuagenarius³³¹ etiam dicitur rex mundi scriptus aliter scilicet malcho xel holam מלכו של עולם, mundi inquam superioris qui dicitur vau quia omnia sunt per legationem mundi superioris et vocatur malcho idest rex eius vel rex vau מלכו per modum testus dicentis et ego constitui regem meum vel miscui regi meo ואני נסכתי מלכי et hoc quidem quia ipse miscet regi benedicto de terra ideo vocavit eum regem eius vel regem senarii. Similiter etiam he due numerationes scilicet septingentenarius³³² et octingentenarius³³³ indica[n]t per nomen secundum filium quatuor litterarum hiod he vau he³³⁴, et cum eis etiam convenit in nomine fundamentum seculi. Quandoque vero septingentenarius³³⁵ et septuagenarius³³⁶ vocantur elohim cum Aleph lamed he iod mem אלהים et declaratio vocabuli est quod el³³⁷ idest deus denarius sunt אל י הם quasi dicat quod potencia vel virtus sunt ipsi hoc modo septingentenarius³³⁸ quidem potencia seculi superioris et septuagenarius³³⁹ est potencia ad ea que sunt inferius. Etiam ex eo quod vocabulum elohim³⁴⁰ indicat rectorem et iudicem conveniunt quia septingentenarius³⁴¹ est [212r]³⁴² agens et providens particulariter in seculum superius in virtute tricentenarii quinarium³⁴³. Et septuagenarius³⁴⁴ quidem in seculo inferiore in virtute octingentenarii³⁴⁵. Et he ambo numerationes scilicet septingentenarius³⁴⁶ et septuagenarius³⁴⁷

³²⁴ See *supra* n. 56.

³²⁵ See *supra* n. 123.

³²⁶ See *supra* n. 184.

³²⁷ See *supra* n. 56.

³²⁸ See *supra* n. 123.

³²⁹ On the left margin the copyst added: «[vide]tur esse errorem». Referring to the word מכלה, suggesting that it should read “מעלה”, meaning “on high” or “above”.

³³⁰ Latin transliteration for ספרי.

³³¹ See *supra* n. 184.

³³² See *supra* n. 56.

³³³ See *supra* n. 123.

³³⁴ See *supra* n. 7.

³³⁵ See *supra* n. 56.

³³⁶ See *supra* n. 184.

³³⁷ See *supra* n. 9.

³³⁸ See *supra* n. 56.

³³⁹ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁴⁰ See *supra* n. 12.

³⁴¹ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁴² The word “est” is repeated.

³⁴³ See *supra* n. 55.

³⁴⁴ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁴⁵ See *supra* n. 123.

³⁴⁶ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁴⁷ See *supra* n. 184.

vocantur redemptio scilicet Geulla³⁴⁸ et tercio convenit cum eis in hoc nomine fundamentum seculi. Et ille eedem scilicet septingentenarius³⁴⁹ et septuagenarius³⁵⁰ indicantur in littera he nominis magni tetragrammaton Iod he vau he³⁵¹ ה sed differunt quia septingentenarius³⁵² intelligitur per primam litteram he ה que est in ipso nomine Iod he vau he³⁵³. Et septuagenarius³⁵⁴ indicatur per litteram he³⁵⁵ ultimam ipsius magni nominis et in libro sepher Abahir³⁵⁶ sapientes nostri distinguunt eas, quia primum he³⁵⁷ vocant he³⁵⁸ superiorem in femenino et ultimum he³⁵⁹ vocant he³⁶⁰ inferiorem in femenino et secundum hunc modum conveniunt he³⁶¹ due numerationes in nomine xechina idest שכנה habitatricis vel divinitatis sed septingentenarius³⁶² dicitur habitatrix superior et septuagenarius³⁶³ dicitur habitatrix inferior et hoc est quod dicunt sapientes nostri in libro Sepher abahir³⁶⁴ quod sicut est habitatrix superior sic est habitatrix inferior. Et pari modo declarabitur quod septingentenarius³⁶⁵ et septuagenarius³⁶⁶ conveniant in hoc nomine, qui sedet super cherubin hioseb acherubim יושב הכרובים vel qui sedet super pueris, sed differunt quia septingentenarius³⁶⁷ dicitur qui sedit super cherubim³⁶⁸ vel pueris superioribus. Et septuagenarius est qui sedet super cherubin vel pueris quos fecit salomon qui sunt illi quos vidit ezechiel propheta super quo sit pax, pari modo septingentenarius³⁶⁹ et septuagenarius³⁷⁰ conveniunt in hoc nomine ioxeb xamaim idest sessor celorum יושב שמים sed differunt quod septingentenarius³⁷¹ dicitur sessor celorum qui est octingentenarius³⁷². Septuagenarius³⁷³ vero dicitur sessor celorum qui sunt quatuor [212v] hierarchie habitatricis. Similiter etiam septingentenarius³⁷⁴ et septuagenarius³⁷⁵ vocantur comuni nomine

³⁴⁸ Latin transliteration for גאולה.

³⁴⁹ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁵⁰ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁵¹ See *supra* n. 7.

³⁵² See *supra* n. 56.

³⁵³ See *supra* n. 7.

³⁵⁴ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁵⁵ Latin transliteration for the name of letter ה.

³⁵⁶ See *supra* n. 114.

³⁵⁷ See *supra* n. 355.

³⁵⁸ See *supra* n. 355.

³⁵⁹ See *supra* n. 355.

³⁶⁰ See *supra* n. 355.

³⁶¹ See *supra* n. 355.

³⁶² See *supra* n. 56.

³⁶³ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁶⁴ See *supra* n. 114.

³⁶⁵ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁶⁶ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁶⁷ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁶⁸ See *supra* n. 164.

³⁶⁹ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁷⁰ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁷¹ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁷² See *supra* n. 123.

³⁷³ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁷⁴ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁷⁵ See *supra* n. 184.

malchuth xamaim idest regnum celorum מלכות שמים³⁷⁶ sed differunt quod septingentenarius³⁷⁶ est rex celorum idest octingentenarii³⁷⁷, septuagenarius³⁷⁸ vero est rex quatuor hierarchiarum habitatrix que dicuntur celi vel etiam dici potest ex quo septuagenarius³⁷⁹ vocatur rex octingentenarii³⁸⁰ qui vocatur samaim³⁸¹ idest celorum secundum quod dicitur et ego miscui regem meum super syon³⁸² montem sanctum meum. Similiter quoque septingentenarius³⁸³ et septuagenarius³⁸⁴ vocantur Anima idest nefes נפש et de hoc declarabitur inferius ubi etiam declarabitur quod per indicium septingentenarii³⁸⁵ indicatur septuagenarius³⁸⁶ et dicunt sapientes nostri super textu behibaram בהבראם idest quando creavit ea, quod cum he³⁸⁷ creavit ea. Et forte quod continebit hoc quesitum duas intenciones unam scilicet quod cum littera he³⁸⁸ prima que est in magno nomine Iod he vau he³⁸⁹ que indicat septingentenarium³⁹⁰ creatus fuit mundus superior qui indicatur per senarium et quinarium indicatos per litteras vau³⁹¹ he³⁹², que continet septem quorum principales vel articuli sunt octingentenarius³⁹³ et septuagenarius³⁹⁴ et indicant terra et celi que sunt in illo e[od]em textu septuagenarium³⁹⁵ et octingentenarium³⁹⁶ qui sunt articulus principalis mundi creati cum quinario per virtutem denarii. Et indicabunt nomina Adonai elohim scripta per Iod he vau he et aleph he lamed iod mem יהוה אלהים que sunt in eodem testu septingentenarium³⁹⁷ et tricentenarium quinarium³⁹⁸ vel contrarium. Et secunda quidem que est in littera he³⁹⁹ ultima ipsius nominis creatus est mundus inferior cuius articulus est celi et terra et omnis milicia vel exercitus eorum. Et sic indicabant illa duo nomina Adonai elohim יהוה אלהים ad octingentenarium⁴⁰⁰ et septuagenarium⁴⁰¹, quia septuagenarius⁴⁰² [213r] creavit

³⁷⁶ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁷⁷ See *supra* n. 123.

³⁷⁸ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁷⁹ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁸⁰ See *supra* n. 123.

³⁸¹ Latin transliteration for שמים.

³⁸² See *supra* n. 137.

³⁸³ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁸⁴ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁸⁵ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁸⁶ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁸⁷ See *supra* n. 355.

³⁸⁸ See *supra* n. 355.

³⁸⁹ See *supra* n. 7.

³⁹⁰ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁹¹ See *supra* n. 133.

³⁹² See *supra* n. 355.

³⁹³ See *supra* n. 123.

³⁹⁴ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁹⁵ See *supra* n. 184.

³⁹⁶ See *supra* n. 123.

³⁹⁷ See *supra* n. 56.

³⁹⁸ See *supra* n. 55.

³⁹⁹ See *supra* n. 355.

⁴⁰⁰ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴⁰¹ See *supra* n. 184.

⁴⁰² See *supra* n. 184.

mundum inferiorem per virtutem octingentenarii⁴⁰³ et ambe opiniones vere sunt et intellige ex eis quod⁴⁰⁴ seculum venturum creatum est cum littera Iod vel denario et he idest quinario quod est יה et seculum hoc creatum est cum senario et quinario vau he וה, quia seculum venturum creavit seculum hoc. Et iam diximus tibi superius quod octingentenarius⁴⁰⁵ vel fundamentum vocantur seculum venturum et ambo etiam vocantur ligamentum vitarum et declarabimus tibi amplius quod dictum est in libro bahir⁴⁰⁶ quid nam est seculum venturum quod dicitur holam aba עולם הבא? est quidem seculum quod iam venit שכבר בא, quia seculum venturum creatum est a me seculum hoc et seculum venturum creavit seculum hoc. Et intelliges etiam quare non fuit memoratum nomen male idest plenum (idest יהוה אלהים) in tota particula geneseos usque ad illum testum he sunt generationes celorum et terre quia in tota particula fit naratio de opere superiore seu agente superiore qui est septingentenarius⁴⁰⁷ unde est seculum superius. Et elohim⁴⁰⁸ qui continetur in illa particula indicat eam scilicet septingentenarium⁴⁰⁹. Et postea particula he sunt generationes celorum narrat in operatione septuagenarii⁴¹⁰ in seculo inferiore per virtutem octingentenarii⁴¹¹. Et sic nomen plenum venit super mundum plenum, ideo memoratum est in eo Adonai elohim hoc modo scriptum יהוה אלהים ut indicavimus. Et quia principalis naratio particule est in actione septuagenarii⁴¹² que indicatur per litteram he⁴¹³ vel quinary ideo sapientes nostri dixerunt quod cum littera he⁴¹⁴ creavit ea. Et forte propter hoc scribitur illa he⁴¹⁵ in dictione behibaram⁴¹⁶ idest quando creavit ea minor preter ordinem ceterarum literarum hebraicarum quod nullibi invenitur nisi in בִּהְבֵּרָאם quia scilicet illa he⁴¹⁷ est luminare minus. Verum tamen illud quod declaravi de [213v] littera he⁴¹⁸ ubi dixi quod seculum superius creatum est cum littera he⁴¹⁹ etiam illud verum est, nomina vero comunia octonario secundo⁴²⁰ et octogenario⁴²¹ sunt hec chetarim כתרִים idest corone, chenaphaim כנפים idest ale, keduxath holam קדשת עולם idest sanctitas mundi, hiede abir יעקב אביר idest manus fortissimi Iacob. Bade aaron בדי הארון idest trabecule arche indicant omnia hec ea scilicet ipse quoque

⁴⁰³ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴⁰⁴ In the text “qui”.

⁴⁰⁵ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴⁰⁶ See *supra* n. 142.

⁴⁰⁷ See *supra* n. 56.

⁴⁰⁸ See *supra* n. 12.

⁴⁰⁹ See *supra* n. 56.

⁴¹⁰ See *supra* n. 184.

⁴¹¹ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴¹² See *supra* n. 184.

⁴¹³ See *supra* n. 355.

⁴¹⁴ See *supra* n. 355.

⁴¹⁵ See *supra* n. 355.

⁴¹⁶ Latin transliteration for בהבֵּרָאם.

⁴¹⁷ See *supra* n. 355.

⁴¹⁸ See *supra* n. 355.

⁴¹⁹ See *supra* n. 355.

⁴²⁰ See *supra* n. 96.

⁴²¹ See *supra* n. 225.

dicuntur xadaim שדים idest ubera. Et sunt quidem illa ubera de quibus dictum est duo ubera tua sunt ut duo hymnuli gemelli damae femine. Et inferius declarabitur ratio geminationis. Et iam dicunt sapientes nostri in elongatione trabecularum quod scilicet tumescebant ut duo ubera mulieris quia ex eis lactant et suggunt omnia et dignum est ut non removeantur ab anulis trabecule, utreque vero numerationes predictae uno nomine dicuntur xayx שיח idest marmor prout dicitur iam perveneritis ad lapides marmoris clari nolite dicere aquas aquas, quia sic scribitur et qui loquitur mendacia venit non permanebit. Audivi autem ab his qui tradiderunt mihi quod per totum vocabulum maim idest aquarum venit ad monendum eos ut caverent ne dicerent essent duo principia scilicet quod octogenarius⁴²² et secundus octonarius⁴²³ esse ut duo principia, nec est nimis remotum quia principia que agunt inde sunt. Similiter quoque octonarius secundus⁴²⁴ et octogenarius⁴²⁵ vocantur abanim אבנים idest lapides et vocantur harim הרים idest montes vel concupientes prout de eis scribitur levabo oculos meos ad harim⁴²⁶ idest montes vel concupientes seu genitores et unus illorum dicitur behemoth⁴²⁷ in montibus mille. Et quidem omnes septem numerationes vocantur pari nomine harim⁴²⁸ idest montes. Similiter etiam octingentenarius⁴²⁹ septuage[214r]narius⁴³⁰ et fundamentum vocantur aque sed differunt quia octingentenarius⁴³¹ dicitur aque superiores, fundamentum vero aque absolute septuagenarius⁴³² vero duplicatur aque inferiores et aque posteriores מים עליונים, מים, מים תחתונים, מים אהרונים, מים ראשונים idest preceptum et posteriores sunt hoba⁴³³ idest necessarie (Domine pice in hoc libro hebraice sunt quedam postille in margine. Ego scribo tibi eas in testu sed facio duas parentesses ut cognoscas eas non esse meas), ((חובה ממש hoba idest dam<p>natio quidem quia damnant)), he⁴³⁴ autem tres numerationes producte vocantur hiamin ימין idest dextra. Et hoc misterium intelligendum est cum fuerit 8⁴³⁵, 300⁴³⁶, 8⁴³⁷ חשח extentum super septuagenario⁴³⁸ (dicit mithridates amore pici quod 8, 300, 8 indicat filum pietatis) et octogenarius⁴³⁹ quidem et septuagenarius⁴⁴⁰ vocantur sinistra et inferius dabitur intelligi misterium dextre et sinistre

⁴²² The word “secundus” in an abbreviated form was written and then erased. See *supra* n. 225.

⁴²³ See *supra* n. 96.

⁴²⁴ See *supra* n. 96.

⁴²⁵ See *supra* n. 225.

⁴²⁶ Latin transliteration for Hebrew הרים.

⁴²⁷ Latin transliteration for Hebrew בהמות.

⁴²⁸ See *supra* n. 426.

⁴²⁹ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴³⁰ See *supra* n. 184.

⁴³¹ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴³² See *supra* n. 184.

⁴³³ Latin transliteration for חובה.

⁴³⁴ See *supra* n. 318.

⁴³⁵ See *supra* n. 75.

⁴³⁶ See *supra* n. 56.

⁴³⁷ See *supra* n. 96.

⁴³⁸ See *supra* n. 184.

⁴³⁹ See *supra* n. 225.

⁴⁴⁰ See *supra* n. 184.

et etiam dabitur intelligi illud quod dicitur dextra tua domine Iod he vau he⁴⁴¹ magnificata est in virtute, dextra tua domine Iod he vau he conquassabit inimicum ימינך יהוה נאדרי בכח ימינך יהוה תרעץ
 יב chouah⁴⁴² enim idest potencia vel virtus indicat octingentenarium⁴⁴³ qui est virtus septuagenarii⁴⁴⁴ et cum fuerit septuagenarius⁴⁴⁵ magnificatus in virtute chouah⁴⁴⁶ iam auxilium prebet ipsis israelitis et quassat eth⁴⁴⁷ hostem ut dicunt sapientes nostri quod in egypto una manus eius sumergebat eos et altera manu liberabat israelitas. Equidem liberabat israel et sumergebat misraim⁴⁴⁸ in virtute octingentenarii⁴⁴⁹ מצרים ומשקעת מצרים similiter quoque octogenarius⁴⁵⁰ et septuagenarius⁴⁵¹ vocantur hes אש idest ignis sed differunt quia octogenarius⁴⁵² est ignis superior et [214v] septuagenarius⁴⁵³ est ignis inferior. Similiter quoque hec due numerationes vocantur Din דין idest iudicium sed quidem octogenarius⁴⁵⁴ est proprietas iudicii difficilis vel gravis et septuagenarius⁴⁵⁵ vocatur proprietas iudicii debilis. Et similiter utreque ipse vocantur beemoth⁴⁵⁶ in montibus mille in plurali numero generis femenini, beemoth bearere aleph אלהי בהמות בהררי אלף et hic behemoth⁴⁵⁷ dicitur taurus silvestris sor abar שור הבר et sunt masculus et femina, octogenarius⁴⁵⁸ quidem dicitur zain זין⁴⁵⁹ et septuagenarius dicitur nun⁴⁶⁰ נון. Similiter ambo ipse numeratione(s) vocantur marahoth idest visiones vel aspectus in plurali et in genere feminino מראות de quibus dicitur et dixit elohim⁴⁶¹ ad israel in visionibus noctis, sed differunt quod octogenarius⁴⁶² dicitur visio difficilis marha caxa מראה קשה, septuagenarius⁴⁶³ vero dicitur marha rafa מראה רפה etiam convenit cum illis in hoc nomine octingentenarius⁴⁶⁴ quod dicitur marha⁴⁶⁵. Nomina vero que sunt comunia quiquagenario⁴⁶⁶ et

⁴⁴¹ See *supra* n. 7.

⁴⁴² Latin transliteration for כח.

⁴⁴³ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴⁴⁴ See *supra* n. 184.

⁴⁴⁵ See *supra* n. 184.

⁴⁴⁶ See *supra* n. 442.

⁴⁴⁷ See *supra* n. 11.

⁴⁴⁸ Latin transliteration for מצרים.

⁴⁴⁹ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴⁵⁰ See *supra* n. 225.

⁴⁵¹ See *supra* n. 184.

⁴⁵² See *supra* n. 225.

⁴⁵³ See *supra* n. 184.

⁴⁵⁴ See *supra* n. 225.

⁴⁵⁵ See *supra* n. 184.

⁴⁵⁶ See *supra* n. 427.

⁴⁵⁷ See *supra* n. 427.

⁴⁵⁸ See *supra* n. 225.

⁴⁵⁹ The Hebrew manuscript utilized by Mithridates likely contained the abbreviation ז' for זכר.

⁴⁶⁰ The Hebrew manuscript utilized by Mithridates likely contained the abbreviation נ' for נקבה.

⁴⁶¹ See *supra* n. 12.

⁴⁶² See *supra* n. 225.

⁴⁶³ See *supra* n. 184.

⁴⁶⁴ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴⁶⁵ Latin transliteration for מראה.

⁴⁶⁶ See *supra* n. 124.

quinario⁴⁶⁷ seu eternitati et decori sunt hec nesahim נצחים idest eternitates vel triumphi seu victorie nishe holam עולם נצחי idest eternitates seculi de quibus dicitur etiam hoc nomen comune Ammude xamaim למודי שמים idest collumne celorum et etiam limude xamaim למודי שמים idest discipuli celorum et limmude Adonai יהוה למודי idest discipuli domini Iod he vau he⁴⁶⁸. Et magnus doctor Rabi moises filius nahaman⁴⁶⁹ vocavit eos in suo magno commento quod fecit super libro Sepher iesire⁴⁷⁰ eloim hayim אלהים חיים. Similiter etiam dicuntur xokaim שוקים idest genua vel tybie vel fora sed differunt quod quinquagenarius⁴⁷¹ est tybia dextra, quinarium⁴⁷² vero tybia sinistra et sic columna dextra dicitur quinquagenarius⁴⁷³, quinarium⁴⁷⁴ vero columna sinistra. Nomina autem que comunia sunt fundamento et octingentenario⁴⁷⁵ sunt hec rahamim⁴⁷⁶ idest clemencie vel vulve, machrihim מכריעים hoc est [215r] idest arbitri. Similiter etiam haxem agadol השם הגדול idest magnum nomen, et etiam hiod he vau he אביר ישראל et elohe Iacob idest dii Iacob יעקב et fortitudo israel idest abir israel אביר ישראל et emeth אמת idest veritas et tora תורה idest lex et Iacob יעקב et 97 צז⁴⁷⁷ (dicit mitrydates quod Saz⁴⁷⁸ videtur sibi significare iusticiam in masculino genere et hoc amore pici) similiter adam אדם idest homo et hathan חתן idest sponsus et hix איש idest vir et melech מלך idest rex et el אל idest deus vel fortis et dracones grandes taninim הגדולים et leviathan⁴⁷⁹ et filia eius matrimonialis leviathan ubath zogo ובת זוגו sed differunt quia octingentenarius⁴⁸⁰ dicitur zain⁴⁸¹ et fundamentum dicitur quinquagenarius⁴⁸² et declarabitur hoc ex auctoritate que aducitur ex libro agada⁴⁸³ quod dixit sabatum coram deo sancto et benedicto et etc. Quia dicitur in hebraico dixit in femenino genere amra אמרה et vocantur etiam ambo ille numerationes dagim דגים idest pisces, nomina vero que conveniunt fundamento et septuagenario⁴⁸⁴ sunt xadai שדי idest omnipotens et xabath שבת idest sabatum vel quies in dictione sabata mea que scribuntur per duo tau⁴⁸⁵ xabethotai שבתתי et dicuntur etiam ambo chol כל idest omne vel totum et dicuntur etiam a sapientibus nostris in libro bahir⁴⁸⁶ sedech צדך idest iusticia

⁴⁶⁷ See *supra* n. 125.

⁴⁶⁸ See *supra* n. 7.

⁴⁶⁹ See *supra* n. 136.

⁴⁷⁰ See *supra* n. 39.

⁴⁷¹ See *supra* n. 124.

⁴⁷² See *supra* n. 125.

⁴⁷³ See *supra* n. 124.

⁴⁷⁴ The MS reads “5us”. See *supra* n. 125.

⁴⁷⁵ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴⁷⁶ See *supra* n. 311.

⁴⁷⁷ Abbreviation for זכר צורת misunderstood by Mithridates.

⁴⁷⁸ See *supra* n. 477.

⁴⁷⁹ See *supra* n. 122.

⁴⁸⁰ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴⁸¹ See *supra* n. 459.

⁴⁸² See *supra* n. 460.

⁴⁸³ See *supra* n. 22.

⁴⁸⁴ See *supra* n. 184.

⁴⁸⁵ Latin transliteration for the name of Hebrew letter ת.

⁴⁸⁶ See *supra* n. 142.

in masculino et ibidem dicunt ambo hoz idest fortitudo et robur עז et memoravimus superius misterium huius iusticie sedech⁴⁸⁷ et quomodo etiam secunda numeratio vocatur eo nomine. Nomina vero que conveniunt octingentenario⁴⁸⁸ et septuagenario⁴⁸⁹ sunt duo prosopa, due persone vel duo vultus duparsopin דו פרצופין et vocantur etiam duo reges xene melachim שני מלכים quia utebantur una corona ut scribitur in libro agada⁴⁹⁰ [215v] et ambo etiam dicuntur gebahoth idest colles vel declivia גבעות et chabod idest gloria כבוד et xam idest ibi שם de quo extat in libro sepher abahir⁴⁹¹ ubi exponunt testum dicentem et xam⁴⁹² est oculatio fortitudinis eius. Et domini qui operantur in hac facultate vocant septuagenarium⁴⁹³ xam⁴⁹⁴ idest ibi in textu dicente et stetit cum eo xam שם. Et ambo etiam dicuntur keranaim seu carnaim קרנים idest cornua vel illustrationes seu splendores et extat auctoritas sapientium nostrorum in libro Sepher abahir⁴⁹⁵ ubi dicitur carnaim miyado⁴⁹⁶ lo idest splendores de manu eius sibi et quidem carnaim⁴⁹⁷ vocabulum est ut vocabulum luminis אורה hora et vocatur octingentenario⁴⁹⁸ xem idest nomen vel fama שם de quo scribitur in textu dicente quia nomen meum in medio eius est. Similiter etiam septuagenarius⁴⁹⁹ vocatur xem שם idest nomen vel fama de quo scribitur in textu dicente et faciemus nobis xem⁵⁰⁰ et ambo dicuntur hor idest lumen vel lux אור propter hoc quidem exposuerunt sapientes nostri in textu dicente quod due luces erant. Et similiter vocantur meoroth agedolim מאורות הגדולים idest luminaria magna et abne bohu אבני בהו idest lapides formabiles, secundum vero opinionem nostram vocantur ambo abne xayx אבני שיש idest lapides marmoris ac si diceretur lapides coronarum que vocantur xayx idest marmor, שיש. Et iam meminimus quomodo vocate sunt maim מים idest aque et vocantur etiam resuioth idest principia רשויות. Ex his enim omnibus intelligimus dictum sapientum nostrorum dicencium quod iam memoravimus cum perveneritis ad lapides marmoris clari nolite dicere aquas aquas quod refertur ad duo prosopa, et forte quidem quod hoc vocabulum resuioth⁵⁰¹ non intellexerunt sapientes nostri pro principiis sed in quantum significet [216r] Resuth idest inperium רשות et dominium et potestatem et regnum prout scribitur in testu eorundem sapientum dicentium Avo zehirin baraxuth אבו זהירין ברשות idest cavete a magnatibus vel potentibus vel principibus (nota pice quantum mithridates cavet) et alibi al titvada laraxuth אל תתודע

⁴⁸⁷ See *supra* n. 186.

⁴⁸⁸ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴⁸⁹ See *supra* n. 184.

⁴⁹⁰ See *supra* n. 22.

⁴⁹¹ See *supra* n. 114.

⁴⁹² See *supra* n. 115.

⁴⁹³ See *supra* n. 114.

⁴⁹⁴ See *supra* n. 115.

⁴⁹⁵ See *supra* n. 114.

⁴⁹⁶ Latin transliteration for קרנים מידו.

⁴⁹⁷ Latin transliteration for קרנים.

⁴⁹⁸ See *supra* n. 123.

⁴⁹⁹ See *supra* n. 184.

⁵⁰⁰ Latin transliteration for שם.

⁵⁰¹ Latin transliteration for רשויות.

רשות nolite facere notum principibus et magnatibus, vel potest esse quod vocabulum rexuth רשות significet licenciam singularis persone et licenciam multarum personarum prout dicunt sapientes nostri rexuth aīahid urexuth arabim ורשות הרבים et erant scripte cherubim cum nominibus domini quatuor lieterarum primo et secundo, primo quidem per aleph he iod he אהיה et secundo Iod he vai he יהוה, quandoque vero dicunt nomine tercio quatuor litterarum aleph dalet nun iod אדני et dicuntur ambo oculus vel fons hain עין et marhe מראה idest visio vel aspectus et aspaclaria אספקלריא idest speculum⁵⁰² vel vitrum sed differunt quia octingentenarius⁵⁰³ est speculum lucens et septuagenarius⁵⁰⁴ est speculum non lucens et dicuntur etiam facies פנים sed differunt quia octingentenarius⁵⁰⁵ est facies lucentes vel maiores et septuagenarius⁵⁰⁶ est facies non lucentes et minores vel parvus facierum et ambo dicuntur chisse כסא idest sedes et xamaim idest celi שמים et iudicium משפט et ager xade שדה et vox col קול et gebahoth idest colles גבעות quia ipsi sunt colles seculi et ymages hiconim איקונין prout dicunt sapientes nostri quod Iob murmuravit contra hiconim⁵⁰⁷ idest images et una queque illarum vocatur col קול idest vox, et verbum mahamar מאמר et celi in plurali xamaim שמים et sedes chisse כסא et elaph idest mille אלף et holam idest seculum vel mundus vel perpetuitas עולם et ex his intelliges quare vocantur behemoth⁵⁰⁸ in montibus eleph⁵⁰⁹ mille [216v] et inferius declarabitur misterium millenariorum myriadum et seculorum עולמות, רבבות, אלפים, et etiam vocatur accadox baruch hu⁵¹⁰ idest deus sanctus et benedictus et es אש idest ignis et nethihoth נטיעות idest plante. Septem vero ultime vocantur absolute hamudim עמודים idest columnne, harim idest montes הרים, vel genitores, bohu בהו idest formabiles lapides divise abanim mefullamoth מפולמות et sciencia vel cognitio דעת dahath et etiam hadarim idest conclavia vel cellule חדרים et naratio vel numerabile sippur ספור et nehalim נהלים idest torentes et maim idest aque מים et rekihim רקיעים idest firmamenta et hiamim idest dies ימים et holamim idest secula עולמים et filii idest בני banim et bathim בתים idest domus in plurali et hasisa הציצה idest velum vel separatio et ordo temporum seder zemanim סדר זמנים seu ordo dispositionum. De inde ex his septem secundus octonarius⁵¹¹ et octogenarius⁵¹² et octingentenarius⁵¹³ vocantur Aboth⁵¹⁴ idest patres vel patriarche. Et quatuor que secuntur eos sunt filii patrum vel patriarcharum qui dicuntur Bene aboth בני אבות et dividuntur aliter quod quinque

⁵⁰² The next word “lucens” is erased.

⁵⁰³ See *supra* n. 123.

⁵⁰⁴ See *supra* n. 184.

⁵⁰⁵ See *supra* n. 123.

⁵⁰⁶ See *supra* n. 184.

⁵⁰⁷ Latin transliteration for איקונין.

⁵⁰⁸ See *supra* n. 427.

⁵⁰⁹ Latin transliteration for אלף.

⁵¹⁰ Latin transliteration for הקדוש ברוך הוא.

⁵¹¹ See *supra* n. 96.

⁵¹² See *supra* n. 225.

⁵¹³ See *supra* n. 123.

⁵¹⁴ Latin transliteration for אבות.

posteriores vocantur gebaoth idest colles גבעות et lumina vel illuminancia hurim אורים vel horim et pro illis exposuerunt sapientes nostri dicentes quod quinque quinarij seu volumina legis sunt e regione quinque luminum que sunt in particula geneseos. At vero octingentenarius⁵¹⁵ et quinquagenarius⁵¹⁶ et quinarus⁵¹⁷ et denarius indicat quatuor anulos arche et inferius declarabitur hoc amplius. Et rursus declarabitur inferius quare dictum est in anulis arche et effundes ei vīasaktallo ויצקת לו et non est dictum sic in mensa. Et cum intellectum fuerit misterium quatuor anulorum intelligetur etiam misterium quatuor cornuum altaris [217r] et quatuor castrorum et quatuor donorum. Et intelligetur etiam misterium duorum donorum que sunt quatuor et donum unum.

Capitulus 6 de nominibus contrariis

Nomina autem contraria agencia dicuntur שמות נגדיות הפועלים semoth negdioth apohalim et quidem sunt nomina que pariuntur contrarietatem in agentibus prout in misterio quod dictum est etiam hoc vel eth Ze⁵¹⁸ e regione huius vel contrarium huic ze fecit elohim את זה לעמת זה עשה האלהים circa quodquidem scire debes quod articulus agencium sunt duo prosopa seu principales agentes dicunt duo vultus. In reliquis autem transibi secundum nomen suum et locum suum et etiam secundum misterium suum. Et hec sunt quidem contraria⁵¹⁹

⁵²⁰ צו	⁵²¹ צן
97	90 50
Iusticia in masculino	Iusticia in femenino
שדים	ורחם
xadaim	varaham
ubera	et vulve
אב	אם
Ab	em
pater	mater
איש	אשה
his	Issa
vir	mulier
אדם	וחוה

⁵¹⁵ See *supra* n. 123.

⁵¹⁶ See *supra* n. 124.

⁵¹⁷ See *supra* n. 125.

⁵¹⁸ Latin transliteration for את זה.

⁵¹⁹ The following table of opposing words is sometimes adapted and regularized in a univocal format.

⁵²⁰ Acronym for צורת זכר.

⁵²¹ Acronym for צורת נקבה.

Adam	et ava
Adam	et eva
חתן hatan sponsus	כלה challa sponsa
מלך melech Rex	מלכה malcha regina
היא ipsa hi	ושמו et nomen eius uxmo
הוא hu ipse	ובית דינו ubeth dino et domus iudicii eius
היא hi ipsa	הוא hu ipse ⁵²²
זה hic ze	זאת hec zoth
יהוה Dominus Adonai	אדני Dominus Adonai
יהוה Dominus Adonai	אלהים Dii elohim
עולם seculum holam	ועד et ultra vahed
כסא דין Sedes Iudicii chisse din	כסא רחמים sedes clementiarum chisse rahamim

⁵²² The words “ipse” and “ipsa” are switched in Mithridates’ list of opposing names. However, due to the meaning of the words they are translating, it is easy to identify this switch as a mistake made by the translator.

גאולה Geulla redemptio	תפלה teffilla oratio vel philaterium
פנים panim ante facies	ואחור vehahor et retro et terga
אור hor lumen lux	חשך hosech tenebre fusco

[217v]

נסים נגלים nissim niglim miracula manifesta	נסים נסתרים nissim nistarim miracula occulta
השם הנכבד hassem hanichbad nomen gloriosum	השם הגדול assem agadol nomen magnum
תורה שבכתב Tora xebichtab lex scripta	תורה שבעל פה tora xebal pe lex de ore nata
מצות לא תעשה misvath lo tase preceptum negativum	מצות עשה misvath ase preceptum affirmativum
אספקלריא שאינה מאירה Speculum non lucens Speclaria xena mira	אספקלריא מאירה speculum lucens speclaria mira
אש שחורה es xora ignis niger	אש לבנה es lebana ignis albus
בתי בראי Bath[e] barai	בתי גואי bathe gavai

Domus exteriores	Domus interiores
מאור הקטן maor acaton luminare minus	מאור הגדול maor agadol luminare maius
מים אחרונים Maim Aharonim Aque posteriores	מים ראשונים maim rixonim aque priores
מים תחתונים maim tahtonim aque inferiores	מים עליונים maim helionim aque superiores
ארץ eres terra	שמים xamaim celi
ערב hereb crepusculum	בקר boker mane
יום hiom dies	ולילה valaila et nox ⁵²³
ירח hiareiah phebae	שמש xemes phebus
חמה hamma sol	ולבנה ulebana et luna
מים maim aqua	ואש vaes et ignis
ימין yamin dextra	ושמאל usmol et sinistra
צפון	דרום

⁵²³ The Latin translations of these words are reversed.

Saphon Septentrio	darom meridies
גן Gan paradisus	עדן heden voluptas
חיים haim vita	מות maveth et mors
טוב tob bonum	ורע varah et malum
צדקה sedaca Iusticia	ומשפט umispath et Iudicium ⁵²⁴

⁵²⁴ The list of names concludes at this point. Mithridates' Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* is, in fact, transmitted in an incomplete format, likely due to its initial composition on loose leaflets that were subsequently reassembled in MS Vatican City, BAV, Chigi A VI 190.

Editorial conventions

The Latin translation of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* by Egidio Da Viterbo and his collaborators, as presented on foll. 69r-141v of MS BNF, Lat. 598, has been edited in accordance with the standard editorial conventions previously employed for the publication of Mithridates' Latin translations for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, as part of the project "The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola". The previous editorial conventions were indeed adapted to accommodate the specific nature of this translation, with particular emphasis on the *marginalia* that accompany, complete, and guide its text. Consequently, all abbreviations in Egidio's translation and annotations have been expanded and interpreted. Scribal errors, corrections, or abbreviations are documented in the footnotes. Given the extensive and complex nature of this work, and the primary objective of elucidating the material characteristics of the translation process employed in Egidio da Viterbo's kabbalistic and scribal workshop, it was not feasible to annotate all the Latin transcriptions of Hebrew words in the footnotes. This semi-diplomatic edition does not include references to biblical or authoritative citations.

Egidio da Viterbo's Latin translation of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut

[69r] Ma'erehet ha eloit: ordo divinitatis: Ordo divinitatis: firmitas: fides divina ut decet: perfectionem suam: et ut convenit credere perfecta fide: et⁵²⁵ hec fides requirit ut perfecte credamus: fide firmissima: ac perfecta: absolutaque: firmata in corde: quod deus est⁵²⁶ mehadesc idest renovans et creans: et Cadmon: prima causa: et scit et advertit omnia: providentiaque omnia regit maschia: et potest omnia: et firmitas omnis est credendo legem totam: scriptam: et non scriptam: conclusio legum omnium est in hiis duabus: que omnia claudunt. Tota enim lex scripta declarata est per non scriptam. Et cum declarabitur substantia huius: in servitio: perverso: lex enim rumpit omnes sensus: et cogitationes externas: evertit · tollitque malas fides et hereses: quas nunc commemorabimus: esse multa genera hominum: chitot: in fide: sunt enim qui negant substantiam fidei: dicuntque mundum esse cadmon: idest mundum esse per se ens et semper: negantque Deum: ac dicunt non est Deus: Multi credunt factum mundum: negant tamen scire hec Deum: dicunt enim: Quomodo est scientia in excelsis? Alii scire quidem fatentur deum omnia: providentiam tamen tollunt deo Romomot idest altissimo: tolluntque rerum vilium [providentiam:] curant: putantque non advertere illum res humanas: haud secus atque res piscium aquatiliū: et hec opinio eorum: dimisisse deum: terras et maria: ut casu regantur: putant tamen non esse posse: ut ea fiant: que natura non fiunt. Mundumque natura tantum regi. Miracula vero tollunt omnino: in trasmutatione rerum: que quantumvis	211 · carta · fide firma opus est Cadmon deus principium Deus facit: scit potest: omnia Lex non scripta declarat⁵³⁰ philosophia mala · Mundum semper dicunt Scire hec deum non providentiam alii: Casu: Miracula tollunt

⁵²⁵ The words "Ipse esse" are erased.

⁵²⁶ The word "cades" is erased.

⁵³⁰ This marginal note is tied to the above it through a typical manícula, that means the drawing of a small hand, that indicates a link between the two affirmations.

manifeste videantur:⁵²⁷ student quod miracula causis constare nature: atque ea genera que diximus sola non sunt: sed alia pleraque: sed differentias opinionum non recensebimus: horum enim omnium hominum studium est:⁵²⁸ legem funditus evertere: aut totam aut partem: omniaque adducunt ad proverbia: hoc est miracula dicunt dicta esse in parabolis: confictis: et legem legisque omnia esse non vera⁵²⁹. Nos vero dicimus legem nec intellectu nec natura constare: sed legem recepimus in cabala: isc me pi isc: quisque ex ore alterius: usque ad Mose Rabenu: Et praecepta usitata: in populo israel: habent testimonia firma in tota fide: et ita usitatum est: cuique ex ore priorum et habet testimonium super omnes hereses atque opiniones: et hoc intelligitur in Ramban ubi narratur (Ba al parao:) miracula egypti: ac veluti omnis eligit populum vel aliquem: virum: facitque miracula in illius manu: hoc est	Legem tollunt per manus Cabala ·
[69v] La col: ad omnem sensum et opinionem illorum tollendam: experientia enim declarat omnia: mofet: experientia manifestissima arguit esse Creatorem: providentem: potentemque: ut monstrat experientia: ut propheta dicit: declaraturque ab eo: veritas prophetie: quod Deus loquitur cum hominibus: ideo dicitur: Scio quod ego Dominus in terra: idest agens omnia: dixit hoc: ut ostendat se humana nosse ac curare mortalia: nec reliquisse mundum casu regi: dixitque scies quia deus in mundo: facit enim hec omnia: uti creationem ostendat: et mundum. Item dixit deus non est similis mihi: in toto mundo: ut ostendat potestatem et omnipotentiam: quam nihil impedire potest: hec omnia sunt testimonia fidei et veritatis que negari non possunt. Hactenus ramban. In fide ergo lex hacabala: hisc me pisc lex	Deus ostendit providentiam⁵³³ Cabala:

⁵²⁷ The word “quem” is erased.

⁵²⁸ The letters “au” are erased.

⁵²⁹ The sentence “nec intellectum nec naturam in ea scitam esse. Nos vero habemus” is erased.

⁵³³ The *marginalia* on *verso* folios are on the left margin of the page. We decided from here on to keep on transcribing them on the right end of our edition, so to achieve graphic uniformity.

accepta est ore: sic firmata est fides: memoria miraculorum: et facinorum divinorum: sic oportet in memoriam hec reducere omnibus et diebus et horis: ac si ipsi oculis hec omnia vidissimus: in patrum enim narratione apud filios: fit ut eorum⁵³¹ semen non deleatur: et hec narravere quantum futura erant Ioboles miraculis carens: ideo oportuit nos antiqua miracula discere. Firmemus itaque nostro in corde ea omnia: atque ita intelligemus: pro meritis dari cuivis: quam ob rem fides animusque firmabitur. Remotione ac negatione deus cognoscitur non affirmatione. Marehach hic liber facit ut intelligamus que a deo removenda sunt: ut remaneat cognitus⁵³². perfectus atque unus: oportet ergo auferre corpus et omnia imperfecta: ac credere quod unus perfectusque est. Negamus omnia ob imperfectionem: affirmamus tamen omnia virtute et omnipotentia. Tria ergo remonentur ab eo: a sapientibus: corpus: partitio: permutatio: non habet corpus: nec finem nec virtutem in corpore: nec finitur loco: nec tempore: sed fuit · erit · est · et divisio ab eo tollitur. Sed est intellectus perfectus: et non partitus. Intellectus autem angelorum est divisus	Negatione deus intelligitur: Deus unus perfectus: 3a auferuntur a deo: Intellectus: finitus ·
[70r] Gamur: perfectum: sine fine: perfecte: dei solius: oportet et mutationem omnem tollere: nec mutatio ulla est in cogitatione aut in operatione: rem inventam in scriptura: si quis recipere intelligat: cum enim dixit mutatam eius cogitationem eius: in creatione ut disputatio lune querentis cur nocte facta sit: Quomodo etiam intelligitur operatio eius: que duplex est: opus usus eius: quod hic utitur in mundo hoc imo: gradu et loco: opus practicum: quod quandoque iustitia: quandoque misericordia: usus: et tamquam Paenitet eum quandoque: Nomina eius: aliqua misericordiam aliqua Iustitiam significat eius: ut divisa · sint inter se.	214 · Carta Mundus humilis Penitet: Mutatur nullo modo: Tres remotiones:

⁵³¹ The letters “mo” are erased.

⁵³² The words “ac solus” are erased.

Tres vero iste remotiones concluduntur in illis verbis: quod deus est unitas perfecta: et conclusio fidei unitas perfecte: est quod non in corpus: nec virtutes in corpore nec divisum: nec mutatur ab una cogitatione in aliud: nec compartitum: sed simplex pasciuc: et mutationes contrarie que videntur esse in deo: quod nunc bona nunc mala dat: non est nisi respectu mecabelim. Qui enim ambulat simpliciter: et recipere: iaset: custodit receptionem suam: bonam: et bene illam servat: Sed qui flectit iter suum: privat se pro continuatione boni. Sonique se privat: cum iter linquit rectum. Sed quantum ad deum attinet: nihil mali aut polluti descendit: est enim simplex ipse et actio sua: Trahet deus solem de sole suo: ut scilicet faciat calorem maiorem: et uret malos: quomodo mutatur deus: si simplex? intelligitur quod mali vertunt misericordiam in Din: et contrarium. Iusti: misericordiam trahunt suis et vicinis: iniusti contrarium: et hoc faciunt opera manuum suarum. Sic Intelligitur mutatio nominum et ubi dixit eloim: inter Din Iustitia: ubi vero adonai misericordia: putabis forte mutatum et mutari nominibus: sed non est ita: at demonstrant ante · hec nomina: providentiam ·	unitas perfecta: Pasciuc simplex: ἴσον Receptio: Deus malum dat: nos in causa: Simplex deus: non malus Solem e vagina
[70v] וַאֲלֵאֲשָׁחָה: super providentiam: bonum enim ab ea est malum autem est: quomodo quod recipiunt bonum si boni: si mali non recipiunt: zur: deus: perfectus: quando omnia opera eius iudicium: quia deus iustus et rectus in se: opera zur dei in toto mundo perfecta sunt: et opera sua bona et deus iustus et rectus in omnibus viis suis: et perfectus in omnibus moribus suis. Et Cum sit simplex: non est iniquus in retribuendo. Quandoque nomen ostendit din: quandoque misericordiam: tamen quandoque eloim cum misericordia:	zur: mons deus: perfectus⁵³⁵ Zur perfecta sunt opera idest in Zur Deus non malus Eloim adonai

⁵³⁵ From here to end of the following two lines dedicated to the meaning of the word “Zur” (latin trascription of צור), the ink changes to a lighter one and Egidio’s *ductus*, though still being his, seems subtler and a bit more pointy. This fact, and the *mise-en-page* of these specific words, would allow me to suppose that these marginal notes were added later than the others. This second handwriting that can still be attributed to Egidio da Viterbo can be traced sometimes further on in other *marginalia* that will be pointed out through being written in bold characters.

adonai cum Din: cum utrumque scribitur: intelligitur misericordia et cum dixit damnatio intelligitur Din.⁵³⁴ et hoc intelligunt qui sciunt servire deo: idest cabaliste: yavoda: qui bene sunt in servitio: dei: quandoque invenitur ira dei cum adonai 4r litterarum: quod ostendit misericordiam: consideratur tamen hoc in malis et in hominibus sedom: non oportet multum considerare intelligentem: cum quis est iustus: decet ut bona habeat: quando malus bona habet: et mala meretur: profunditas illorum verborum: sunt pendentia: et scientur hic: cum boni malum mali bonum habent: videntur ergo midot non distingui. Tamen latus eorum vel nominum vel actionum distinguitur: et providentia concluditur in nominibus ipsis: et mutatio fit in mecabelim. Mutatio cogitationis nulla sit: simplex enim. Nomina quedam dicemus ut vexilla: et docebimus loca que dixerunt corporeum deum: ut caput os: collum: manum: pedem: ire: transire: stare: sentire et odorare: audire videre loqui: hec docebimus: quomodo factum edificium hominis ad Imaginem. Et Quomodo deus descendit et alia: sic finitur Camera fidei:	Cabaliste: sedom: Recipientium: Corporea Deo:
[71r] Liscas ascemot: Camere nominum: cum ordine suo sunt tres ordines: hamidot idest morum et sephirot: quia dat huc influxus suos per morem habiturum: ut scilicet iustitia et misericordia: 2us camerarum ordo est equalium: ut Iustitia et Iudicium: 3us est contrariorum: ut hinc misericordia: hinc Iustitia: lupus agnus: angelus demon: sic dicuntur scemot: naghedut contraria: et ante inceptionem meam hanc cabala: adducam versum quemquam: e sepher izira: ubi concluduntur opera que cabaliste agunt: ve thora ipsa ostendit viam omnium semitarum: et vexilla nomina precipua. Dicit ergo versus ille: decem sephirot sine ulla re: belima: idest sephirot non sunt ut accidentia in aliqua re: ut	3a genera nominum Sephirot non sunt in substantiatio: vel ineffabiles ·

⁵³⁴ The number 260 is erased.

substantiato: una expositio est: belima: in nulla re: alii exponunt: belum piha milledaber: idest claudos adloquendum scilicet in he ineffabili. Item cum decem non novem: non · 11 · chibelu receperunt homines servitii illius idest cabale: in declarationibus: divinis: quod hec sephirot sunt mores et habitus et attributa quibus deus hec regit. Et cur homo ea figura conditus: in servitium hominum: et qui fecit librum izira vocat sephira: ob numerum: quia est Radix: omnium ductionum et quasi cathetarum: in decem consistit: scilicet unitates: decem: denarii decem: centenarii · 10 · mille et c.: ut sciunt Aritmetici et bene aptatur: quia sephirot bene aptatur Saphiro: cui ob lucem non absurde congruit: dixit etiam Belima in nullo substantiato: quia est supra gradus omnes: unde alii procedunt gradus: ubi non est finis. Item belima: quia sine interrogatione: propter quid ipse ailot ailot: dixit ergo belima ineffabile: ob id unde procedunt scilicet ailot: nunc etiam expono non pro primo principio eorum: sed etiam pro ipsis omnibus: de quibus queri aliud non debet nisi que scribuntur: iscalto: intelligens sis oportet: dei opera: qui unitatem habet: sine propter quid. Cur decem non novem: iot: ve lo tet · quia deus est tantus et infinitus: ut numerari non debeat: Respondetur: quod quantuscumque magnus: numeratur tamen quia omnino unus est. Secundo si dixit Malcut non debet numerari quia nihil aut parum est: Respondetur quod Bareta ponit decem: et nisi posuisset: potuisses dubitare de summo: et de ultimo: sed tenendum quod dicit: Nec decem et non · 11 · et etiam ut dixit in sepher izira: fixus est finis: in principio: idest finis et principium sunt simul: quia ubi finem ponimus: ibi principium est: quia finis invenietur in capite et contrarium non possumus enim illa coniungere: caput et sopho: finis: sunt equalia et simul in deo: unitas enim ita est ut principium sine fine non sit: nec contrarium: principium cogitationis finis operis: principia scilicet cogitatio: alia sephira inferiores sunt operantia hic in	Sephirot: modi quibus · mundus Attributa Sephirot a numero: qui principium omnium In Decem omnia Sephira etiam a saphiro Belima: dupliciter iscalto Deus sine propter quid Deus cur numeratur: finis et principium simul: in deo Sopho

imis: sephirot omnes sunt idem principium et finis: in se: sed sunt cause effectuum hic: et per eorum ordinem: earum ordo cognoscitur. Cur 10 · non · 11 · quia forte ensoph est supra cheder⁵³⁶: sic · 11 · Respondetur quod ob magnitudinem nomen non iungitur numero: et ratio intelligitur cabalistis hominibus huius servitii: (idest cultus: sic magia cultus:) Contra · scilicet dixit ergo non est numerus 1 · quia omnis idem: Respondetur: quod hec attributa nominantur ex effectibus et ex recipientibus	Ensoph super cheter non in numero ob magnitudinem Magia cultus Numerus 1 quomodo?
[71v] Scem⁵³⁷ ma: cum hoc quod declarabitur: usus et modus earum Saphirot: ascendendo gradus earum: singulos: cum itaque dicam principium et finem in eis: non est intentio ut dicamus in deo principium et finem: sed unitatem ponimus omnimodam: non ibi gheder cum ghilud: non est ibi definitio cum termino. Sed intentio est in effectibus: ubi est principium et finis: quia regunt mundum hunc imum causa sephirot: sic respectu rectorum habet principium et finem: et non in se. Sciendum⁵³⁸ est quod iot valet quam cheter: iot: littere significant · 20 · et 20 · asciam: sunt omnes · 620 · sic totidem cheder: eque ergo: et simul: primo numerantur: ut corona: sic etiam iot: significat decem: nomen decem dicitur עשר: verte⁵³⁹ nomen: et dic sciam: hec porta domini iuxti⁵⁴⁰ intrabunt in eam: tantum ergo numeri est in decem quantum: in porta: iot ergo significat ut porta: ergo in eo porta: unde intratur in numeratione sephirot. Servitium huius cabale non est res creata: nec effectus ordo sephirot: nec mutatur: nec superiora: nec inferiora sephirot: non ut creata hec: nec est ut que	Definitio cum termino non gheder et definitio non ibi Sephirot cause mundi principium et finis in respectu rectorum nostrorum: non in se: iot: et cheder: עשרים 620 כתר 620 Iod decem שער עשר porta: et decem idem: Sephiroth: non ut res create⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁶ This peculiar pronounciation of Hebrew כתר is corrected in the marginal notes with a more traditional “t” pronounciation of central ת instead of sound “d” wich seems to have been signalled as an error on the main text itself with a dot below.

⁵³⁷ The letters “Sc” at the beginning of this word were traced upon an initial ש.

⁵³⁸ The word “et” is erased.

⁵³⁹ Initially “vorte”, then corrected and overwritten.

⁵⁴⁰ Initially “iuxta”, then corrected.

⁵⁴¹ A *manicula* near this marginal note points to the marginal note above, meaning that, according to Egidio’s opinion these two *marginalia* were tied together.

quandoque non fuere: dicimus divina non trasmutare. Sed effectus aperit operta: et sugillata: ut carbo non cognoscitur donec flammam facit: prius tectus est: post accensus ostenditur sic candela non videtur nocte donec accenditur: licet ipsa eadem sit: cum lux de potentia exit nobis: carbo non mutatur in se: sed mihi fit immutatio: quia prius non vidi: potentia tamen illa prefuit: et cum exit flamma e carbone nisi deest carboni: sed ante flammam: non apparebat gradus: et est carbo cadmon prius natura et gradu: non tempore forte: et alia aliter faciunt sine voluntate dei volentis educi actus de potentia: et quasi fundus et principium faciendi: ob principum cogitationis non miscebuntur verba verbis suis: sephira sunt distinta in nobis: qui non statim omnia capere simul possunt: ideo gradus respectu nostri facti sunt: usque ad Iovel itur: ubi omnia redeunt et si omnia clausa essent inferiora: ut supra Iobel: aliter hic fieret:	Carbo flamma Flamma fit [ut] appareat: Sephirot distinta in nobis qui simul omnia capere non possumus gradus quo ad nos: usque ad Iovel:
[72r] Mahne binian: in libro qui dicitur hospitium edificii corporis humani: defectus non est in causa: que habet gradum superiorem effectum: ut carbo flamma: unde declaratur ratio graduum horum. Scito hanc esse substantiam substantiarum et fundamentum omnium: in hoc servitio. Et Decem Sephirot sunt divine · res: ut meminimus: ubi unitas sine mutatione sed fundamentum omnium: (De horto nucum · questio · Carta 319) Ordo nominum: midot: idest sephirot: midot sunt magna experte ex nominibus versantibus in ore cabalistarum: imponuntur ante nomina hec: et ex iis que hec fiunt: ut Iustitia: misericordia: vel mixta. Et Quidam recepere:⁵⁴² ex Thora: vel ex prophetis. Inveniuntur etiam ex historiis: et si essent multiplicata nomina: essentque plura queque nos narramus: que narrabimus sufficient: dicemus enim Vexilla	216 flam(m)a Carbo substantia substantiarum Hortum nucum · 319 · Sephirot nomina ex his que fiunt · Iustitia misericordia: mixta Prima Corona

⁵⁴² The word “ut” is erased.

quasi scientia in sanctuario. Incipiemus vocatam primo coronam⁵⁴³ ain⁵⁴⁴: diximus ensof: Infinitum: Sunt tres simul essentie havaia: alef: intelligitur Macsceva: in vehie: ioth significat hocma: Ain: patet: 120 · levavi oculos meos in montes me ain: unde veniat auxilium mihi · A. ergo significat macsceva summam: Iot: hocma: n. Bina quia · 50 · omnes decem essentie havaiem: dicuntur omnes corone: sed quia illa est prima vocatur per antonomasiam corona: quia ante omnem. Substantia ipsum macsceva: est decima: et est conclusio decem Sephirot: si colligit litteras nominum sephirot: faciunt tarac: · תָּרַךְ · que dictio significat · 620 · ut cheder: litteris transpositis: sic dicitur corona Thora: sic cheder dicitur conclusio sephirot: quia omnia clauduntur in ea: sic omnes sunt in masceva concluse. Etiam caret: significat quod qui intrat hec profunda: et cogitat quod corporea sunt divisa: sic putas esse cheder divisum ab aliis sephirot: faciet illum cesum et caret: 4o dicitur ziruf: tahat: significat nosse: significat quod non potest cognoscere donec mundificatur: et tunc meretur servire in macsceva dei · sic dicitur Abram norat deum ex · 3bus · annis: et norat omnes linguas: idest sephirot: cum posuit in animo mala fugere:	Ensof Tres essentie ehie: א · Macsceva Iod hocma:⁵⁴⁵ Me Ain: unde venit auxilium · A · i · n · ⁵⁴⁶אִי: cheter: i hocma · N · bina Corone omnes: sed prima: Tarac: cheder: 620: Caret: Tacat: intelligitur Abram omnes linguas:
[72v] Intelligit 70 · nomina cum sint 70 · lingue: ideo: intelligit quod novit 70 nomina. Item celata omnia dicuntur macsceva: cogitatio: et intelligit quod Abram intellexit 70 linguas et creatorem suum · idest cognovit Malcut cui est nomen adonai: ut superiori: et habet · 70 · nomina: et ideo	

⁵⁴³ The letter “ע” is erased.

⁵⁴⁴ Superscriptum.

⁵⁴⁵ On the lower margin of the page there is this explanation:

אִי

א cheter

י hocma

נ bina.

⁵⁴⁶ The word “אִי” written in vertical format, as one can see in the footnote *supra*, is repeated twice.

dicitur ascendisse in macseva: iot est⁵⁴⁷ hocma: et timet deum insuper eo: ideo initium sapientiae Timor domini. Que hic sciuntur: ex bina procedunt: et super illis tribus non est querenda causa: quia magnanimis: illuc usque cogitatio humana: non ultra: dicitur Superiora te ne quesieris: alius dixit scetoc scetoc: tace tace: non enim loquenda ipse fecit nos: et non ipsi nos: legitur ut si scriberetur cum aleph: non cum vau: licet legatur⁵⁴⁸ ut cum vau · scribet cum alef · intelligitur alef⁵⁴⁹ alef · 26 · idest ”” hoc modo: idest ubi duo iot significat · 20: et scilicet significat vau · 26 · quod est nomen domini · met: et intelligit quod adonai nos fecit. Rum maila: altitudo superna: ut dicitur altitudo et c. significat coronam: que significatur: per holem quasi caput supra omnia: sic hec · sephira est supra omnia. Rum iodev nasa: intelligit Rum cogitationem: noys nasa intelligit sacerdotem levare manus ad Rum idest ad Macseva: idest cogitationem primam ubi cheder. Bina etiam et hocma significat: sed inferior cogitatio dicitur: et significat Cav · vau: quia scribitur per sciurec: ubi punctus et vau: significatur et hec per holem: et per spinam ioth illi similem: Holem est superior omni littera. Sic et macseva super omnes cohort: super omnes potentias: cogitatio divina: cheder. Holem: habet ziruf. Levusc etiam dicitur bina pallium dei: Holem: Halam: malac: lahem: holem ergo supereminet omnes litteras sic Macseva omnes alias: scilicet bina et hocma: dicitur in passuc: fac me dormire: et resurgere: ubi va a halemene va ahiene: ubi dormire: et somnium holam: et ibidem: est resurgere: sic pro resurgere et vitam habere ponitur holem. Hocma etiam dicitur vita et vita est omnibus invenientibus eam · et · dixit · in resurrectione: non est qui sunt extra ecclesiam israel: idest	initium sapientiae timor · Sile אנן ipse fecit nos adonai nos fecit Rum: holem Sacerdos ad Rum Sacerdotem Rome Spina Iod · Macseva Bina: levusc: pallium dei ziruf · Holem Vita sapientia: Resurgunt qui non:

⁵⁴⁷ The letters “macsce”, probably from word “macseva”, Latin transliteration for Hebrew מַחֲשֶׁבֶה, are erased.

⁵⁴⁸ The word “cum” is erased.

⁵⁴⁹ What follows until the symbol for the *Tetragrammaton* was written in the margins and needed to be integrated to the main text.

extra terram viventium: idest sapientia · dicunt prius esse male cogitare quam male agere: quia hoc corporis: id anime malum: et in macseva: has ergo tres vires amplecti deberemus: que sole manent: cum cogitatione mala est: trahit malas potentias: cum bona: trahit divinum macseva: (Polipus) Dreha via Nomen · 72 · idest 308	Polypus
[73r] Rum a laila: attollebat manus et decem digitos sacerdotis ut uniat sephirot omnes in fide: dicitur hec aver cadmon: primus aer: omnes sephirot dicuntur aver: aer: sed prima hec dicitur aver cadmon: Dicitur etiam or levus: lumen vestimenti: vestis non est substantia: sic lux non idem cum substantia: non tamen divisa: sed ut flamma cum carbone: unde dicitur in Talmut: quod celos fecit in veste dei: robi lazar: celi creati sunt in veste dei: or levus: et alii sapientes: novem que vidit Ezechiel: intellexit decem sephirot: cum deo qui est · 10us · et ideo decem oramus: unus ad altare: novem respondent: hoc est saliad zibur: zibur multitudo: saliad nuncius⁵⁵⁰: ecclesie: sic cum damus decimam · dicit · decima est sancta · sic decem omnia in scriptura: et hoc secretum iecut dei unitatis: que est in decimo: qui est saliat zibur · nuncius ecclesie: sic cum damus decimam dixerunt decimam est sancta · sic decem omnia in scriptura: et hoc secretum iecut dei unitatis: que est in decimo: que est saliac zibur: nuncius ecclesie: angelus nuncius ecclesie: et is est qui est mamzi: causa unde veniunt omnia: nihil est quod similetur ei: nisi scituf: ʕain · dicitur puteus et oculus: iunguntur nomine: sic que iunguntur cum deo nomine tantum iunguntur. Circulus decimus dicitur ascendenti: et est circulus legis: cum vero dixit posteriora mea videbis: intellexit scem	aver: aer: cadmon Ezechiel · 9 · 10 Decem omnia Decima sancta Saliac zibur: Mamzi: causa unde omnia Equivoce cum deo: posteriora videbis

⁵⁵⁰ The word “nunciat” is superscripted, without erasing “nuncius”.

nomen intellecti per ziruf: dicitur etiam duo angeli sancti: ante et retro de Deo: intelliguntur duo angeli: princeps faciei: et lumen vestis: significat sar ha panim. Ailot est res ipsa eius: sed vestis et lumen vestis: et aura eius et fulgor vult descendere. Et Dicitur sar hapanim: et lumen vestis: unde omnia manant: sed ailot ailot · dicitur quod est ante coronam: quod non annoveratur: cum aliis: sed intra manant omnia. Adonai inferius habet potentiam ad nomen suum⁵⁵¹: sic mitto angelum meum: ne rebelles ei: quia nomen meum est⁵⁵² eo: adonai scilicet inferius: qui est nuncius et angelus. Halam diximus quod est macseva: hocma: levus: tria hec claudit:⁵⁵³	Duo angeli sancti · Ailot ante decem Halam diximus							
[74r]⁵⁵⁴ Metatron dicitur nomen domini sui: idest adonai ultimum dicitur nomine adonai superioris: et dixit cumulatim: ziruf habet easdem litteras et ideo retinent eundem colorem. Declarabimus primum nomen adonai ultimi: est Metatron: quod ob longitudinem non bene scribitur nomen eius Iuguel: יהואל · habet numerum · 52. Secretum eius · בן · quod significat filium: ana adonai salva domine: אָנָא: sic eliahu: אֵלִיהוּ: ut iehuel: יוד significat · 20 · decem sex: 4r · inde יוד · 20 · ון · significat · 12 · sunt omnes 52. Ergo significat tantum iehuel: quantum medium nominis s[c]ilicet 52. Ia etiam tantum habet quam totum nomen 4r litterarum. Deus perfectus cui nihil addi nec diminui potest: י non est nisi punctus: non potest legi nisi addatur minima littera: que fit flatu ה · sic est minima littera in quantitate: et minima in facilitate: scilicet ia: ia · ante⁵⁵⁵ יוד significat · 20 · הָ significat etiam · 26 · cum ia · male scribitur: sic nihil potest dividi nec detrahi deo: et tantum significat totum quam pars: sic in hoc tantum nomine: tantum pars significat	Metatron Adonai ultimum Metatron est⁵⁵⁷ Iuhuel · 52 · בן Filius ana: eliahu · בן: 52 <table><tr><td>יוד · 20</td><td rowspan="3">}</td><td>20 : 20 : 12</td></tr><tr><td>הָה: 20</td><td>52</td></tr><tr><td>וָן: vau: 12</td><td></td></tr></table> Sic est iot vav: iot male: cur Ia: significat: ut iot he: uau deus non dividitur · ה Iod minima littera Nomen totum significat quantum pars	יוד · 20	}	20 : 20 : 12	הָה: 20	52	וָן: vau: 12	
יוד · 20	}	20 : 20 : 12						
הָה: 20		52						
וָן: vau: 12								

⁵⁵¹ In the manuscript “suo”.

⁵⁵² The following letters “int” are erased.

⁵⁵³ Fol. 73v is left blank.

⁵⁵⁴ On the upper margin of this page there is a note that writes: בן: filius: 52 · sic nomen grande: benedictio et omnia.

⁵⁵⁵ The words “11” and “iod” are erased.

⁵⁵⁷ A *manicula* points to the lines above.

quantum totum: tantum significat nomen 4r litterarum: et Ia: et iot vau: et iot iot vau: est scem amiiuhad: nomen iod iod vau: sunt · 52 · que significant ut iehuel: הואגואל: sunt 52 · sepe dicitur · hu guel: ipse est redemptor: · בָּכַל · sic לְבַךְ in toto corde tuo: utrumque 52 · significat ut nomen 4r litterarum: sic dicitur deus benedixit Abrahe · בָּכַל · idest cum · 52 · qui est numerus nominis sacri: iehuel dicitur metatron: et adonai superioris: quia equivalet: ponitur el: quia omnia nomina angelorum priorum cadunt in el: item כָּלֵב: cor enim Regit nos sic princeps ille et angelus qui regit mundum scilicet adonai inferior: qui dicitur iehuel. Et Sarapanim: dicitur Sus be rochabo: in cantico mosis: sus be rohabo: equum et ascensorem proiecit in mare: iam dicitur hec sephira כָּיִם significat iehuel idest iehuel angelus proiecit et diruit: quia angelus ille proiecit angelos egypti. Nulla sephiroth regit in terra nisi hoc: בְּאֶדְמָה que sunt · 52 · מְחַבֵּב amat omnem hominem divinum: ubi mehabebe: significat · 52 · scilicet ieguel⁵⁵⁶ est thesaurarius supra beracha: et amat omnes bonos · <table><tr><td></td><td>5 6 15 10</td><td></td><td>6 13 6 20</td><td>Male</td></tr><tr><td>26</td><td>ה ו ה י</td><td>45</td><td>יוד הא ואו הא</td><td></td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>יוד הא וי הא</td><td></td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>10 12 10 20</td><td>52 ·</td></tr></table>		5 6 15 10		6 13 6 20	Male	26	ה ו ה י	45	יוד הא ואו הא					יוד הא וי הא					10 12 10 20	52 ·	Ia · ut nomen quia indivisibile sic hostia nostra huguel: sepe dicitur · 52 · toto corde tuo: 52 · בָּכַל לְבַךְ בָּכַל: benedixit deus Abrae⁵⁵⁸ Angeli · in el: nomina propria: Serapin Sarapanim כָּיִם beiam: in mare: Angelus vincit angelos In terra sunt · 52 · Mehabebe Ieguel supra beraha
	5 6 15 10		6 13 6 20	Male																	
26	ה ו ה י	45	יוד הא ואו הא																		
			יוד הא וי הא																		
			10 12 10 20	52 ·																	
[74v] dicitur cum ipso in tribulatione: bezara: deus cognoscat nobis qui hec arcana scripsimus Quam mel sub lingua mea. Quintum nomen Rahat: quod significat tenorum: declarabitur omne instrumentum: ziruf sui: et si perdifficile est: comprehenditur enim sapientia divina non sine magna difficultate. Ade enim multiplicantur cogitationes sue: ideo · dixit · eduxit eum foras: vocaberis abraam: et tu sara: licet ne haberet filios ex sara: in sara addit ה · et Abram	Rahat Abram foras																				

⁵⁵⁶ Letter “g” is overwritten upon letter “h”.

⁵⁵⁸ A *manicula* points to the line above.

addit ꝛ qua re⁵⁵⁹ ob defectum filiorum: sed cur addit duo ꝛ · cum sterilis esset uxor non ipse. Quid eduxit eum foras. Qui non meretur habet potentias⁵⁶⁰ malas et externas impediētes: abram cum exivit et eductus est ex astrologia sua: ostendit celum · dicens: tu putas⁵⁶¹ per hec signa nosse omnia: vide hec omnia sunt obedientia mihi: co: idest malac: idest malcut dabit tibi filium et bona omnia: et non astra: post dixit · Credidit abraam deo: cur? Quia prius habebat astronomiam cui maxime herebat: et hoc in zedaca: putatum est idest racmim: et ani adonai: unde dixit hahuza: non dixit lehuza: nec huz: quod significat foras: sed cum he: quod significat de foris. Si petas cur dixit Abraam adonai adonai quid dabis mihi? Primo scribit adonai ultimum: secundo superius? Quia ascendit gradibus: unde adonai punctatur cum eloim: midot hadin: sed ibi cum punctis adonai superioris: ordo est ascensus per ordinem: prius inferius inde superius: idem de punctis: specularia prius videnda sub obscura: inde clara: sic puncta prius eloim: inde adonai superiora Specularia meira: lucida postremo veniunt.) Textus: diximus halam: et dixit quod significat levus macsceva: nunc dixit hamal significat misericordiam: hemla: est in midot racmim pasciut simplex ubi non compartitio in apice: in Tipheret est corpore: hemla hamal: maxima misericordia: ubi macsceva: ostendit diem chipur: indulgentie: et nisi esset misericordia auferetur quicquid hic est. Sic est holem: et punctus: firmitudo et principium omnium est punctum: nec linea sine sic necuda est primum pythagore philosophie in mathematicis: hiera Trenorum: diruit dicitur et non miseratus est: quia non hamal. Item lo hamol: non parcat die ultionis:	foras: ex astrologia sua Abram eductus: a prioribus malis foras non: sed de foris .⁵⁶² Specularia holam primo: 2o hamal: Racmim duplex holem pythagore mathematicum: Quomodo omnia e mathematicis puncta linea PANIS

⁵⁵⁹ The words “quia non ven” are erased.

⁵⁶⁰ In the MS “potentiam”.

⁵⁶¹ In the MS “putat”.

⁵⁶² A *manicula* points at this sentence.

3um ziruf · Laham: panis: et dicitur gubernatio mundi compartiti ex 4 litteris: et secretum vite est panis · et intelligitur macsceva panis ergo significat regimen: unde ait · moriemur · quia non est panis · filii Iacob: carebat su[m]ma mida: chi ain lehem: non dixit lo sed ain: que dicitur macsceva: en et ain idem: sic non significat non est panis: sed ain que est macsceva est panis quo egemus · ideo dicitur non solo pane vivit homo: sed omni verbo de ore dei: intelligit non sola hac sephira decima: sed est ensoph: priori: et quod dicit ille qui est ante decem et ante omnia idest fatis suis reguntur omnia:	panis regimen mundi macsceva: summa mida Ain: Non solo pane: verbo de ore ·
[75r] 4um ziruf: Lamach: · למה · et lemoac: idest cerebro: et intellectus ubi macsceva designatur: intellectus enim hominis et fundamentum et firmitudo hominis et regimen hominis trahitur: inde: cum enim Intellectus est clarus: intratur primus intellectus idest macsceva: cum pura est voluntas: meretur ad summum quod est holem idest macsceva: 5um ziruf Mehal indulgentia: omnis trahitur a halam: et holem: et indulgentia est fundamentum vite: sine indulgentia non est vita: unde si iniquitates observaveris · dixit⁵⁶³ · quis sustinebit: nisi holem: misericordia macsceva: quis remanebit. 6um ziruf: Melah: ut Sal: Sal est firmitas omnium: et servat omnia ne putrescant: cum homo mundatur: et depuratur tunc intrat palatium regis: et habebit permanentiam semper. Sale servatur caro: cuius firmitas sal: ideo in sacrificiis tuis omnibus pones Sal: intelligit in omni re divina: ponatur Sal: significat omnia oportere proximare aver hacadmon: ad aerem primum: scilicet macsceva et indulgentiam et misericordiam. Aver: indicat Tres essentias: · A · indicat primam essentiam ehie: V · habet sex sephirot inferiores ·	Pythagoras quid puncto: holem nisi sit indulgentia Sal o felix ale conditus A · V · , R ·

⁵⁶³ The simbol for this word is repeated twice.

significat hocma: R · significat bina: Res significat nun: · נ · scilicet cum littera vertitur. Secunda: Hocma: significat גמל חכמה sunt · 73⁵⁶⁴. Gemal remunerator: initium sapientie timor: et sapientia dicitur timor adonai: quia est sub macsceva superiori: et qui timet dominum remuneratio magna supra: dicitur: quia scilicet superest et imminet adonai superior: ideo dicitur crescebat puer isaac: vaigda: est de gadula: ergo pahad: et timor: etiam vaigmal: cum ablactatus est: cum · dixit · crescebat vaigdala: mida gedula: inde vaigmal: de hocma: ob numerum 73 · hoc est ascendebat de virtute in virtutem. Item in hocma: est · כ · et ה · simul faciunt coah potentiam quam recipit a superiori: · כו · sunt 26 · ut nomen magnum כח · significat potentiam: inde remanet: ה מ · que significat 45 · ut nomen magnum millo plenum: יוד · significat 20: הא · 6 · ואו · sunt · 13 · sunt · 39 · הא male: 6 · 45 · ut · מה · 45. Significat quod sapientia coah habet coac: potentiam ab ה מ · que significat nomen magnum male plenum · 45. Item sine · ה · remanet cama: significat quantitatem: unde significat quot manant potentie: ex sapientia hocma? ה idest octo: sephirot sub ea: · עג · sunt 73 · גע · tangit attingit: qui laborat in sapientia divina tanget eum utile dei: pertinet ad utile et gratiam dei. Item si אג et ag · capitur: sunt bis 73 · 146 · significat vegam יקמ idest firmitas: ג	Res significat nun · Sapientia } 73 · remunerator } timor domini Isac crescit ablactatus: gemal hocma חכמה 73 כו · 26 · ut nomen Hocma: singnificat littere potentiam a nomine magno: ה מ · 45 octo sub hocma: גמ · 73 · ergo hocma 146 ·
[75v] Mia scepha: ex abundantia. Dicitur et hocma timor domini timor domini: יראת יהי sunt 611: תורה⁵⁶⁵ · Tau 400 · res · 200 · sunt 611 · sic timor domini: significat thora: idest sapientia est Timor domini. Item יראת · concludit decem essentias: alef: est macsceva prima unde omnia: י · significat hocma: ר · significat bina: quia est נ · bezurada in figura sua	218 · Comentum: carta: Sapientia est Thora:

⁵⁶⁴ Before writing n. 73, n. 68 was written down and then erased.

⁵⁶⁵ The Hebrew letters “תורה” were initially written in a smaller format and were therefore erased.

scilicet versa: ת · habet 4r vexilla. In alphabeto · ⁵⁶⁶איך · ubi unus: unum denarium: unum centenarium: sic in abaco eadem littera ponitur in uno: in decem: in centum: sic permutantur: unde · ת · significat 400 · et · 40 · et · 4 · ut hic · ut 7 quod habet 4r vexilla: idest nomina principalia: questio saar haora: 4r vero vexilla claudunt omnes Sephirot in se simul: ut ibi dicitur in Sciaar aora · Pele etiam dicitur: idest mirum · Textus: Secunda dicitur sapientia et secunda dicta est sapientia ex ain invenietur idest ex nihilo: et ain · significat ensoph: non finem idest sine fine: hoc dicitur irat: timor: et cum hoc cum · 3a · bina simul: intelligitur: dicitur etiam paras prima tephila: philateriarum: sanctifica mihi primogenitum: hocma enim est primogenitum: ostendit hec parasciot: quia ibi · sunt · 4r · quibus demonstrantur 4r sephirot: hesed · pacad Tipheret: et hocma et bina quasi pro una: prima parascia: ubi primogenitum: significat hocma: quod est primum procedens et primogenitus. Secunda ubi scribitur: et est cum⁵⁶⁷ ducet te: ex mizraim: ubi est trasmutatio numeri: per Regem qui est Bina: que facit contra naturam. Tertia scema israel: audi israel: ibi scribitur: amato deum: et non homo amat socium: nisi misericordia · vel gratia: et ipsa est misericordia: 4a ubi scribitur irabitur furor dei: significat Din demonstrat pahat. Dicunt deum habere potentiam sephirot idest Tipheret recipere 4r superiores. Secretum gilgul nefasciot: reditus et circuitus animarum: declarabitur in · 3a · infra. Pele dicitur idest mirum · significat et divisum et quod⁵⁶⁸ ablatum est ab oculis et celatum et soiunctum a sensu: dicitur	vexilla: pele mirum: 217 hocma primogenitus ^{.569} Tephila significat · 4r · prima⁵⁷⁰ 2a exitus e mizraim 3 misericordia 4 · Din · Tipheret Animarum circuitus Mirum⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁶ After letter “א”, letter “ר” is erased.

⁵⁶⁷ The letters “for” are erased.

⁵⁶⁸ The letters “ab” were traced and erased.

⁵⁶⁹ A cross preceeds this marginal note.

⁵⁷⁰ Below this marginal note there is another cross.

⁵⁷¹ A *manicula* points at the marginal note above.

cum tectum est aliud idest cum ignotum: aliud: vade ad Sacerdotem in ierusalem. Sic hocma est tecta: cisui tectum: interpretatur: ut dicitur ipale: cum tectum aliud et c.: ut prius: sic altiora te ne quesieris scilicet supra hocma idest non queras qua re in divinis et cur facit: iudicia eius. Trom agedola: unum ex centum: et lex prima: · לב · semite · 32 · in sepher izira. Spiritus dei: Ruiach sceliscit: spiritus 3s idest bina et tertie sephira: (Trinitas mire: hic:) vestimentum: deus operitur veste: et celi facti sunt luce vestimenti.	Sapientia tectum Greci pale: olim: Supra ne quesieris que? Spiritus: ecce Trinitas: clara:⁵⁷²
[76r] Comentum · Dicitur per pelec: ob macsceva: que dicitur Aleph: pele alef: eedem littere: sunt enim · 26 ·⁵⁷³ duo iot: et vau: sunt · 26 · pele: · פלא · lecta et contrario dicitur alef · et sunt scem: macsceva prima. Hocma dicuntur superiora rerum aliarum: Thora cheduma: dicitur lex prima: hocma superior: creata 2000: annos ante mundum unde ait · 2000 · anni creavit eam prius: vel paratesti eis: sic fit lex prima. In zoar · dicitur quod Thora incipit cum ב · quia cum beraha: et⁵⁷⁴ fundamentum superior hocma: est fundamentum hocma inferioris: et hocma est causa benedictionis: ubi est ter adonai scriptum: cum aaron benedixit in templo israel: quia sunt · 3s · benedictiones quia tria nomina precipua: cau: Tipheret adonai ultimum: et supremum: macsceva prima: sic 3a nomina in benedictione. Hocma dicitur beraha: benedictio: unde deducitur beraha deorsum:⁵⁷⁵ ברכה dixit Sepher abahir incipit lex per ב · et ultimum finit per parascia pera beraha: sic principium et finis est benedictio: benedictio in · 3bus · a hocma per tipheret in Malcut: sic in benedictionibus decum dixit deus mosi dic	prima: macsceva: Alef · Pele: 26. Sapientia creata ·⁵⁸¹ 2000 · anni ante mundum bar: 606 26

⁵⁷² The drawing of cross starts from “Spiritus” and reaches the marginal note below.

⁵⁷³ The word “אלפ” is erased.

⁵⁷⁴ The words “hoc est” are erased.

⁵⁷⁵ The Hebrew letters “בר ררא” are erased.

⁵⁸¹ A cross is above this marginal note.

Aron sic benedicat · ubi ter adonai: ter 26 26 26 = 78 sic hahocma: ipsa sapientia que est fons benedictionum habet totidem litteras.⁵⁷⁶ הַחֹכְמָה: 5 · 8 · 18 · sunt · 78 · Trumma ghedola: e centum unum. Tria illa nomina significant benecot⁵⁷⁷: nunc תְּרוּמָה: diximus vocari beraha quia est fons benedictionis primo scribo בֵּר: sunt 202 · ut beraha est triplicata in nominibus sic ter scribatur Bar: sunt 606. (Respondet parti teruma: et significat ut teru: remanet in beraha כֹּה · 25 · et cum dictione tota sunt · 26 · nomen etiam magnum significat · 26 · nunc male: quod⁵⁷⁸ יוֹד sunt · 20 · הָא · 26 · וְאוּ · 39 · הָא 45 ·⁵⁷⁹ et hec · 45 · respondent ipsi מָה · quod est 45 · taru: est ut bar. Taru ergo significat · 606 · ut bar: triplicatum ut est beraha: significat ergo quod⁵⁸⁰ beraha venit a מָה · quod est scem 45 · et transit per · כּוּ · adonai ultimum.	45 ·
[76v]⁵⁸² ascer: en lahem lo chedav: velo lascion. Hocma Scribitur Teruma ghedola: sine tempore et quia omnes alie decime sunt temporales et hoc quia venit a hocma: que cogitari non potest. Thora cheduma dicitur lex prima hocma cadma prima et fuit 2000 · annis ante mundum: dicitur enim 2000 · an(n)is fecisti intelligere ipsum: sciaescivin: · לֵב · 32 netivot semitas. Al scem: ubi sunt · 22 · littere: et 10 · essentie: ideo incipit lex a · ב · et finit · in lamed. Razon: dicitur lev: cor: zaron enim dicitur Bina: cor enim est lev: · לֵב · idest 32. Razon tota macsceva. Ruach dicitur hocma. Et Bina dicitur eloim Talet: dicitur pallium: significat et importat numerum Galud: quando tollitur hocma ab hominibus: tunc oportet	2000 anni ante 32 · לֵב · Spiritus dei · Gematria: geometria Galud

⁵⁷⁶ The letter “ה” and n. “5” are erased.

⁵⁷⁷ Sic in MS, probably meant to be the Latin translitteration “beracot” from Hebrew בְּרָכוֹת.

⁵⁷⁸ The word “iod” is erased.

⁵⁷⁹ The words “cum nomin” are erased.

⁵⁸⁰ The letters “ho” are erased.

⁵⁸² The words “ve lo” are erased.

esse galud⁵⁸³: quando tollitur habundantia hocma que est fons benedictionis: tollitur benedictio: sic galud. Adam est superius et Eva hava est in malcut inferiori: ideo uxor subest · sic mandatur 4r latera in pallio: quo caput operitur: a sacerdote: staminia: 4r lateribus ostenditur macsceva: et fluvius exit a paradiso: intelligitur hocma exiens ab orto divino: unde 4r capita hocma. Bina: hesed: pahad. Taled demonstrat hocma: sic hocma sapientia pallium dei: et octo fila in omni latere: ostendit octo fila: infra hocma: ה chesciarim: 5 · nodi in omni zizit⁵⁸⁴ filo · (in omni canap: ala: latere: inde canto:) sic 5e prime sephirot: quia quinque inferiores: et quinque superiores: cheder: hocma:⁵⁸⁵ Bina: pahad: chesed: prima · 5 · alia 5a · inferius inde · 32 · fila: 4r octo⁵⁸⁶: 32 · 32 · semite sapientie Significat versum significatum tefilim: ubi · 5e · domuncule: 4r in capite: unam in manu: et octo parasciot: 4r in capite: 4r in manu: sic in filis: 5e · nodi: et octo fila: in latere omni et est sod ehad: idest unitatis dei · aleph: · אָהַד · unus:⁵⁸⁷ alii dixerunt sunt quinque:⁵⁸⁸ · ה · 8 · sic quinque nodi et octo fila. · A · significat Macsceva: · ה · octo sephirot inferiora: et · ד · significat 4r sephirot primo manantes. Milhama dicitur etiam: et Din Ius: enim midot hadin: hocma enim dicitur 2a · et ultima: habent nomen equale: scilicet adonai: significat eundem numerum: ⁵⁸⁹אָדֹנֵי · דִּינִי · pro aleph: additur unitas dictionis: et est numerus equalis. Milhama dicitur: מֶלֶחֶם melec significat sal: מֶלֶח significat · 78 · ut hahocma:	Eva Pallium 4r latera fluvius in 4r capita: octo fila: octo infra: · 5 · nodi 32 fila: semite sapientie Thefilim: quare quot אָהַד unus: quinque 8 · Din: et adonai idem

⁵⁸³ Initially “gallud”, then corrected.

⁵⁸⁴ Initially written “zizut” then corrected.

⁵⁸⁵ The letters “pa” are erased.

⁵⁸⁶ The word is written as “8cto”.

⁵⁸⁷ The letters “ali” are erased.

⁵⁸⁸ The word “sic” is erased.

⁵⁸⁹ Sic in the MS for “דִּינִי”.

[77r] ⁵⁹⁰Ghevura etiam dicitur: idest arie Leo: est scem aforasc: quod exit ex tribus passuchim: ex omnibus: sunt רי"ו · 216 · אריה est scem aforasc: leo: in omnibus illis passuchim: sunt 216 · et est quod est אריה · et cum Macsceva: חכמה · que est macsceva: · 73 · Textus: 3a · Bina: dicitur vidi inquit: predicare: a · primum: · י · 2am: hic est locus bina: ideo dicitur: secretum⁵⁹¹ cognitionis intelligentia: · 32 · Semite incavate: hic in hocma signa. Ruac me ruac spiritum e spiritu: dicitur in sepher izira: hic est ruac qui venit ab igne qui dicitur ruac: pulvis est et aquam · fecit cum litteris suis: emesc. Mater filiorum dicitur. Mater mundi. Rex mundi. Rex Iudicii Rex qui est Iudicium. Racmim misericordia perfecta. Sanctus⁵⁹² benedictus · dixit · vidit in lege: et creavit mundum. Eloim in berescit demonstrat hoc: ubi dicitur eloim hagim: deus vivus: significat hanc. Elion superior. Rex superior: lux vestimenti: celi · sciamaim: quia omnis sephira⁵⁹³ dicitur celum respectu inferiorum Sedes vero dicitur inferior superioris: sic celum sedes: et eloim cheden: principium. Et Deus patrum. Regnum celi et hoc infra dicemus: qui equitat celum: et habitat super cherubim pueros. Et Due Sedes: Iustitie et misericordie. Rex sedet super eam: qui est gubernator: placito et voluntate: creator brescit. Dominus omnium: vacuum: Tou: intelligitur hyle Inane principium materie: potentia produciens. Filum viride: cav iaroch: filum viride: ut Mare ambiens terram: orans misericordiam vel oratio pro misericordia: 13 midot: virtutes dei et attributa: in passuc. Ain · vita: nefesc hascem anima dei: ut vivit dominus. Secretum voti: findamentum animarum aere volantium. Tesua penitentia: Iovel · annus	Arie⁵⁹⁶ 216 hocma: 73 217 · 32 Ruac Mater celum inferioris Regnum celi Rex placito hyle · materia Tou viride 13 midot · anima dei

⁵⁹⁰ Above the page we find "LEO questio post".

⁵⁹¹ The letters "int" are erased.

⁵⁹² In the MS it is read as "Sanctum".

⁵⁹³ Initially "scephira" then corrected into "sephira".

⁵⁹⁶ The word "Leo" in majuscule is written also above the marginal notes.

sanctus: parascia: capitulum: cum te ducet dominus ⁵⁹⁴ in terram ⁵⁹⁵ · de mizraim. In ea: intentio · et prima he significat hanc:	De egypto ה · prima
[77v] Comentum: Sephira 3a Bina · dicitur filius dei: ben ia · בניה. Ubi est · בן יה idest de hocma que significat Ia: exit bina: quia procedit a sapientia que demonstratur in nomine Ia: לַב · semite incavate sunt: que in parte hocme dicitur operta et celata: et abdita: idest potentia: cum vero exeunt de potentia ad actum: per medium sapientie: dicuntur designate et lineate: et cum exeunt per medium bina dicuntur incavate plus quam designate: cum de potentia bina: in actum per tiferet: dicuntur sculte vel scripte que apertius cognoscuntur: et cum per tiferet in malcut · dicitur bealpe: mente et practicum: et numquam deponunt figuram suam: ut videmus prophetas qui videt in Thora alpe: et dixit in hieremia: erit in corde meo ut ignis: retentus in ossibus meis significat se habere in corde idest mente idest אלpe. Sephar: dicitur hec: (sepher hocma ·) numerare: quasi libro · omnia in eo: omnia claritatem habent: que celabantur: in potentia hocma: et non est vis intellectualis ad considerandum ipsam: ob magnam obscuritatem: et ideo oportebat extendere in figuras: prius non poterat comprehendi ullo modo: nisi in figura educitur abundantia ut color albus: oportuit extendere in colori viridi hocma prius non intellectam: ad finem claritatis et non sufficebat: hominibus: ob multum reducere: ob magnum calorem idest profundum: oportuit hocma extendere et providentiam: et colori viridi opus fuit: fuit postea extensum colore albo et rufo simul: postea in rubeum⁵⁹⁷ cui parum albi: inde album⁵⁹⁸ cui parum rubri: inde secundo colore: ubi potentia	219⁶⁰⁰ Filius dei: 32 potentia abdita lineata⁶⁰¹ incavata Sculpta: אלpe Numerare: liber Albus viride naturarum calidum profundum

⁵⁹⁴ Initially “dominum” then corrected.

⁵⁹⁵ The drawing of a small cross is right after this word.

⁵⁹⁷ The words “cum parum” are erased.

⁵⁹⁸ The word “cum” is erased.

⁶⁰⁰ A cross was drawn at the upper left margin of the page.

⁶⁰¹ The word “incau” is erased.

fit homini: elevato a materia et a corporibus: qui aptus fit divinis: ideo dicitur Sepher: hocma. Sephar dicitur bina: quia scriba declarat rem celatam. Alchen nirra · Scriba declarat celata. Sippur dicitur enarratum unde aperitur lux: unde dicitur narravit David. Ruac me ruac: intelligitur bina: ex hocma: que dicitur spiritus. Afar pulvis dicitur: quia est procedens nezaleca hocma · que dicitur erez. Razon placitum dicitur etiam: super hoc · dixit · omnia venire e pulvere: et omnia redibunt in pulverem: usque ad speram solis: intelligitur Sol tipheret: elatus versus altum: resolvere in pulvere: quia a bina accipit vim: que in illam redit. Item dicitur aphar: ab aph: idest volatu: vel spiritus domini ferebatur super aquas: remanet · 7 · que versa facit · 7 · quasi dicat · 7 · idest bina cum · 50 · volat: quia ascendit: et descendit. Maim etiam dicitur vel omnia clara et alba nominant mecubalim racmin: sic bina est racmim sola non mixta: sed perfecta: מַיִם · 90 · cum dictione · 91 · מַיִם · significat: et demonstrat hocma superiorem מַיִם⁵⁹⁹ sugere: que recipiunt: dicuntur lactentia etiam si spiritualia.	219 SPIRITUS · sanctus · Spiritus sanctus procedetur a hocma: Terra sapientia: Sol Tipheret: volat: spiritus · super · aquas: maim Lactere:
[78r]⁶⁰² Emesc: dictio recta dicitur pater: obliqua mater: media que fit Proles. Divisere litteras: et cepere: alef: mem: scin: et legere sic מַיִם · matres dicuntur he littere: tres: dicuntur et essentie prime mostrantur ab his: prima aer ab · a · M · indicat Bina ut aqua: ut maim: מַיִם est mater filiorum: idest Bina dicitur mater: quia agit nobiscum quasi opus matris cum filio. Et Filii sui: 7m sephirot indicant 7m gradus intellectuales: ideo dicitur mater filiorum et dices bina mater mea es · etiam mitte matrem pullos cape: matrem superiorem mitte: idest noli divina alta cogitare propter quid: super sephirot filios ticach lach: infra: bina: nevua: quare addit de	Pater mater Mater filorum: Sephirot: gradus intellectuales 7m gradus intellectuales bina mater mea es: Filios cape non matrem

⁵⁹⁹ The letter “ק” is erased.

⁶⁰² Upon the main text there is a small upper note that says: “Questio duo passuc: dicunt · bina mater mea es: Et”.

superiora sunt infra: et propter superius eloim quod est bina: non cognoscitur nisi per inferiora: ut regens omnia et gubernans. Eloim dicitur: el fortis: fortitudo sua: hinc: ideo eloim cum mem: non est plurale: sed significat fortem eorum: cum⁶⁰⁵ dicitur Deus probavit abraam: ibi Eloim inferior est: mida adin · eloim vero in brescit significat superiorem: eloim · quasi mundi gubernatorem: cum tentat abram non: sed inferiorem · sic Eloim dupliciter in scriptura quando pro bina racmim: quandoque midot adin: ghevura.	Manhig · Rector Eloim non plurale: Eloim inferior ·
[78v] Item Eloim intelligitur secundum rem et locum suum: si cum ira male: si contrarium · contrarium. Item Bina dicitur alam: lem · mutum: qui fecit os muto: est idem cum eloim: idem littere · אלהים · ia · et alam. Alam bina: ex Ia: idest ex hocma. Bina enim mechabelet recipit. Item ia: male: intelligitur docet deus quod ex medio⁶⁰⁶ nominis sui: fit totum: quod scilicet in eo pars non sit minor toto: cum natura omnino fit pars ut in omni alio: esse: essentia. יוד · 20: הא · 26 · ut nomen. Etiam vult ostendere: quod significat tria superiora: spina: iod: he: macseva: hocma: Bina. (Amen de bina: oma mater: plus qui dicunt amen: quam qui dicit orationem: mereri dicitur in berehot ·) Deus etiam hagim dicitur eloim: haim: quia bina est vita Regis. Elion etiam dicitur: idest superna. Maim 2a intelligitur: aque super celum intelliguntur Bina. Melech elion: Rex superior: quia in aquis inferioribus est malcut. El elion: fortis superior⁶⁰⁷ · ut el moab: fortis moab: cum potentia. Or alvus: lux vestimenti: hocma: Bina quod a veste provenit Albus vestimenti: sciamaim: dicitur es: et maim: igni⁶⁰⁸ et aqua Macseva: aque dicuntur: et Hocma ignis: ut de manu dextra	eloim pro loco: natura: et pars: Deus simplex omnino⁶¹³ Trinitas: Ia · quid: Spina: hocma bina Cheter spina: corona spinea⁶¹⁴ Amen Elion Aque superiores aque inferiores vestimentum ignis aqua: medium

⁶⁰⁵ The letters “fo” are erased.

⁶⁰⁶ The words “secundum d” are erased.

⁶⁰⁷ In the MS we see an initial “superius”.

⁶⁰⁸ Sic in the MS for “ignis”.

⁶¹³ A *manicula* point at this marginal note.

⁶¹⁴ A cross is traced from the top of these three lines to “Amen” below.

Ignis sic Thora dicitur Ignis: Bina est medium et concilians aque que finem non habent: sunt superiores igne. Bina significat 3s essentias primas. Ben ia: filius ia:⁶⁰⁹ בֶּן יָהּ, בִּינָה: filius dei. Tevuna: תְּבִינָה · est ut bina · נָה · significat superiora: vau cum tipheret: et sua: ה · Bina: remanet · תְּבַנ · filia: inde nun: filia nun: significat decimam inferiorem: que lactet ex · 50 · portis Bina. Elohe chedem: Elohe coac: potentia fortis: est bina: quare gubernator ducens inferiores sephiroth chedem superiora⁶¹⁰ macseva: hocma. Roheb sciamaim: equitatus celi: quia superiora omnia dicuntur elata et superiora respectu inferioris. Inferiora Mercava dicuntur. Rohev equitator qui est superius Rochev: est ut cherub: litteris eisdem: ideo dixit extensis alis supra. Item Rochev bechor: רֹכֵב · בְּכוֹר בְּכוֹר:⁶¹¹ est relatum: equem respectu equi: et contrarium: sic eques significat duo: utrumque⁶¹² scilicet dicit becor: significat primogenitum (Dei filius ergo est eques) quia rocheb: qui habitat super cherubim cherubim intelliguntur sephiroth inferiora: infra bina: et est mercava:	ben ia.⁶¹⁵ Filius dei: bina: Filia nun Elohe Chedem: Rochev Mercava cherub primogenitus⁶¹⁶ Eques super cherubim
[79r] Adon hacol: dominus omnium: dicitur: intelligitur conducens omnes essentias: a bina enim omnia. Cav Iaroc: filum viride. (ubi iuntio fili: filii fili) Sicut artifex filum facit viride lineando parietem: vel trabem: co כו · significat 26 · ut nomen summum · כ · enim numerando ab alef: usque caf: significat 75 · vau · 21 · sunt · 96 · א · 1 · ב · 2 · sunt · 3 · ג · 3 · sunt · 6 · ד · 4 · sunt 10 · ה · 5 · sunt 15 · ו · 6 · sunt 21: ז · 7 · sunt · 28 · het ה · sunt 8 · sunt · 36 · ט · 9 · sunt · 45 · י · 55 · כ · 20 · 75 · et littere decem: ante כ · sunt 85 · et 21 · 106 ·	viride: filum · filum lineam dedi: cau significat · 26 · viride filum numeratio a principio קו significat filum

⁶⁰⁹ The word “בני” is erased.

⁶¹⁰ The word “che” is erased.

⁶¹¹ Initially the word “בכוֹר” was written as “בְּכוֹרִי” with final “י” erased. Then, also the following word “equitator” was erased.

⁶¹² The letters “sig” are erased.

⁶¹⁵ A cross is drawn near to this marginal note.

⁶¹⁶ A cross is drawn near to this marginal note and the one below, that are also tied with a bracket.

nomen ergo כו: significat קו: que sunt 106 · hoc procedit a nomine quod significat 106 · et est nomen dei 26 scilicet כו · cum numero a principio · (ucma nigrum: hiura: album: sumca rubrum: ieroca viride in talmud) · תטטונד · 400 · 9 · 58 · 64 · 50: 64 · 114 · 314 · מַטְטָרוֹנָה cum milla · significat 315 · forte per א post מ · sic sunt 316. Iaroc · significat puerum custodem inferioris malcut: per quot aperitur via dei et placitum dei: ירוק · sunt 416. Bina sic vocatur:⁶¹⁷ · cau · haiaroc: cau significat⁶¹⁸ productorem omnium: qui non potest sciri nisi per metatron idest per malcut: ut per Ianuam. Dicitur et · 13 · mores divisere Tres avaiot: Malcut: Tipheret:⁶¹⁹ ensoph: sed non procedimus nos nisi usque ad Bina: ideo bina potentia suprema: cognomina numeramus decem: rahum: hanum etc. erec apaim: procul abira: 3o: rauhesed · 4o · 5o · emet: nocehesed · 6 · nosc avan: 7o · venacche: ergo purificans: · 13 · que poched avon: recordans peccata patrum · 9o · heta: 10 · chinuim · peccatum: 10. Sunt 3s in cau: linea: et · 10 · chinuim. Agim: vita dicitur: quia nescema est vita viventium: et unde hec nisi a bina: unde omnia · ut dicitur · anima dei omnipotentis preparabit ei: nephes ascem: anima nominis idest dei significat Bina: que dicitur anima: quia est anima ipsius Tipheret: cui imminet. Haia scem: vivat nomen dei: secretum voti · נדר ·⁶²⁰ · 50 · דר · significat habitationem dei: in 50 · portis ubi omnia habitant clar: habitatio: in 50 · portis bina: ubi omnia mazal Fatum dicitur: venit a⁶²¹ iizal stillare: stillabit ut ros eloquium meum: izal catal: imbradi: stillabit⁶²² ut ros eloquium meum · inde stillant omnia: et omnis inde profluit abundantia: ideo dixit vita: filii: et regimen: zehut est nomen Tipheret: significat bonitatem:	colores talmut Metatron: 314 316 · Iaroc: 416 · metatron malcut 13 · mores: Bina suprema nobis · 13 · que 10 · chinuim · vita anima dei Anima est bina: ipsi Tipheret · vivat deus · Fatum Stillabit ut ros zehud bonitas

⁶¹⁷ The word “iaroc” is erased.

⁶¹⁸ The word “omnia” is erased.

⁶¹⁹ The words “et adonai” are erased.

⁶²⁰ The letters “ב נדר” are erased.

⁶²¹ The word “gizal” is erased.

⁶²² Initially “stillabunt” then corrected.

abundantia filiorum vitarum non sub in tipheret: sed pendent a mazal: idest a Bina: ideo dicitur regebat supra deum: quomodo supra ואל: idest supra tipheret: ad bina. Regimen etiam hominis: iacta cogitatum tuum in domino non sed supra dominum ואל idest supra tipheret: in Bina: et ipse Reget · dicitur deus addet annos · et ait hinne · ecce: et hinne est bina: Sarai prius non generabat: quia iot significat · 10 · malcut: quod licet stare supra filios: non tamen sine Bina: tollit iot: et divisit in 2o he: unum viro: unum uxori ·	Fato supra deum · Deus regit (138)
[79v] Duo · he · addita: significant 2as sephirot primum Bina: ultimum malcut que duo ad filios instituta sunt. Sic de hanna votum fecit: נָדָר votum significat bina: ubi nomen septies scriptum est que significat illam ascendisse supra 7m sephirot in Bina ubi filiorum factio. Thesuva: a macsceva: quia omnia eodem redeunt: in fine centum revolutionum · in fine mundi · et anni magni. Sic Iovel intelligitur in illa milla · יוֹבֵל · Iot significat cum acie macsceva: iot hocma unu: sex sephirot sex fines. Tipheret capit omnes sex: inde לב · 32 nedivot: 32 semite hocma: et Iobel redit omnia ad summum · sic ultimus rex et mundus reditus: ה risciona dicitur Bina prima he. Vita Regis. Rex Tipheret Bina est vita eius. Vita etiam scem dicitur: quasi anima eius. Tipheret rex dicitur quia corona ei astat: cum dicitur · יה · he significat bina he · 3r · scribitur: quandoque הא · 2° הָי: 3° הָה · vita dicitur: quia cum scribitur הא · fit ziruf: אה sunt · 12 · et 4r littere numero: sunt 16 et semper fit una dictio duarum litterarum: et sunt due millot: sunt · 18 · י · significat per spinam macsceva: per corpus hocma: ה · significat bina · הי · est 18 · sic bina: est vita: hai vero ipsius melech est bina hai vita est 18 · ה · est 18 · he ergo est bina: הָה · vero sunt · 10 · et due littere · 12 · et una dictio sunt · 13 · sic bina claudit	ה · ה · abram sare: votum bina Reditus pythagore Planeta: Annus magnus: Iobel⁶²⁴: Reditus · ה bina: vita regis: ה · 3 · cum · א · י · ה · est ה bina quare: אה prima 18 הָה: 2°

⁶²⁴ A *manicula* points at this marginal note.

· 13 13 · midot et attributa dei · 3° ה' · sunt due domus: יה' ה' · Sach: omnium numerus · est · 30 · et due dictiones sunt · 32 · 32 semite hocma latent in bina: hinc impresse sunt: patentiores: addi numerum 4r litterarum: · 36 · sunt et · 6x· fines in sephiroth arbore: 3s litteris: 5s hinc fines: · לו' · Iunge hec omnia · 67 · est ut · בינה · 67 · ubi universalis concordia Quarta hesed: חסד · 72 · sunt 72 · semot: genera misericordie: et 72 · potentie misericordie: ut articuli in brachio: ut brachium unius manu: et digito manus: et hic digitus illo: sic genera misericordie varia: 72 · exeunt hec a hesed: que significat · 72 · quia mundus cum misericordia edificatum⁶²³ est: haeva Amor: dicitur: quia amore misericordia fit: אהבה · · 13. Bina concludit 13 · midot: et quia hesed inde exit ideo eundem numerum servat: 13 · midot. Abraham est mida: patribus sunt ascripta: et ut inferior mercava disponitur et bone anime sic etiam superiora. Abram spiritu sancto: et intellectu vidit hesed bonum omnibus: sic hanc elegit: ideo fecit Abram misericordiam omnibus: dicitur ivit bersabe: idest Malcut · plantavit · אשל · significat querere et vestigare	13 · midot ה' · 3° · 32 · semite: · 36 · 67 · 72 · hesed: Mundus cum misericordia edificatum⁶²⁵ Amor 13 Abram
[80r]⁶²⁶ Nemus plantat abram: Genesis · 21 · אשל: nemus: et significat sciahl: idest petere vestigare: sic contemplatio in nemore ut FAUL Ghedula dicitur: hesed ubi clauduntur omnes septem sephiroth: et quelibet illarum concluditur ex · 7 · sic sunt · 49 · sunt · 7m · et quelibet claudit 7m ergo · 49 · גדולה · sunt 49 · cum milla. Cohen: dicitur hesed: cohen sacerdos: quia cohen benedicit populum: et homo non benedicit socium: nisi gratia et pietate: ideo ordinatur super bereha: oportet ergo sacerdotem esse sine macula. Macula enim trahitur: a terminis externis: ideo · dixit · impeditus cum macula ne	Nemus significat petere FAUL · contempla: 49: · 7s · 7s · Ghedula cur · Sacerdos Momus Mum: macula:

⁶²³ Sic in the MS for “edificatus”.

⁶²⁵ Cf. *supra*.

⁶²⁶ Above the main text there is a marginal note written in Egidio's later handwriting and brownish ink mentioned above that says: · אשל · nemus locus petendi requirendi vestigii veritatis.

sacerdos sit: levi autem non curat hec: et non ipse di[ci]tur: et aptus est: quamvis cum macula⁶²⁷. Sacerdos habens momim non potest quia ducitur a deo quem reprehendat Levi autem a Midot a Din. Sacerdos a misericordia: contrarium dicitur in lege: quod non sat levi: est sat Sacerdoti: ut Senecta post · 50 · annos: levi non potest sacerdos potest: quia levi est super scir ideo voce amissa non aptus: ergo aliud⁶²⁸ defectus toleratur cum sacerdote: non cum levi Quomodo ergo · Dicitur: quod Calor naturalis inest Iuveni ideo canat: et a midot a Din fit levi: et calor convenit: et Scir: calor unde · ignis. Din in Igne non aqua Sacerdos vero ab aquis ideo non calore eget: sic etiam decrepitus hiemin Dextra dicitur: leva vero ghevura: dextra misericordie. Deus non habet levam nec dextram: nec vi potentia virtute: deo dandi: nobis et inferioribus recipiendi: habundantia enim hic recipitur: quia eo attingere dicitur dextra si sine medio alio: sed bonis operibus suis sublatis potentiis et actionibus malis. Qui vero recipit per media dicitur mecabel recipiens per media: et per gradus inferiores Salom: dixit · cor sapientis in dextra: stulti in leva est. Racmin ghedolim: magna pietas: halav: lac: sic terram fluentem lac et mel. Alba enim nominat omnia et potest in hac mida: et per alba hanc significat. Indulgentiam nominant per albedinem: et punitiones per rubrum: ut si rubuerint peccata ut coccinunt: super lanam dealbabuntur: et natura Thebaꝝ scitur. Rubrum qui multiplicatum est malus et sine misericordia: fortificans vero albos et candidos in se mores: non cupit sectari appetitus naturales:	Levi non impius: Momus Scir levi calor: scir: Din Ignis levi Sacerdos aqua: leva dextra In mente: per gradus non cor in dextra · Lac: quidem: Alba: Rubra: Rubrum malum
[80v] לַחֲמִשָּׁה: lac 40 in numero: significat 4r pedes mercava: mem mutatur in 7 · 40: in · 4 · Hesed est caput edifici: 4r pedum mercava. Misac dicitur oriens: sic 4r nomina 4r patriarchis: dixit enim Abram mizrac orientem. Izrac:	Lac: 40 idest 4 · 4r patriarche:

⁶²⁷ The words “levi enim trahitur a misericordia” are erased.

⁶²⁸ The word “potest” is erased.

occidenti: Iacob: Daron: meridie: David zaphon Ramban etiam sic collocat 4r angulos: sed sepher izira et alii non sic Sepher izira: zoari: Bair: contaria faciunt. Sed Tipheret ipsius Iacob orientem dicunt: ⁶²⁹ occidentem David · Abram in meridie: Izach zaphon et hec summa melior: quia ab oriente lux progreditur sic a tipheret. Sed ramban: fecit quia oriens est principium edificii sic ibi ponit hesed: et principium gradus unde lux omnibus: sic brachium Dextrum est oriens: unde ⁶³⁰ lux omnis:	4r Anguli mundi
Dar rom: dicitur daron: habitans in altitudine: in altitudine diei dicitur meridies: altitudo diei. Iacob igitur habitat in medio: ut cerebrum in medio cortice: moac: cerebrum: hec Ramban. Sed alii · 3s · melius zoar: bairque lucem que est prima in lege: est tipheret et non hesed: sic caput est Tipheret lux et ibi Iacob et oriens caput omnium: in occidente David. Sciiaghen: ut homo extensis brachiis: supra caput eius et ab eo dividuntur fines: ideo dicitur oriens: quia inde: et David occidens decima: quia mixta ex omnibus: arab. Daron dicitur hesed: quia Rom: quia alte aque superiores: zaphon pahac: ubi oscurum. Maim elionim: dicitur aque superiores dicuntur. Argentum cur · dicitur? Et auro anteponitur: Alba enim omnia racmim sunt. Leonis facies: ex 4r animalibus mercaba ezechiel: pes primus mercava dicitur: et facies leonem.	Aliter
הסד: 72 · in mathematica et aritmetica significat · 72 · Mercava est triplicata: 6x sephiro: hinc · 3a · hinc · 3a · hesed: ⁶³¹ concludit · 3s · pedes mercava: ter 72 · 216. Tria vexilla sunt in hesed · el: est unus: et alia duo nomina: ut decem est supra · ideo dicitur facies leonis · אריה · secretum est quod ter anno videbuntur facies tue: quia in ierusalem ibatur: et ⁶³² et apparebant ante deum · ideo dixit apparebat	Dextrum oriens: Dar rom: altitudo diei: Zoar: Contarium Ramban David: mixtus: Rom: Aque superiores: Facies leonis: Mercava: 216 Leo etiam · 216 ·

⁶²⁹ The word “ut” is erased.

⁶³⁰ The word “omnia” is erased.

⁶³¹ The word “et” is erased.

⁶³² The word “videt” is erased.

ante faciem domini: · יֵרָאֶה · apparebit · sunt eedem littere cum arie: 216. Ter anno apparebis: LEO · questio · supra · 217	216 ·
[81r] בְּשָׁנָה · in anno: ter misericordia: sunt ⁶³³ 1071: reddi nunc mille dicitur · א · ⁶³⁴ addi · 71 · que remanent: erunt · 72 · addito · a · 71 · erunt · 72 · הָסֵד · 72 · ter: 216 · sic ierae: et arie: eisdem litteris: 216. Abram dixit in acheda: in ligando filio: dixit in monte apparebit ad sacrificandum: quia deus probat ideo elohim: probabit: que est midon hadin: vertetur ad racmim et ad hesed: ideo dixit ibi ierae: idest apparebit: hoc est vertetur in ierae: quod est · 72 · sic arie: leo. Sic Hesed ter: 216 · hec tria · Dies · 3s · dicitur: misericordiam habet primus et · 2s · dies hocma bina: Hesed · 3s · pahad · 4 · 5s nezec · 6s · hod · 7 · iesod · semper · 7s. Sed tamen: ordine mercava hesed est primus: pahac 2s · 3s Tipheret: Nezec · 4r · ⁶³⁵ 5s · hod: 6 · Malcut: 7m · Iesod: sic descensio Tres diximus 4a Pahac: nisi ofuisset iustitia: nemo timuisset. Ghevura dicitur: quia procedit ⁶³⁶ misericordia dicitur conceperunt aque: parturire nebulas: significat Hesed impregnata: et peperisse ghevura: a hesed · venit arie: et ghevura iam procedit: et ideo tantumdem numero: ⁶³⁷ גְבוּרָה · sunt 216: eodem numero cum arie: et cum hesed ter. Midot hadin casce dure: quia serpens Esau princeps hinc lactet et haurit: et dura est ut vinum in fecibus suis · scemarim. Midot Isac. Patriarche sunt Mercava. Quare: ipse non fecit: cur ergo ab eo: et prius quomodo vocabatur: prius? diximus patres esse mercava: quia ante eos retracta erat divinitas: illi venientes fuere mercava: idest subiectum in quo recipere ⁶³⁸ : est divisum lumen: et quia eum gradum accepit Isac: ideo sua dicitur · Questio · 2a · quare accepit	72 · 216 · Abram: a Din in hesed · mutatur · Dies qui Mercava que · MERCAVA Pahac · 4 Ghevura · 216 · Din dura casce Serpens Isac Mercava · · Questio · prima: Questio · 2a

⁶³³ The number “1071” is written in bold, but is then erased and re-written.

⁶³⁴ Sic in the MS for the word “אלף”, that is 1000.

⁶³⁵ The word “hezech” is erased.

⁶³⁶ The word “ex” is erased.

⁶³⁷ Initially “גְבוּרָה”, then corrected.

⁶³⁸ Corrected from an initial “receptum”.

illam et non hesed meliorem ut pater: si in se est eligere: sequi enim debebat patris mida. Rom quia superiora excitantur et aptantur ut inferiora si ipse conversatus fuisset in mida patris: misericordia adeo fortificata fuisset: ut non fuisset differentia: boni et mali hominis: nec fuisset bono meritum et malo. Et Impii non recepissent: iustitiam: sic datum est ut sit pena hic purgans. Haira midot dicitur: timoris: nec enim Iustitia esset inventa in essentiis hic: homo deum non timeret: sed metu se sanctificat: ut purgetur. Taurus mercava inter 4r pedes: 4r arba haiot hacodesc: 4r sancta animalia: facies leonis: et facies Tauri: quare? Quia demonstrat metum inde appetitum rerum mundi: arandi et sanctificandi:	Timor 4r animalia sancta Bos · Agricultura
[81v] Dicitur multus fructus propter unum bovem in proverbiiis Marab · dicitur occidens: quod inde venit Din et racmim: mixta: marab scilicet mixtionem: quia simul Din et racmim: ubi Iacob: et Esau sunt. Et ut cerebrum in medio scilicet adonai tipheret: contrarium Iacob est in tipheret quomodo ergo? Respondetur quod est ut nucleus in cortice: sic est in medio: ubi mixtio. מַעַרְב רַע malum: scilicet est hominibus pahad: cuius nomina sunt 42 · sic · מַב · significat ergo malum pene hominibus apacad: cuius sunt 42 · מַב · et nomen id sanctum scilicet · מַב · cogit et obedire facit totam familiam celi. Quo nomine Moses necavit egyptium · verbis significantibus penam dixit enim moses⁶³⁹. Dicis tu verba necandi: אֵלֵי: 41: cum milla: 42 · cum moses necavit vi et potentia nominis mem bet. Item Maarab: · מ · est ut · ד · 40: pro · 4 · cum iungitur cum scior abar: cum bove silvestri: potentia contraria: externa: tunc est: To[lle] · מ · de maarab: remanet רַעַב: fames et penuria bonorum: mem pro Dalet: cum concordat cum bove illo	Iacob: et esau: מַב · pena: 42 familia celi: Moses necat: egyptum: quomodo 40: pro · 4

⁶³⁹ Initially “mosis”, then corrected. Right after the word “si” is erased.

venit fames: scilicet · cum misericordia evadit pahad: que est מ idest 7. 4a regula: remanet raab: idest fames: et penuria: 40: 400: 4 · mutantur sic: muta מ in · ת · facit Taerab: dividamus: Thaar: novacula: et remanet · ב. Secunda regula⁶⁴⁰ et pes: dicitur pahad: maarab: muta mem in Thav: 40: in 400: facit Thaarab: Thaar: novacula ב idest sedes pes est novacula puniens malos. עִימָבֵד idest foris: cum extranea: quia pene terribiles hinc ex 2° pede trahuntur · עֵמֶד · lana · ab alba profecta est: a hesed: scilicet · בָּעֵד · Ignorans: qui appetitum sequitur ignorabit et non poterit intelligere ·⁶⁴¹ מ · 7 idest 4r pedes mercava. Ignorat 4r pedes: qui Inabacut · dicitur: quia respexit maurehem obscena: ut ova nexa · sunt (matrix hic) maar idest turpitude luxurie: · ב · a seder procedit ab hac: turpia enim et omnia contraria bono et rectitudini rationis · sunt prope et extra pahad · vel potest dixit quod contraria rationi a bet castigantur: · עֲבֵר · trasiens: vel quod transiit: Significat quod qui humana sequuntur abit omnis permanentia sua et omnes reliquie pereunt: voluptuosorum. Mundus enim futurus perditus est eis: qui clauditur in mercava: 4r pedibus: et angulis ubi מ pro · 7. Levi dicitur qui super cantum erant: oportebat esse eius vocem dulcem et fortem: et ideo senex est ineptus: hec pacad est cantus: ubi mixtio Questio · Responsio · Mosis cur Cantus et Musica Deo: ad excitandum et obstandum cogitationibus: malis: facientibus post Din. Musica autem bona excitat sensum et omnem intentionem unit in deum: Scior abar bos silvester: est mas et femina: et si simul esset: omnia diruerent: deus castravit marem: feminam necavit · ratio per naturalem⁶⁴²	Mutatio: 40: 400: 4 · et c. Regula: pes · muri scilicet Mem · pro · d · 4r Voluptas abit Musica cur?

⁶⁴⁰ The words “et mida est” are erased.

⁶⁴¹ The word “4r” is erased.

⁶⁴² The words “be maarechet: in hoc loco” are erased.

[82r] Be Maarehot: in hoc libro: ostendemus: late: omnes sapientes intelligere multa intellectu acutu: in ratione preceptorum: ut Ramban: et alii · et dicunt quod homo constat ex materia et for: bos mas forma zura femina homer materia: et non forma sine materia nec contrarium · cum coeunt fit compartem · for: est potentia corporis: et appetit: materia non hec appetit scilicet cibum et c. Materia habet similitudinem corpori: cum phantasia: materia non habet: materia est tota corporea. Si omnia essent materia et for simul: mundus rueret: sic si simul mas et femina bovis externi. Materiam deus obstruxit cum forma: que ponitur ad firmitatem: et materia habet ex se esse: et si materia sola esset: et for sola esset mundus rueret: quia materia semper appetitum malum et materialia. Deus fecit for: que cogit cogitare divina: potentia intellectus est expoliata vi corporea: denudata: que aliter: rueret homo. Interfecit feminam et salivit pro iustis: potentiam intellectus demonstrat: et super leviatan: potentia ut piscis vel Draco: leviadan quasi levid hem: ornatus quasi monile iunctum ad ornatum Leviad dicitur: quasi pulcrificans: sic leviadan quod iungit et nectit omnes potentias simul. Quid est salivit feminam · significat firmitatem et conservationem factam iustis qui soli conservantur in felicitatem eternam. Et per viam cabala Bar est extrinsecum et ostendit pahad et femina malcut: El aira: fortis timoris qui facit omnes timere. Zahav · aurum Rubra omnia Iustitiam significat: 𐤅𐤁 · sunt · 14 · 𐤅𐤁 · 14 · et⁶⁴³ in malcut est David: et malcut a pahad: sic 14 · a 14 · 𐤅 · dicitur 14 · quia dicitur Manus super sedem dei contra Amalec: et mose orante: venit pena a pahad per malcut · chise sedes dicitur tipheret dicitur manus super sedem: chesia: chise est Tipheret: et · ia · ostendit 3s midot:	Carta · 221 · Materia for: si simul Mas et femina si simul: Materia si sola: For: dat divina: Intellectus denudatus Salivit ^{.646} Leviatan · Sal 𐤅𐤁 conservatio · Aurum · Iustitiam: 14 David · 14 · 𐤅 · manus Sedes Ia: 3s sephirot

⁶⁴³ The word “hev” is erased.

⁶⁴⁶ A small *manicula* points at this marginal note.

spina ioth: he · ideo deficit & dicitur enim ches: non chise: cum alef · quia ia sufficit pro · 3bus · & enim est vau: et duo iot: et sic si ia erat: pro · 3bus · non oportuit poni · & · que ponitur pro eisdem tribus: י · superius macseva: inferius bina vau pro sex: sic bina. Es me maim. Ignis ex aqua: est enim ignis ex aqua: ex misericordia. Dicitur⁶⁴⁴ Nahasc hacadmonim Serpens primus princeps esau: et lactet apahac: potentia samuel: samuel est legatus et nuncius princeps esau lactens a pahac: sunt enim potentie externe: que non habent partem nocendi quicumque sine parte pahad. Mizbeac: Altare dicitur: auri dicitur unum: et significat hoc מִזְבֵּחַ · אליהו מִזְבֵּחַ · 52 · et · 5 · littere: 57 · utraque: per timorem enim domini trahitur homo ut peniteat: et se purificet. Mare si dicitur aspectus: vel speculum: sic Macse: aspectus cum ך · significat racmim segol scilicet significat · ג · triaque vexilla mercava: dicitur eritis mihi cariores aliis populis: quia omnes habent principes ante quem adm⁶⁴⁵ vos habetis: mercava · ideo dicunt segula: a segol: cariores.	& vau: duo iod quid · Ignis ex aqua Serpens Samuel Nocent non sine pahad Altare auri · 57 · purificandi gratia Timor domini bonus Mare speculatur
[82v] Tria enim in segol significat Mercava que est in tribus hinc Tribus hinc statuta: dicitur et Mispas Iudicium 2^o dies Iudicii. Dies etiam 4s dicitur · ut supra de diebus numeravimus: hocma: bina hesed · pacad ·⁶⁴⁷ Anezelet · quod procedit: TIPHERET a peer: pulcritudo: et caput omnis pulcritudinis · תִּפְהֶרֶת duo t · 800 · 7: 200: sunt mille: pe · 8 · a 81 · sunt · 1081 · caput eius aurum optimum: aurum obrizum: פָּז 87 · mille & · 1081 · erunt · 82 · littere vero Tipheret sunt · 5 · sunt 87 · (dicitur hazara galgul: reditus rote: e multo parum: vel contrarium) · ROM dicitur tipheret Altitudo: Altitudo holam significat macseva: sciurech chibuz: significat tipheret:	Trinitas: racmim: Iudicium 1081 · aurum: obrizum 87 · Numeri extenuatio: et contrarium:

⁶⁴⁴ The word “nascias” is erased.

⁶⁴⁵ The MS was cut in this point.

⁶⁴⁷ The words “Tipheret: a” are erased.

quia est unum inter duo ut sciurec. Arachia dicitur dividens inter aquas: et aquas. Sciurec significat tres pedes mercava: et Tipheret illis concluditur et tres midot ostendit. Maharia riscion idest quasi librans medius: inter illa duo contraria · quasi primus arbiter: duorum illorum Inter duas coronas contrarias: ipse quasi conciliator. Cav emzai filum medium · dicitur tipheret: adonai: quod significat · 26 · quod est · כו · et quando fit repetito a prima littera: veniunt 106 · et nomen: קו quod significat filum: et 106 · ut venit: a nominis magni numero · כו. Zahar Mas · dicitur: causa mas: effectus femina. Scito: quod essentia ab hac venit beraha: in malcut: ideo utrumque Adonai dicitur: ideo dicitur mas hec iot he vau he: וְהָיָה בְרַכָּה · 227 · בְּרַכָּה · 227 · benedictio ergo malcut hinc venit. Declarat Moses in · 70 · linguis idest modis · 70 · et nomen magnum 7m 70 dividitur: verba mea ut ignis et malleus malleatoris rumpentis saxum: et scintille veniunt. Sicut lex: est unum nomen sanctum: sed dividitur in omnia: quicquid est quod ad deum pertinet in lege datum est. Et dictio beraha: tenet in se marem et feminam: vis tipheret transit per malcut: mas Tipheret: Malcut femina: utrumque est in beraha: כֹּה בֶרֶךְ Filius dicitur (ut supra quod procedit a macsceva. Macsceva cogitatio produciens filium: sic intelligentia produciens verbum) Bar ergo filius pro tipheret: adonai: et co: pro malcut. Beraha etiam trina ponitur: in passuc scribere: in benedictione Aaron ter ponitur adonai: ter Bar: כֹּה 606 · ter 75 · 606 · תְּדַבֵּר: cum 75 · תְּדַבֵּר · sunt 681 · ideo dicitur beatus populus qui scit iubilationem non sed therua: vaieda quandoque non scire ut cognovit adam uxorem: idest iunctus est illi: non dixit populus qui scit terua: sed qui iungit terua:	Firmamentum aquarum: · 3a · primus arbiter conciliator · filum medium · כו · · קו · 106 · 26 · Pythagoras: mas: femina: Mas: causa: effectus femina: iot he: Tiferet: zahar: mas beraha } 227 Lex mosis: 70: verbum filius: Pater⁶⁴⁹ Pater Macsceva: Filius hic adonai Bar: Adonai ter: Trinitas Therua: beatus populus qui scit Iubilationem: Non beatus qui copulat hec · pater primo: inde bar:

⁶⁴⁹ Upon these marginal notes there is a drawing of a cross.

in qua ⁶⁴⁸ coeunt duo: sed beatus qui scis operibus hec duo iungit: angens et passum: activa passivis:	3° 10 · que · spiritus sanctus dedit
[83r] Adam etiam dicitur tipheret · כו · plenum nomen hoc facit.⁶⁵⁰ יוד · 20 · ואו · 13 · הא · 26 · · 39 · הא · 45 · sic Adam⁶⁵¹ · אָדָם · 45. Iacob: mida dicitur: Abram hesed: dicitur misericordia abrae. Izhac pacad Iacob cum non posset quod pater et avus · cepit medium: cum alie avite non tantum placerent · ideo dicitur: Iacob vir simplex perfectus habitabat tentoria: idest inter duo tentoria habitavit: is tam: simplex perfectusque: יעקוב · 182 · et littere · 4r · 186. Sic Macom מקום · 186. Machom deus: laudetur Machom idest locus idest Dominus qui est locus mundi. Mundus humilis deiectus benedicatur ab illo loco qui significatur numero · 26. Supputatio meruba: quadrata: י · decem decies 100: ה · 25 · 125 · 36 · 161 · · 18 · · 9 · decies decem: ה · quinque quinquies: 25 · 125 · י · 6s · 6x · 36 · 161 · ה · 25 186. Abir israel: fortis israel · קו · firmitas intellectus agentis: fortitudo israel: est vis intellectus: que divina est: et in hac mida sehel hapoal: intellectus agens: est קו et adonai hoc: et est malcut: quod non dicitur a deo nisi ut lumen a candela: et gradus remissus ab intenso: dixerunt Sapientes: Animal esse in celo: quod dicitur israel: ratio: quia israel est in tipheret: quia mida hec claudit · 32 · semitas hocma: et · 22 · litteras: que dividuntur in 231 · portas: רָלָא · 231 porte: et decem essentie: et littere · 22 · sunt · 32 · dividuntur in 231 portas: et 10 · essentias sephirot: que concludunt omnes iesciud: omnia que sunt in mundo: (fit omne · ies me ies: deus solus facit ies mi ain: ex nihilo: רָלָא est רָאָל ideo dicitur israel: iesc: 6x et rela: rela: sunt 231 porte: כב · 22 · littere faciunt rela sciaarim: 231 portas: significat ens idest 10 · sephirot decem essentie: decem entia: et rela: idest 131	Adam: 45 · ut nomen Iacob: Abram⁶⁵⁵ Iacob inter tentoria: simplex perfectus 186 · Iacob · Locus · 186 Dominus locus mundi Macom: 186 · Meruba: Quadra supputatio: Pythagoras: Abir: fortitudo intellectus agentis Israel animal in celo 32 · iesciud essentie: ISRAEL

⁶⁴⁸ The word “sunt” is erased.

⁶⁵⁰ Number “45” is erased.

⁶⁵¹ The MS reads “Ada”.

⁶⁵⁵ The word “Iacob” is erased.

porte: sunt in hoc nomine adonai: qui dicitur israel · milla murchevet: dictio composita: equitata: nomen magnum: facit 32 semitas: ubi sunt · 22 · littere⁶⁵²: decemque essentie: essentie decem sephirot: 22 · littere faciunt rela: 131 portas ergo in israel: concluditur ies idest essentie decem: et · 22 · littere: que significantur in rela 131 portis: exeuntibus ex litteris · 22 · שכל a poal: intellectus · agens: ישראֵל 541 · הפועל israel · 541 · שכל hapoal 191 secal: 350 .⁶⁵³ 541: ideo secel apoal: intelligitur israel: qui est Tipheret: et adonai: ergo adonai supputatur intellectus agens: (proverbium: dicitur: in oculis dei et hominibus invenietur si bene egeris: ubi secal: intellectus bonus.) Sciadaim etiam dicitur: quia in eo concluduntur brachia: et significat ubera: sciadai Scia dai: etiam significat: שדימ dai significat quod sufficientia: מ pro 7 4r · pedibus de 4r mercava: equibus omnis sufficientia provenit. Ab · אב dicitur pater. Tria: Tipheret 3um vexillum mercava: Ba hunc בא · sunt · 6 · et 4r littere sunt · 10 · et due dictiones · 12 · et Tipheret suum nomen iot he vau he · sunt domus · 12 · isc homo tria enim prima sunt ut homo: scilicet macsceva: hocma bina: Homo ergo dicitur tipheret: ubi caput Macsceva: humeri duo ipsum est filum dorsi: in zoar hoc. Hadan dicitur sponsus הַתָּה · הַתָּה: fractum divisum: color niger et albus: idest contraria simul sunt⁶⁵⁴ in tipheret: hesed et ghevura: concordant in eo misericordia et iustitia. Tres simul sunt essentie: hesed Tiferet et bina unde heset. Tria genera misericordie in hac concluduntur: ideo dicunt הַתָּה · hesed per primam litteram. Tipheret per 2am: bina per enim que est 50 · porte: emet veritas sunt littere que extenduntur ex litteris: filum medium veniens a cerebro idest macsceva	Ens: rela: Entia: littere:⁶⁵⁶ israel · 541 · Intellectus agens adonai est · proverbium · Sciadai quid ab · 3a · · 12 · quid Homo Sponsus 3a in uno: 146

⁶⁵² *Suprascriptum.*

⁶⁵³ Number “4” is erased.

⁶⁵⁴ The letter “h” is erased.

⁶⁵⁶ A small *manicula* points at the word “ISRAEL” above.

Zeror ligamen: clausum ut vinculum · sic tipheret quod est ligamen vite: quia a Bina habet que dicitur hagim. דַּעַת · Intellectus: et iungere unire. Item tempus עַתָּא dixit rabi simon: dicunt quod ordines temporum erant ante mundum. Intelligit · 4r · pedes mercava qui clauduntur in tempore: idest omnia temporalia a · 4r · pedibus mercava dimanarunt. Et cum dixit Iacob: ascendentes et descendentes: intelligitur scem. Scala sephiroth gradus: angeli in ea ascendentes: et deus supra in nixa. Sullam scela: vox · prophetia que extendebatur: a קוּ emzae: a filo medio: extendebatur deorsum in terram: in celum ascendit usque ad deum Cav id. Angeli dei significant: potentias graduum abundantie: porrigentes ex uno ad aliud: et hii dicuntur angeli: ideo dixit ascendebant et descendebant · bo · primo est mas: scala femina. Item est superfluum: sed intelligitur bo be vau: in⁶⁶⁰ supra sex sephiroth: vau · en · est recta linea ascendens ימין · dextra misericordia. Scem dicitur: nomen: quia est quam macria: מַכְרִיעַ 340: שָׁם · 340 · quod significat mediatorem: et conciliatorem et c. et significat caput metatron: ט · significat Sar principem: metatron: de metatron: adonai enim⁶⁶¹ Tipheret est princeps: metatron: idest adonai malcut:⁶⁶²	cognoscere unire Ordo temporum ante mundum Angeli: scala: filum SCALA: IACOB: · קוּ · Dextra: Nomen etiam dicitur: Mediator: שָׁם Metatron:
[84r] Sar est mittens: metatron: missus nuncius sic in zoar: Thora scebeghedav: lex scripta: ostendit tipheret: ubi sigillantur omnia que exeunt a Rege: ideo prophetia mosis non potest addi nec diminui: et omnes qui addit vel minuit: secretum omnium que sunt: venire ex decem his essentiis. Si quis dixit esse undecim: adderet supra decem Es levantom Ignis albus: omnis sephira dicitur es: ignis: sed nomen secundum colorem convenientem: hec dicitur alba: quia magna parte⁶⁶⁴ misericordia est. Item superiora omnia ignis. Inferiora malchut alba.	Metatron Sigillatur sunt · 10 · et non undecim: Ignis albus Alba: Ignis superiora

⁶⁶⁰ The word “sex” is erased.

⁶⁶¹ The words “est p” are erased.

⁶⁶² Below the main text there is a not in Egidio’s handwriting that reads: “vulcan: in germania hinc: Riel:”

⁶⁶⁴ The word “alba” is erased.

[84v] Ros dicitur caput quod est contrarium lucem primam creatam in thora est ut caput sex sephirot: finibus: et cur⁶⁷¹ brachiis comparavere: si est caput: et ut homo attollens brachia supra caput. ⁶⁷²Hasmal: electrum in ezech: primo licet sit creatum: a Deo tamen ponitur: electrum intelligitur linea media: casmal asmala⁶⁷³: quasi femina: est pro Malcut ultima: tacere et loqui intelliguntur lingua: לשון · 386. ⁶⁷⁴ חשמל · 378 · desunt · 8 · adde · 4r · litteras: duarum casularum: חש תל · loquere: vel tacet loquitur: sunt 4r littere: due dictiones: divise: et una dictio tota: sic 385 · una deest: sed non curat Cabala de uno: et hoc unum in geometria non refert. ע · ain: oculi⁶⁷⁵ dicitur. Providentia dicitur specularia Lucida specula: ut Rota solis:⁶⁷⁶ et luna est ex se obscura: sed a sole illuminatur. Circulus calor hama: est hec mida specularia lucida ut Sol Illuminans: et luna recipit inde lucem Coach potentia dicitur: significat · כו · nomen magnum: et iungit duas dictiones: ia: et וה · sic erunt · 28 · sic⁶⁷⁷ כח: sunt 28 · dixit enim magnus dominus noster et rav coah idest valde potens: (REGULA universalis quando numerus convenit: et est nominatio legis: non repugnans divine⁶⁷⁸ perfectioni intelligitur pro eodem:)	Caput sex sephirot: brachia Electrum: 2x 386 unum si desit: non refert: oculi providentie · hama: calor Sol intus / luna mens: agens Numeri harmonia: Quomodo
[85r] facies: padol adonenu⁶⁷⁹ גדול · 43 · רב כח אדונינו · 230 חסד · 72: ter⁶⁸⁰: 216 · rav coac:⁶⁸¹ 230	72

⁶⁷¹ The word “qui” is erased and “cur” is written above it.

⁶⁷² The letter “ח” is erased.

⁶⁷³ The letter “h” was at the beginning of this word, but has been erased.

⁶⁷⁴ The letters “חשמ” were erased.

⁶⁷⁵ Initially “oculis”, then corrected.

⁶⁷⁶ The words “ut corpus” are erased.

⁶⁷⁷ The letters “co” are erased.

⁶⁷⁸ The word “parasca” is erased.

⁶⁷⁹ The words “גדל · 39” are erased.

⁶⁸⁰ *Superscriptum*.

⁶⁸¹ The number “228” is erased.

Remanent primo · 10 · et · 4 · quod veniunt ex · 10 · avaiot et clauduntur ex 4r pedibus mercava גדל · quia maxima pars est misericordia: כרוב: figure cherubim: sunt cherubin super cherubim: fecit enim Moses cherubim significantes sephirot agentes: et gubernantes: omnia in unum: non multis frustris sed integros: ad unitatem omnium horum significandam. Salomon vero fecit alios iunctos extra illos: qui sunt metatron: et sandelphon: dicitur enim et sciebat quod erant cherubim. Sciophar: dicitur שופר · שר · significat principem mi פו · ex decima: unde exeunt: 86 · et significat tot פרוש · unde exeunt ex malcut declarationes scem mephoras: idest adonai declaratur per malcut: per multa perus. Thechia fit per cornu sonus lenis et equabilis qui significat misericordiam · zicheron rememoratio dicitur: זכר · 227 · et tantum significat beraha ברכה 227 quia diximus benedictionem adnon: sed transit per malcut: veniens: ab adonai superiori: in malcut est ab alio: et per actum · ubi invenies zehar superioris semper fit commemoratio in bonam partem: et est superius: sed in iesod contrarium: fit rememoratio in malum Maim: rescenim: Aque inferiores sunt in malcut: aque superiores quinque essentie: priores: aque posteriores: quinque inferiores Leviadan: ut liviathem: singificat adiungere: ut iungere torquem collo tuo vel capiti tuo: gratiam capiti tuo: et torques collo tuo (ענק · torques · anac dicitur: erige asinum cadentem pauperi. Sic Gigantes cum surgebant umbra solem auferebant ut turris: sic dicitur nunc collectum ad arcendum solem ne collum feriat etiam dixit anic anic: onera pauperem donis: sic ipsi se solem onerant: ne cadat in terram scemai nichim ha hama: quia retinent solem ·)	cherubim particulares unitas · Sandelphon: Metatron: cornu: sar 86 · ex 10a · Sonus equabilis 227 · Midot · 5 · et · 5 · Aque superiores et inferiores 5 · et · 5 · Torques collo ענק Gygantes · 3a · Torques: gigas · onerare חמה sol Leviathan: dabit ei

Vav dicitur: ziruf duorum vau: facit unam tantum domum⁶⁸⁵: quia sunt eedem et mutari non possunt:⁶⁸⁶ significat ergo · 12 · et due littere · 14 · et una dictio · 15. Erit ut Ia: 15 · quod male est · 26 · et est ut scem: ideo dicitur vau: quia ut יה · 26 · etiam scribitur cum alef: tres littere faciunt sex domus:⁶⁸⁷ tres tantum differentes: domus ter · 13 · 39 · significat טל: ros: est nomen sanctum: ut ros descendens in barbam: tal est nomen exiens a nomine · 26 · in ziruf · SEPTIMA Nezech נִצֶּחַ · omnes qui timent deum habent potentiam vincendi in nezech sunt littere hizuac: הִצִּיאוּ · significat foras: eedem littere נִצִּיחַ vincere extrinseca: et potentias malas Moses cepit hanc mida ut vincen[te]s essent fortes mundi: ipse versum crus dextrum: vocantur enim duo crura: ut in homine: quia homo est ad similitudinem superiorum midot: et ibi sunt crura argentea idest hec inferiores midot: ʿamud iamin: Columna dextra dicitur: erant due in santuario significantes has duas: omnia enim vasa et alia erant similitudinem spiritualium: Salomon enim vocabat⁶⁸⁸ illa preparatio omnis ut fortitudinem et c. Octava dicitur hod: qui se sanctificant merentur se pulcritudinem induere: ab his cruribus · 2bus · provenit omnis profetia et fit perus: sine voluptatibus et vino ·	15 · ut Ia: טל Ros in barmam: 7a Crura argentea Columna destra vasa et alia sunt dispositiones 8a · perus: phariseus: sis ·
[86r] Nona Iesod: omnia posteriora dicuntur fundamentum et fundus. Decima dicitur adonai et conclusio in⁶⁸⁹ tipheret: quia eadem utrique fere consentiunt: ergo iesod potest dici ultima: quia malcut posterius est etiam modo quodam prius ut convenit cum tipheret. Iesod fundamentum est zadic:	Iustus

⁶⁸⁵ The MS reads “domus”.

⁶⁸⁶ The words “muta ergo” are erased.

⁶⁸⁷ The words “factoris 6 · 13 ·” are erased.

⁶⁸⁸ The MS reads “vocabant”.

⁶⁸⁹ The letters “nel” are erased.

dicitur in passuc zadix iesod וולאם: iustus fundamentum mundi. Columna dicitur fulciens te[c]tum edificium: et est ultima et decima: ex illa causa: quam dixi eam⁶⁹⁰ magnam convenientiam habeat malcut cum tipheret · ideo additur · י · zadic: per iot: quia · יוד · facit domus sex: secties · 20 · 120 · et עמוד · sunt 120 ideo dicitur zadic: cum malcut dicitur zedec: sine⁶⁹¹ · י ·. Mundus stat sub una columna: dicitur in Thalmut. Intelligitur ut Malcut quod dicitur Mundus · unde Mundus regitur est sub columna sub Iesod. אמת · veritas dicitur: veritas non mutatur: sed verbis ostendentibus Din: quia non est mollis ut tipheret sed est veritas: non ita plenum misericordia: veritas dicitur: licet id cum misericordia: hic cum iustitia: licet utrobique sit Iustitia: hic contra vitia: ibi ad merita bonarum actionum. Iustitia enim est tam cum penas malis: quam premia damus bonis Pax dicitur Scialom. Concilians omne dicitur scialom Succad scialom: casule et umbra tabernaculorum quia sabatum custodit: pacem faciunt cum superioribus: et recipiunt unam animam superfluum: et significatur in coopertura: ubi significatur abundantia tracta a superioribus: et dixit extentendens pacem in nos et facit in superis idest in sephiroth: illa copulans עור · pellis · leviadan: leviadan torques colli et collectum colli ornatus gratia leviadan dicitur: nam leviadan est tipheret. Inferiora dicuntur vestis sic pellis est cognomen indumentorum: עור · significat · ut פר · 280 par taurus: et sandalphon habet nomen huius numerus et est huius mida. Sandalphon dat figuras et formas creaturis et gignendis figure et forme sunt anime que volant ab arbore idest hinc: ego sum dei faciens omnia: quia anime ab eo	· י · 120 · zadic columna: 120 Mundus · sub columna · veritas dicitur Iustitia Iustitia 2x Pax Tabernacula Pacem faciens pellio leviadan pellis taurus · 280 Par: taurus: Colcodea · anime · volitantes

⁶⁹⁰ The MS reads “eum”.

⁶⁹¹ The letter “i” is erased.

Nahar: fluuius: ut dixerunt neer adonai lumen dei: dicitur enim scelom bait: cum candela sabato accenditur: et significat hoc lumen dei Zion etiam dicitur: quia est lumen arcanum et reconditum: sed sion est mons qui est apertus quomodo ergo hoc significat:⁶⁹⁶ quod in edificio templo sunt omnia que significant spiritualia: ubi pondera et omnia continent similitudinem Mercava: et demostrant celata: que non possunt ab omnibus comprehendi: ibi demostrantur celata: sed non per rem ita apertam ut est mons: si ergo ar syon est res apertissima Quomodo significat opertissimum: ideo Ramban noluit hoc significari sed hoc non est inconueniens: quia mons significat illud similitudine aliqua: quia volun[ta]tis et beneplaciti dei scehina quiescit in malcut: cum deus vult: ascendit ad iesod: et ideo dicitur syon: inde in sancta sanctorum cados cadoscim hocma: ideo mons sion: ob causam adtollendi voluntatem dei: et tunc dicitur sedes: que est sion. Cum mortuos nominamus: tunc dicimus sion: eos esse in sion: quia est ut קנו · nidus suus: est quasi nidus bonarum animarum: et mundarum significat et 156 · ציון · 156. Inde volant anime: ואז volant: et significat וְעָף: 156 · et volant: significant ut zion: Decima Malcut: dicitur: quia gubernatio infimi mundi ibi est: dicitur psalmus:⁶⁹⁷ in Quare fremuerunt gentes: constitui super sion sanctum eius. Item מלתוך: ut מלכות littere eedem mal: sunt · 70 · principes in medio: qui lactent inde: et abundantia eorum ab ea: ideo dicitur loca clamant: in nocte: ad lacerandum: nocte cum malcut est obscurum tunc mali principes lacerant: potentia enim est intus: ipsi extra. Item omnis mors: decima dicitur col quia colligatur ex omnibus:	Syon: Mons quomodo significat operta: Mons cur? Similitudo alia Sion cur: Santa sanctorum sapientia⁶⁹⁹ Sion mortuis Nidus animarum 156 · et sion · volant anime⁷⁰⁰ virg[ines] Psalmus · 2 · super sion sanctum eius 70 malcut: 70 intus

⁶⁹⁶ The letter for “respondetur” is erased.

⁶⁹⁷ The word “dedi” is erased.

⁶⁹⁹ A small cross is drawn next to this marginal note.

⁷⁰⁰ A long letter “ל” is drawn next to the last three lines of marginal notes.

ubi intellectus hominis sanctificari potest: et herere potest intellectus illi vite et non removet umquam et hinc perseverantia Contrarium cum errat: heret exteris sic mors · unde dicitur מֵת: כל: idest quia non bene tenet col sed dat operam voluptati: tunc mavet venit. Item aliter exponitur: תם וכל: totum plenum: dicitur tipheret tam: et col procedit a tam idest tipheret: quod dicitur tam: sic Iacob tam: plenus perfectus⁶⁹⁸: sic lex domini:	Mors: peccatum col mors.⁷⁰¹
[87v]⁷⁰² lex domini immaculato tam: perfecta: convertens animas Israel dicitur etiam: ies raal: יֵשׁ · dicitur lex: et hocma: ens ex non ente: ies sunt 22 · littere que dividuntur in 222 portas: que provident a circulo tipheret Hocma parva et minor dicitur: superior dicitur יֵשׁ · hec sapientia derivatur a superiori: ubi est lex et 22 · littere ex quibus constat: sunt porte רלֵא · sunt 231 porte. Hec autem dicitur וַעַל pe: mente: et ut interpretatio illius. Thora scebeghedav scripta que intellectus non potest sine interpretatione: aliter pertingi non potest Sic hocma est incomprehensibilis: ex se sine inferioribus ideo illa dicitur scripta: hec interpretatio et apertio illius ies raal: idest venit a hocma que concludit raal רלֵא · tot portas. Sciahina⁷⁰³ dicitur ubi quiescit · Ia · שְׁכֵינָה · שֶׁכֶן · ubi quiescit ia: providet et gubernat totum mundum. Ghevura etiam dicitur hec ut superior: quia sugit ionec a pahad: et hesed.⁷⁰⁴ sed quomodo hesed quia dicitur dextera tua elata est cum potentia et fortitudine quia scilicet miscet. Pene arie dicitur hesed: pahad · dicitur Ghevura: dicitur hec inferior ghevura: licet utrumque pascatur: quia hesed etiam dicitur modo aliquo ghevura quia numerus equalis אריה 216	231 porte: Leges · 2e · scripta: non israel quid 216 · ghevura:

⁶⁹⁸ The MS reads “perfectum”.

⁷⁰¹ A small *manicula* is drawn next to this note pointing to the one above, tying together the meaning of these two *marginalia*.

⁷⁰² Above the main text the word “LEO” is written in majuscule characters.

⁷⁰³ Initially written as “Sciahicna”.

⁷⁰⁴ The words “quia dicitur” are erased.

· sic hesed est misericordia tantum habet mixtam Din: licet maiori experte hesed Item ghevura⁷⁰⁵ dicitur quia malcut significat in vau he est in ghevura: ה ultima significat malcut: sunt 11 · mal † vau⁷⁰⁶ significat sex: sic significat malcut cum 6x · הו · הו · sunt · 12 · 6 ה · sunt 18 · ut חי · 18 · et significat vivum esse qui hec habet: et 15 est fortis ideo ghibur · sic in ghevura: est ghibur: et וה: sic omnes littere ghevura: יה · quia pro vivo: sic ghevura: fortis et vivus. Cornu mescie dicitur: pro luce ponitur ut de mose unde radii prominentes a lucido David dicitur: quia in milla significat de · י · idest in decima: cum dixerunt⁷⁰⁷ וַיִּדְרֹךְ · יוד · sunt · 20 · sic utrumque conveniunt in numero: sic decima que est iod · est David cheser. Imperator dicitur: palga: idest secundus rex: vel 2s Imperator quia cesar dicitur victoriosus: et habebat locumtenentem: sic malcut facit bella pro deo: dicitur rex: et semirex quia non est adonai primus sed secundus: et quasi prorex Zaphon etiam dicitur: quia lune lumen venit a hocma: cum abditur hocma hec est obscurata: luna dicitur tipheret: si hocma asconditur luna est scura: et cum mazpi: abditur obscura: ideo zaphon: dicitur et hec hocma Sed natura si abditur superior · Iam dicitur mare: dixitt omnia fluit in mare: et id non impletur fluire · essentie: ad mare: in decimam	Arie יה ghibur: Cornu messie David Ceser
[88r] ve aiam: omnia flumina idest omnes essentie veniunt · ad decimam: et hec non impletur · ךְ הים · hic est nomen · יהו · sed non plenum: quia הו: tantum est in dictione iam: sed cum impletur: significat 26 · hoc ia quod est in maim in iam non est nisi ia · ideo non finitum: licet significat · 26 ut	Mare non redundat

⁷⁰⁵ Initially “ghavura” then corrected.

⁷⁰⁶ The letter “י” is erased.

⁷⁰⁷ The letter “u” is erased.

nomen · tamen: non est plenum: ibi scribere ia · יָהּ · et non male ibi ideo non significat · 26 · sed 15 tantum: sic est ia tantum: quod est plenum est racmim: sed ia tantum non sed est Din: si iniquitates observaveris ia · quod est Din: adonai quod est racmim pars habebit: omnia flumina in mare: et id non redundat: ibi est ia · tantum non plenum: quia Ia est Din: ut hoc passuc⁷⁰⁸ in De profundis: et adonai plenum est racmim. Iam⁷⁰⁹: significat occidens: quia bina inclinatur ad mira que est pahad: et dicitur mi: quis: et significat bina: et מִי · sunt littere iam · ubi · 50 · sic 50 porte bina · et nomina et littere equales: bina dicitur mi: et mi sunt littere⁷¹⁰ יָם · sic bina dicitur utroque nomine: et id mi respicit pahad: ideo dicitur occidens maraf: ergo etiam hoc dicitur maraf. Iemin dicitur dextra: quia hec ad tollitur ad misericordiam: et tunc dicitur gemin: quod eo attingit אֱמוּנָה fides dicitur: et significat lactere: quia sugit a fonte superiori: et est aman: significat educata cum ea ubi deludens coram eo omni tempore: sic sapientia	Ia: Din: adonai: non Si iniquitates: Iam mi⁷¹¹ 50 · iam: mi occidens quid FIDES hocma ludens
[88v] parvis. Amen vau he: nomen 26 · significat tipheret · quod significat vau: et adonai ultimum quod significat per he · hec omnia a hocma superiori sugunt: que hocma dicitur amen. Et Duo illa nomina dicta: nomen adonai: et adonai ultimum significant ut amen: אֲדֹנָי 65 · et 26 · nominis magni · 91 · sic amen: אָמֵן · 91 Amen ergo significat utrumque adonai: dicitur in talmut: qui respondet amen plus habet quam qui benedictionem dicit · Berit dicitur partum nomen · significat precepta faciendi · רְמָה · 248 · non faciendi תִּסָּה · 365 omnia sunt תְּרִיג · 613 · et exeunt ex versu hoc est nomen meum et recordatio mea semper quia id est nomen perfectum: sunt hii · תְּרִיג · 613 sic	Carta · 224 · Amen hocma Amen adonai utrumque berit · 613 precepta: 613

⁷⁰⁸ The letter “d” is erased.

⁷⁰⁹ *Superscriptum* to correct the erased word “Mar”.

⁷¹⁰ The letters “יה” are erased.

⁷¹¹ The word “maim” is erased.

ברית · cum milla: 613. Berit dicitur thora: nisi esset pactum meum die ac nocte: ordinem celi et terre non posuissem: etiam in brescit: tolle אש · remanet berit: hoc est lex que dicitur berit: procedit ab es: hoc est a hocma: dicitur in talmut Thora erat scripta per ignem nigrum: in igni albo idest per ignem nigrum: idest per hocma obscuram nobis: cum mundus esset obscurus scilicet in vacuo: que hocma fit 2000 · an[n]is: ante creationem In igne albo. Intelligitur cav enzai: cum venit aperuit: hocma que erat prius chamus clausa et hatum: sigillata. Melac Sal dicitur: significat firmitatem: ut sal cui heret est firmitas illius: et cui scehina dat abundantiam: meretur eternitatem firmitatis	712 hocma es unde lex hocma 2000 · annis: ante mundum Camo
[89r] מלח · חלם: que significant hocma: primum punctum: dixere: nostri: principium a macsceva: finis est decima que producit effectum: sed sunt idem: ut omnes sephirot: ut flamma et ignis. Qui facit berit idest circumcisionem facit ac si faceret omnia precepta: quia tantundem numeri habet ideo dicitur berit melac: pactum salus: idest lex: et hocma: ubi est holem idest macsceva: holem est in melac. Intellectus enim non capit secreta legis: nisi avertat malas cogitationes male: qui has tollit remanet illi macsceva · munda: lege firmatur mundus · qui rueret nisi esset lex: que est⁷¹³ melac idest holem: procedens a macsceva: que est primum holem: et punctum. Intellectus non capit divina nisi auferat malas cogitationes: totus mundus ob hanc legem firmatur: quia dicitur in iusto mundus firmatur · Malcut olam. Regnum mundi dicitur: quia mundus regitur per manum suam ה · He ultimum dicitur nominis: et cum	Sephirot idem Sal Holem: יה · 15

⁷¹² A cross is drawn in the margins next to this passage.

⁷¹³ The word “holem” is erased.

numeras litteras ante he: in alfabeto invenitur · Ia: a · l · bet · 3⁷¹⁴ · ג · 6 · 7 · 10 · he: 15 · sic יה · 15 Thora scebalpe · lex mente: Labim: non: idest non faciendi omnes trahuntur a midot a Din: quia non addidere: supra precepta faciendi: sed supra non faciendi: ne appropinquant peccatis. Sabato dicitur ne facias opera: cum ac[c]idit preceptum faciendi: ut circumcisio rumpit non faciendi: quia precepta faciendi sunt racmim non faciendi Din · ideo affirmativa sunt Dohe idest vincentia et superantia et tollentia. Dicitur Ignis magnus. Angeli Iustitie ignes dicuntur: quia per eos aperiuntur omnia: et firmantur omnia hic: Ignis urens ignem: dicitur: urens: in capite montis: quia in ar synai. Ignis est ob potentiam mittentis dei: angeli scilicet Ignei. Chescet arcus dicitur: quia ultimum dicitur cortex: scilicet tipheret cas idest ut palea operiens tipheret: idest cortex et palea nominis divini: ideo⁷¹⁵ · קש · ת idest cortex Tipheret sic in berescit raba: arcum meum dedi in nubibus: calipa · cortex est adonai ultimum: hereb · ensis: quia est midot hadin Iustitia: הָרֵב · sunt littere latitudinis: latitudo Iusto: Ensis malo: ut רָחֵב · latitudo quod ostendit: latitudinem permanentie: hic et prius in mundo altero: et sunt littere בָּחַר · eligendi: ut vide quod dedi ante te mortem et vitam elige non est necesse habere alter utrum: sed in tua parte est: eligere: omnia potest deus nisi timorem celi: quia timor domini: in parte nostra est: deus enim reliquit⁷¹⁶ .	alpe faciendi Ignis angeli mali Palea: Arcum Latitudo ipsius bahar: eligere Deus causa: non timoris ·
[89v] Eligentes bonum: dicuntur misericordia: חָבַר · iunctum: ut cum bene Agiz sephirot sunt mehaberot: idest iuncte et concordēs: et consone: בָּרָה fugit: quia fugit	Capare hinc fuga:

⁷¹⁴ Initially “2”.

⁷¹⁵ The letters “ca” are erased.

⁷¹⁶ Below the text we find the note: “Arsinoe · arsynas”.

potentias malas: ut dicitur: ensig non transibit in regionem vestram: idest potentie male non venient intro. Virtus contra ensem:⁷¹⁷ nomen exit hic angeli nomine קטטאל significat חרב · sunt 210 · utrumque: non scribimus hoc mali causa: sed ob nomen dei. חרב nocamet: nohem: ensis vindicte: ut dicitur ensis vindicte: vindicte pacti: quod omnes transgressores legis: omnes sunt causa incisionis: et id operatur sub vim suam: et facit bellum dei: ea potentia. Milhama bellum dicitur: quia significat Din Iustitiam hoc et similia omnia et hoc facit bellum dei. Mehal dei: venia dei: sic milhama: dicitur venia: dei mehal: ma: deus misericors: גמל: idest mehe ex ה ultima: venit in Tipheret ubi est misericors et parcens. Peghia⁷¹⁸ · casus: incidentia: quia est ensis ulciscens malos: casus malus dicitur. Peghia · etiam dicitur paga · ia · פגיה יה פג cum abit ia ab homine: tunc obiant male obviations: casus mali: paga: obvians. ירא · timor · omne inferius timet ante superius. Item quia nomen decime dicitur adonai ut superius: licet aliter scribere et dicitur habentem · 72 · nomina: et milla ריו · quod fit e · 72 · ter: facit: 216 · ut ריו · sic⁷¹⁹ יראה · 216 · sunt scintille misericordie: ex hesed · omnes de potentia in actum per medium principis illius idest decime sephire.	Angelus ensis: 210 · ultio: pega obvius 216 · Scintille: faule ·
[90r] Sabat: dicitur sabatum: iesod est fundamentum et substantia 7i et malcut dicitur synagoga israel: et compar et consors eius dicitur sabatum · ut vir et uxor: ideo etiam hec dicitur sabatum · ideo dicitur sabata sanctificabitis: non sabatum: hoc loco alias semper dicitur sabatum: dicitur serva: et recordare: in primo dixit recordare · in secundo hoc	Sabata:

⁷¹⁷ The word “ensis” is erased.

⁷¹⁸ Initially written as “Teghia”. Right after it, the letters “rede” are erased.

⁷¹⁹ The letters “ירה” are erased.

dicitur serva: serva dicitur femina decima sephira: sed recordare dicitur mas: quia Iesod superior est viri more. Chevoṯ laila: honor noctis: obscura sunt Din et est honor dei: כבוד · 32 · omnes sephirot procedunt a hocma superiori que concludit · 32 · semitas unde creata sunt omnia: et omnes essentie processere. Calla dicitur: est de scion col: quia claudit omnia superiora: et inferiora: et tandem omnia: כל ה' idest ה' ultima que dicitur col et omnia: et est compar et consors ipsius tipheret: sic dicitur sponsa ipsius tipheret: etiam iesod dicitur col. Malcha dicitur idest Regina · Rex bina dum esset Rex in accubitu suo: nardus mea dedit odorem suum: idest Rex in bina: dat odorem: idest malcut dat abundantiam. אָ et: dicitur: quia · 22 · littere: sunt in conclusione · 32 · semitarum: quia omnes littere · 22 · concluduntur ab אָ ad · ת · ostendit: tehila vesoph: principium et finem ⁷²⁰ initium macseva: finis facti: ubique sunt simul: אָ · dicitur tu femina: malcut respectu Iesod · superioris: quasi sponsi et viri ערב · vesper: ob potentias malas: quia in hoc proiiciunt: et ערב · mixtum: quia potentie hac misciuntur mida. רעב: fames: dicitur: (quia sola fatuescit ut luna) sic fames gravis Abram: quia hic: בָּעַר vacuare quia evacuant omnia interiora potentie male · cohot tuma: pollute potentie. עבר transitus: dicitur quia cum quid fecerint aliud mali: illi malefactores: omnia transeunt: sine memoria. לבנה: levana luna: alba: he: alba ה' · ultimum nomen: filum album ה' · misericordia dei: alba enim omnia levana paz · obrizum · quod significat eloim: quod in adonai significat · פז: 87 · sic Levana sic · 87 · sic elohim totidem: sic Din · et Din significat aurum: quia mixtum mala Iustitiaque	Mas femina · honor quid 32 sponsa dicitur omnia Rex in accubitu odorem suum alpha · et ω · אָ Tu: אָ femina sponsus fames hic · Transeunt he · Luna · 80 · luna: paz · Aurum

⁷²⁰ The letters “ini” are erased.

[90v] Et cum addes litteras levana · supra · 87 · faciet אָמֵן · 91 amen ergo dicitur a lingua fidei: emuna: אֱמוּנָה: fides אֱמוּנָה · fides. Noga: lux: גַּג · נֹה · paradisus: et mundus superior: scilicet sex sephirot et malchut: vau: et he: numera noga · significat cum milla · 65 · adonai etiam · אֲדֹנַי · 65 · Noga: virtus planetarum · forte venus. חֹדֶשׁ · mensis caput נֶת · significat numero · יָד · manus magna scilicet דָּש · tritum: in area scilicet pro abundantia: idest manus ferens abundantiam cum irascitur dicitur manus fortis. Item tunc dicitur quasi דָּש idest demon ultor malorum: et hoc est secretum corban in capite mensis contra hos demones sacrificium capitis mensis est statutum. Iareac etiam dicitur lune caput: et zedec dicitur ut littera zade: et chesed · arcus · zade longa quasi balista zade longa significat · 900 · sunt littere ultime ק ך ם ן ת post 400 · ן · 500 · quia 50 · צ · 90: ק · 900: תשע מאות 1217 1000 dixerunt · א · quod significat unum minuendo: remanet 218: יָרַח · benedire שָׁנָה · significat ut: סְפִירָה · 355 · ut sciana · 355: (sephira dicitur vel saphir idest lapis lucidus quasi lumen dei: et dicitur quasi numerans et exponens lumen dei: celi enarrant). Item ziruf: dicitur ter anno videbitur vel apparebit omne masculinum. Malchut concluditur in mercava: idest dum bene iungitur superioribus dicitur cum nomine domini sui: et tunc filum misericordie trahitur · si ter ponis בְּשָׁנָה sunt · 357 · si ter: hic:⁷²¹ 1071 · mille א · erunt · 72 · sic scem hamephoras: remanet hic: 72 · quod est n[omen] scem hamephoras · filum misericordie trahitur intro ex hesed: sic quolibet concludunt omnes: et · 10 · sephira habet omnes: et	Amen: 91: quid FIDES · vau he · 65 · adonai: lux Demon Corban zade · ן · 500 ק · 900 Iareac · 218 · Sciana: annus: } Sephira: 355 } be sciana anno: 72 · 1071 · principium et finis idem ·

⁷²¹ The number “171” is erased.

omnes ipsam: principium enim et finis idem in eis: ros sof: et sof ros. Panim dicitur facies: sic etiam omnis sephira dicitur: tamen hec precipue quia omnia apparent et aperiuntur per hanc: פנים significat macom significat · 180 · cum litteris · 184 · מקום · sunt 186 panim cum milla · 185 · vel: divide in duo pan · iam · pan volvere ut multus: et iam mare: sic sunt 186. Deus est locus mundi non contrarium · locus ergo benedictus intelligitur deus	panim · 186 Machom · locus deus ·
[91r] אַהֲרִיִּים⁷²² cervices: ut רִימִים · altitudo אֶהְיִי · fratris mei · altitudo idest macsceve: et hoc sunt fratres quia finis principium: principium finis idem · ahor: posterior · ahorem posteriora. Item dicitur posteriora quia finis sephiroth est etiam omnium extrema: Item milla ahora significat סָרָה · auferre: 265 · ut a horaim: utraque · 265 · tempore ire dei: הָ · malcut aufertur: et tunc potentie male: que dicuntur potentie externe veniunt: et deus non providet: sara · sar הָ · tollitur הָ · malcut: et deus non providet nobis: et veniunt potentie male · ideo dicitur · Abstulit umbram eorum ab eis dixerunt exploratores · sar zel: umbra ablata est: tutans ab ardore malum est. Themunat adonai similitudo dei: הָ scilicet adonai: significat cav emzae: adonai superius. Item תְּמִינָת et significat תָּמַן · Iacob tam perfectus: tipheret dicitur: dat abundantiam intellectus agentis: cui dat abundantiam tam idest adonai superius Item תְּמִינָת · נ · significat: quod supra est similitudo corporea: qui hoc cogitat superna esse corpoream similitudinem · nun idest nicaret: ruit: ruet מִרְאֵה speculum omnes⁷²³ prophete vident in speculo non lucente: et fel dicitur a mara: amarum · א · מ · ר · א · in macsceva · ק · cav emzae · filum totum: cum removetur: tunc aque inferiores sunt amare ut fel: ob sor bar taurum	Roma posteriora quid Sara zel: adonai emzae: Tam: Intellectus agens mare speculum fel fel · bar · 225 ·

⁷²² Initially “אַהֲרִיִּים” then, the second “י” was erased.

⁷²³ The unfinished symbol for “semper” is erased.

Extraneum. מראה · significat מרו · numero: rebellaverunt: et tristificarunt spiritum sanctificationis mee: · 246. O cui aim · significat providentiam: litteris versis significat ani: pauper: dicitur pauper malcut quia non habet ex se sed recipit: zedec dicitur malcut: zedeca: isod: et elemosina: עין · oculi. עני · pauper: nunc יען · prout · dicitur ideo non credidistis mihi idest in · יען · non credidistis. Et est nomen magnum:⁷²⁴ נעי · quod⁷²⁵ nomen ponitur in brevibus suspendendis: pro evadendo hostes: et est nomen angeli · et potentie divine. Nodus tephilim: significat ה · sephirot ultimas: que sunt 5e domus. Malcut cosce ligat omnes: et⁷²⁶ nodus fit ut daled daled vero cum · numero a primo sunt · 10 · a · 1 · b · 3 · ג · 6 · ד · 10 · ד significat · 10 · et · י ·	246 · Angelus · נעי cosir · ד 10 ·
[91v] hacdamii. Item chescer sciarac punctum in vau: significat mirum ubi invenies hu: cum hirc: intellige: unum punctum significat macseva si supra superiorem: si infra inferiorem. Filia Abram dicitur intentio: que est sub hesed⁷²⁷: inferiora dicuntur uxores et filie. Abram habet hesed: hec sub illa Maghen. Scutum: deus dat premia bonis: et tuetur eos ab omni incursu malo. Gan: hortus dicitur: ubi clauduntur omnia: 4r pedes Mercava ubi omnia concluduntur: hortus dicuntur: est ultimus pes mercava et omnes simul: ideo hortus omnia claudens כז · dicitur: scilicet 26 · Macom: numerus quadratus nominis magni significat machom: · י · י · decem decies · 100 · ה · 25 · ו · 36 · 25 · 186 · מקום · 186 significantia hec sunt divinarum omnes essentie clauduntur in 4r litteris: sic Deus est locus mundi · non	hirc: punctum Abram filia Scutum · Mercava Macom } 186 · iot he Deus locus

⁷²⁴ The letters “ע” are erased.

⁷²⁵ The word “significat” is erased.

⁷²⁶ The letter “d” is erased.

⁷²⁷ Initially written as “cheded”, later corrected.

contrarium · pars non est locus totius: sed contrarium totum est locus partis בִּינָה · fortitudo: nomen magnum et sanctum · saxum. Scem dicitur: ideo dixit Mosi ipse mansit cum eo sciam: quod est scem sic in Turri: faciamus nobis nomen: significat hanc sephira: que dicitur Metatron Serapanim. Athera corona: homo inferior hic est ad similitudinem superiorum et omnia membra · sua ostendunt figuras spirituales: et caput Tipheret brachia ostendunt coronas circum. Crura nezachim: preputium iesod: corona: ultima ostendit inferius matricem: et decimam: ubi quasi ova multa iuncta: incircumcisis indicat serpentem: oppilationem: in circumcisione laceratio quedam fit ut detur ingressus in decimam sephira. Maumethes non lacerat: laceratio est significatio quod aperitur et panditur. Tempore Abram omnis generatio serviabat: avodezara idolis: et male potentie dominabantur. Orlum orla preputium: et oppilatio. Intellectus non potest attingere ad divina sine circumcisione: ideo dixit Ambula ante me et sis perfectus · targum scialim: nos diximus scialom perfectus: homo non perfectus cum potentie male super eum: sed sunt quasi bestie: super qua non est providentia particularis: catigores accusatores esse malos: et ob secretum abrae: remota est oppilatio: et impedimenta intellectus · quod superiora excitantur in inferioribus: et omnia pendent a providentia dei: ex circumcisione remote male potentie. Ani ego. Ain · eedem littere idest ego sum macsceva superior: אִי · non deest nisi י que suppletur per dictionem · קָל · vox: omnes sephirot dicuntur voces he precipue: ob prophetarum visiones: bat col dicunt filiam vocis Serpens	Metatron serapanim: hominis figura quomodo Matrix Incircumcisisum circumcisio: laceratio: quasi bestia · Providentia non categorim: accussatores: filiam vocis ·
[92r] Perus hascem: declaratio nominis: quia omnia aperiuntur per hanc et omnia significantur in hac: et Tipheret in ea demonstratur.	

Ezva: digitus dei: cum operatur pietatem: dicitur manus ob 5e sephiroth ultimas: secundum opera: que ponuntur · dicitur hic est digitus dei: cum magi pharaonis non poterant: dixerunt hic est dei digitus idest opus dei. Pele: mirum: dicitur: incipiens a macsceva: finis facti: hic ultimum enim monstratur: in · ך · que significat 900: et redit ad alef⁷²⁸: ut supra · remat ·⁷²⁹ אֶלֶף · littere פֶּלֶא. Alef est supra macsceva: et est hic: sic principium et finis simul: יָהּ · significat midot adin: dicitur si iniquitates observaveris אֶל dicitur fortis: ut fortes Moab. Thehina: oratio dicitur: cum oramus misericordiam. Scuda: cibus parvuus: ut collatio · significat omne celatum et minutum. Azeret: restringere/abstinere⁷³⁰: ut est testum · quo abstinetur: hinc volant anime: et hic retinentur volantes anime ex corporibus: huic herent: ut musce arbori Rescit dicitur principium: primum macsceva: sic finis actionis dicitur · הָלָהּ · placenta: ex massa: הָלָהּ · הָלָהּ · initium incipiendo ab essentia: et a sephira ultima que est הָ · ultima: sic dixit incepit moyses: idest a sephira prima. Sic fit placenta indicans mundum superiorem: ideo dixit initium masse da Sacerdoti. Decima etiam dicitur: quia decima queque pars sancta erat. Sic he prima mensurarum ascendendo: dicitur Decimam decimabis: et dives eris: quia hec ultima sephira Di[c]tat. אֶרֶץ terra: quia rason: placitum: et dicitur israel: qui enim sepeliuntur in terra israel est ut qui sub altari sepeliuntur: quia hierusalem hec est sub superiori Hierusalem: אֶרֶץ · 216 · Ter · 72 · יְרוּשָׁלַיִם · ipsa est completio mercava: · שְׁלָמִי · יְרוּשָׁלַיִם idest scem expositum est completum: in hac: ideo dicitur hierusalem.	Manus · 5 · sephire: Digitus: Pele mirum alef · Anime iudeorum volant huc incepitur הָ Decima 216 hierusalem cur⁷³¹

⁷²⁸ Initially written as “alep”, then corrected.

⁷²⁹ The word “ab” is erased.

⁷³⁰ *Superscriptum* to previous “restringere”.

⁷³¹ A *manicula* is drawn next to this marginal note.

Hesed: 70 · ter: 216 · sic hierusalem. Sabato nihil portamus: quia non extrahimus aliud: quia tota potentia dei: omnes potentie dei sunt unum: unde non extrahendum: sic hec dicitur Sabatum: unde non extrahendum: quia sunt potentie dei unius: sic idem: non extrahere sabato: non separare hinc aliud sed unita intelligere: dicitur par sabati cum Iesod.	
[92v] vehi: et ipsa cum Rege in palatio suo: in accubitu suo Abne dicuntur lapides preciosi littere⁷³² נביא אבני omnes enim prophete per hanc mida prophetant:⁷³³ dicunt · cum perveniunt ad Sais: idest marmora: ad saxa: idest quod prophete vident per hunc locum marmoreum: prophetiam eorum: Non dicetis bis maim: maim: aquam aquam: specularia sunt⁷³⁴ lucida et non lucida: omnes vident in uno speculo: sed aval sed hu: hesaron: defectus ha mecabel defectus est recipientium: ideo videntur non lucere hic: licet supra videantur: zot · etiam · significat hanc: ubi scribere prope deum. Rom huius mide demonstratur in tribus coloribus: thelet: ceruleum: ubi multa concluduntur: et significat quod agit in hunc mundum: et aperitur voluntas et beneplacitum quod venit a misericordia: sic hic color significat. Argaman: purpura significat potentias a pahat: 3s color ostendit media: claudencia album et rubeum: sic hec mida claudit hos tres: quia habet potentias omnium superiorum: misericordie: timoris: et mixti mediique. Textus · Marehat in hoc nominum equalium: hee sunt sephiroth quas serviunt homines huius servitii: quia nomen unius superioris etiam inferiori ponitur declarabo brevi: nominum equalitatem: dicitur: sponsabo te in eternum: et⁷³⁵: sponsabo te in iustitia: in misericordia: et hic omnes midot: hic locus non potest declarari si dicas hic unam mida: quia	lapis propheta: Marmor: hic Specularium gradus: Mecabel defectus: ceruleum: purpura Carta 220 · Equivoca Sponsabo te ·

⁷³² The letters “נב” are erased.

⁷³³ The word “cum” is erased.

⁷³⁴ The word “hec:” is erased.

⁷³⁵ The words “hereditabo te” are erased.

zedec dicitur decima: mispat tipheret: si sic dicas: non est possibile: licet hec nomina convenient: non tantum stat: Sed prius dixerunt leolam: mundo scilicet superiori tipheret: ergo non potest iterum nominare tipheret et redire: ergo oportet nominet alteram sephiram: dictam mispat: et alteram dictam zedec et in fine dixit in fine desponsabo: fides dicitur decima. Si dixit fidem pro decima: non bene quia prius dixit zedec · ergo nomina equivoca sunt diversa⁷³⁶ significantia midot: significat prophetiam venire a tipheret per decimam que dicitur Synagoga israel: cum principe israel: ideo⁷³⁷ sponsabo hanc midam ipsi Tipheret: dixit feminam malcut quia inferior: tipheret qui dicitur mundus superior · ideo dixerunt le olam · mundo superiori: sponsatio fit cum secunda que dicitur zedec secunda hocma cum 3a bina⁷³⁸ Iustitia et c.: cum racmim · 6 · vincenter Din · et sponsabo cum omnibus sociis sponsi sosphanim:	fides Sponsatio
[93r]⁷³⁹ Sic sunt Tipheret sponsus: Fides est sponsa: et alie sephirot sunt socii · et comites: sponsi: sponsa est israel: et decima que iuncta cum tipheret: nuptias facit: excitantur superiora per inferiora: sic sponsa 2x inferior particularis: et superior fides: sic inferiora nexa superioribus sunt: et hec monstrat illa: loquebatur ergo propheta secundum rationem trahendi habundantiam e tipheret in Emuna in fide: sic sanctificatio et benedictio que ubique scribuntur: ut Mas et femina: sic tipheret et emuna: sic mundus totus: locus ergo ille ostendit midot omnes uno vocari nomine: licet ordinem habeant: secunda et ultima vocantur hocma: et zedec: si pones principium et finem simul: est hocma. Dicitur autem illa hocma dei: dicitur in bair · libro: quod salomon hereditavit sapientiam⁷⁴⁰ patris sui. Et Salomo scribitur cum	Nuptie Sponsa 2x In fidem Mas femina Bair Liber: Cabala Salomon

⁷³⁶ The MS reads “diversas”.

⁷³⁷ The letters “ve” are erased.

⁷³⁸ The symbol for “etc.” is erased.

⁷³⁹ The words “Robi hamania” are erased.

⁷⁴⁰ The letters “sal” are erased.

· 7 · post salom 7 · ultima significat hanc midam: sic hinc habuit Salomon: dicitur nomen tuum ut nomen meum: pax scilicet uterque: dabo tibi filiam meam: de quo dixit dedit sapientiam: que est filia dei: dixit quod ubicumque scribitur Salomon: ut in scir hascir[im] semper intelligitur sanctus: nisi unus: scir hascirim Salomon: non intelligit Salomonem: Sed Deo qui dicitur⁷⁴¹ pax salom · numquam pax nisi Tempore salomonis: ia significat utrumque: hocma: superiorem et inferiorem: scilicet malcut. Be iot he: sapientia utraque: dicitur zedec: dixit Bair: quod dicitur iustitiam iustitiam sequeris: zedec secunda ostendit mundum alterum · ubi non pietas perfecta ut in tipheret: ecce · secunda: decima: et nona dicuntur zedec. Et Truma dicitur decima e 100 · unde dicitur hocma prima ghedola: magna et sine⁷⁴² mensura: ideo in Thruma non mensura sed omne granum etiam ex acervo. Sed mensura que tenetur in decima significat decimam hanc midam: que mensuram habent: et a sapientibus intelligi et comprehendi potest ac solet: prima dicitur primarum: danda est: prima respectu nostri: et ipsa recipit a superiori et dat nobis: superior est princeps omnium · et dat omnibus decimis. Initium sapientie timor domini: 2x: superioris et inferioris 32 · semite descendunt in ultimum: et omnibus 2um gradum. Arez terra dicitur: questio · celum an terra prius: qui dicunt terram prius: intelligunt hocma que dicitur terra. Item terra e terra: decima de secunda: dicitur: preparavit celum intelligentia. Item dicunt celum primo creatum: quia finis facti. Arez · dicitur decima et tipheret. Sed tipheret dicitur substantia illius in gradu: ideo dixerunt Terra de⁷⁴³ terra: et celum de celo factum: sic cum dicunt terram prius factam⁷⁴⁴:	Sapientia filia dei Salomon Deus intelligitur⁷⁴⁵ Ia · utraque sapientia · Truma Decime due Sapientie 2e timor domini initium Terra et celum

⁷⁴¹ The letters “De” are erased.

⁷⁴² The word “fine” is erased.

⁷⁴³ The word “de” is repeated.

⁷⁴⁴ The MS reads “factum”.

⁷⁴⁵ The drawing of a cross is above this marginal note.

intelligunt etiam superiorem macseva et tipheret esse terram · ut inferiorem.	
[93v] Et Tipheret etiam dicitur scemaim: celum: etiam Bina celum dicitur: dicitur etiam hocma superiori ex tipheret et hocma⁷⁴⁶ dicitur behor: etiam dicitur behor decima quia oritur a superioribus et primo nobis se offert: quia concludit · 32 · semitas: que sunt in hocma: ideo dicitur etiam ipsa hocma sic behor: 3o respondetur: quod ה ultima est decime: et eadem ה · est in capite nominis Ia · que significat hocma: quia ergo utraque est · ה · ideo utraque est behor dicitur et etiam ego primogenitum dabo illi. Ego Ani dicitur decima: quod⁷⁴⁷ etiam est bechor: in superiori dicitur initium sapientie timor: dicitur a principio anni usque ad finem intelligit de hocma: deorsum in finem: hec est in omni re: cum ex potentia in actum: dicuntur nuncius hominis ut ipse. Sic Tipheret dicitur homo Decima est nuncius. De decima que dicuntur huc pertinent: est ultima exitum primogenitum ergo duas capit partes: supra secunda non prima: hic prima: (ratio quia natam oportet esse) Edead: dicitur seculum seculum עַד עַד: semper sunt sua omnia. Pele: mira vocantur omnes: operta et seiuncta: utraque hocma est ehe dicitur Emuna: fides: ab amen · veritas. Emuna scelema: perfecta fides Sapientia dicitur pele: quia miramur et nescimus: illam: sic hocma equivoca sic qui amen dicit plus habet quam qui dicit benedictionem: ratio: quia solus · dicit ultimum que est decima: qui dicit amen trahit benedictionem: qui dicit benedictionem: dicit braha: que est decima: etiam non ascendit superius. Sed qui dicit amen dicit uman quod est magister omnium: que sunt hocma et c. sic dicitur hec fides: quia ab uman · magistro: qui incipiunt sunt ut equites	Behor: 2x: nobis: simpliciter: tres rationes ה 2x primogenitum De potentia in actum Decima est nuncius · Adad · fides: Pallas Sapientia: Amen plus habet: cur?

⁷⁴⁶ From “superiori” to “hocma” the text is *superscriptum* above the main text.

⁷⁴⁷ The word “ipsa” is erased.

Chi ba avur: quantum vergit versus regem superiorem: ideo utrumque significatur nomine 4r litterarum: adonai dicitur utrumque: quandoque decima et · 3a · quandoque elohim: dicitur decima: el fortis hem: idest fortitudo est ab ipsis. 3a dicitur fortitudo mundi superioris. Decima dicitur potentia et fortitudo: earum rerum que sunt sub ipsa. Milla etiam significat: scilicet adonai: significat Din: 3a operatur et providet in mundo superiori: a potentia que est hocma: agit in mundo inferiori hec decima per potentiam tipheret. Ghevula dicitur redemptor: ut Bina: et Iesod: ipse et hocma superior significantur in · ה · Tertia significatur in he prima: nominis: decima in ה · ultima. In Bahir: ה utraque: supra Bina: inferior est decima Item dixit ut scehina superior: ita inferior: idest supra · et in decima. Tertia habitat inter cherubin⁷⁴⁹ qui sunt supra · quos fecit Salomo et quos vidit ezechiel. Habitans inter cherubim: Ioseb cherubim: Bina scilicet Tertia habitans: celum: quod est bina et superiora: habitans in celo: celi sunt · 4 · habitationes esse: ubi metatron: et sandalphon. Malcut dicitur ob 4r angelos: quod dicitur celi regnum: ob 4r angelos: qui dicuntur celi. Melec dicitur ob tipheret. Ego autem constitutus sum Rex: non sed constitui regem: super Syon · mons · sanctus. Nephes: dicitur anima: dixit vehi baream: in creandi ipsis: Genesis: primo ה secundo ubi ה superflua: quasi dicat cum ה · fecit mundum: cum⁷⁵⁰ · ה · prima significatur · 3a · unde creatus est mundus superior: quia sephirot significantur in · הה. Sed be ה · bareham: idest per ה · ultimum fecit ipsam: scilicet per ה primum mundum superiorem qui significatur per · וה · ubi concluduntur 7m midot inter⁷⁵¹ superiorem: et per · ה · mundum inferiorem ubi alia: celum et terram: ultima	Carta 222 cherubim habitans Sandalphon constitutus: non constitui cum ה mundus factus celum et terra

⁷⁴⁹ The word “que” is erased.

⁷⁵⁰ The letters “ro”, usually an abbreviation for the word “ratio”, are erased.

⁷⁵¹ *Superscriptum* to the word “superiorem”.

et tipheret: que due sunt substantie mundi cum · ה · idest bina fuit Mundus · per potentiam hocma que significatur per ה · primam preparavit celum in intellectu: quod Bina terra creata fit per hocma. Terra hocma: Tevuna celum: Bina: scilicet respectu inferior: sic utraque et omnis est terra et celum respectu aliorum: prima hec intentio:⁷⁵² ה · prima demonstrat quod bina est prima ut dixit sepher bair: ה · superior et inferior. ה · prima bina: qua creatus alius mundus · 7m sephirot inferiores: infra bina sic⁷⁵³ Bareham: creavit · 7m · sephirot: que clauduntur in · וה. Si vero per ה ultimum intelligis: que significant ultimam et decimam: qua creatur mundus hic inferior: dixit cur adonai elohim: tipheret: et decima: que dicitur eloim: bara olam: creavit mundum nostrum per vim tipheret: et utraque intentio est bona. Mundus · ba · mundus venturus: creatus est per · ia · unde emanavere 7m ille sephirot: mundus superior: licet significetur: per וה. Mundus vero hic creatur per וה · olem aba dicitur iesod nobis. Bair dixit olem aba: non intelligit venturum: sed qui iam est: creatus tamen est ante hunc visibilem: et per illum hic creatus est:⁷⁵⁴ adonai numquam nisi post creationem: non dixit adonai in prima parascia: quia semper narrat in opera superiori: idest quod bina creat 7m sephirot · inter quas est tipheret quod est adonai: non potest ergo dici adonai creat: quia creatur: tipheret. Sed Bina: que dicitur eloim creat omnia: et licet macsceva et hocma sint adonai non sunt tamen	ה · celum Terra: ה · prima Mundus superior: 7m sep[hirot] ה · inferior: 10 · וה significat 7m / יה s[ignificat] וה creat hunc Mundus 2x creatus
[94v] Ascer mimenu: Mundus superior: eloim quod est in eo capite: significat ipsum: causa dixit hec est generatio celi: dixit opus mundi inferioris · per vim: Tipheret: adonai: creavit hunc mundum · plenum perfectum · ideo in hoc	

⁷⁵² The words “Secunda intentio” are erased.

⁷⁵³ The letters “cre” are erased.

⁷⁵⁴ The word “toto” is erased.

adonai dicitur: ad perfectionem et complementum: opus decime: ideo dicitur bareham · ה parva ibi est: in baream: quia est lux parva: decima sephira: specularia sce eno meira: non lucida: mundus superior creatus est ה · prima: et · ה' · et hesed⁷⁵⁵ pacad sunt corone et sunt sanctificate a tipheret qui dicitur olam mundus · ideo sanctificatio mundi: per manus abir Iacob: fortis Iacob. Manus tipheret sunt hesed pahad · et pertice vel vectes arce: sunt due hee midot: in Annulis arce: 4r annuli: sunt · 4r ·⁷⁵⁶ tipheret nezec: hod · iesod. Et Arca significat Malcut: voltim: sculta: quasi ubera: quia sugunt de cav emzae: ideo non frustris fiebant: sed fusa uno frustro: quia malcut et omnia unum. Dixerunt Non removebuntur umquam 4r illi annuli ab ipsa: 5e prime sephirot: sunt una potentia: et 5e · posteriores sunt altera non dicetis aqua aqua: idest non dicatis esse duas potentias dei: sed unam tantum quia que agunt inde sunt: sunt lapides et montes levavi oculos · meos · in montes: et tabule montis. Marmora dicuntur: sais: 7m dicuntur montes: tipheret dicitur Aqua: Iesod aqua: non superna nec⁷⁵⁷ inferior: tiferet aqua superior: Malcut aqua ultima. Dextera dicuntur tres: Tipheret Iesod · et c: iemin: dixit dextera tua domine: extollitur: et frangit inimicos: intelligit decimam · rumpens inimicos: una manus domini: fit mersa: altera defendit israel Din mersit hostes. Ignis pahat: superior: et decima est tenuis. 3 grapha: illa lenta est: iumenta in montibus dicuntur ille due pahad et decima: illa mas: hec femina. Specula etiam dicuntur et visio: ut visio noctis: utraque visio: 2x dura et loris: mareot.	ה · parva: Lux parva · Mundus tipheret Iacob abir Manus⁷⁶¹ vectes arce: Arca: annuli: vectes: Unum: non divisa: Annuli: 5e · et: 5e · potentia una non due: Marmora: Dextera domini Carta: 223 Mare: visio

⁷⁵⁵ Initially “chesed”, then corrected.

⁷⁵⁶ The letters “ne” are erased.

⁷⁵⁷ The word “post” is erased.

⁷⁶¹ The MS has “Manus” above “Iacob abir”. However, a small symbol drawn next to the two marginal notes signals that their order should be inverted.

orim idest lumina: vehi or: quinques scriptum est: in berescit pro 5e sephiroth haharonot: 4r vero per 4r annulos: Tipheret nezed: hod Iesod: ideo dicitur tu fundes: non in annulis tabule: qui non funduntur uno frustra: in 4r angulis altaris etiam. Item 4r spargendi rationes: quibus spargebat sanguinem in 4r angulos altaris⁷⁶³. Scemot nacdud: nomina contraria: contrarie actionis: ut dicitur hoc contrarium huic fecit deus. Scito quod substantia actionum: hesed et pahad: contraria et alia contraria: 2m res et loca. Sciadaim: eie raham: pater et mater:⁷⁶⁴: uxor: Adam: Tipheret: Malcut Eva: Rex Regina: Sponsus sponsa: ipsum est nomen eius. Domus iudicis sui: hoc et id · nomen magnum: nomen honoratum: adonai primum et 2m. Sedes misericordie et iustitie: Miracula aperta: et secreta: oratio: redem[p]tor Mundus eternus: Thora scripta: e mente: precepta faciendi et non faciendi. Ignis albus: ignis niger: specularia lucida et non · facies: retro: domus intus: extra: celum terra lux oscurum: vespera mane: Sol luna: lux magna: et parva: vita mors: aqua Ignis · Aque prime ultime: dextrum levum: zaphon meridies: vita mors: hortus voluptatis: Iudicium Iustitia: veritas fides: frumentum mustum: argentum aurum: mel:⁷⁶⁵ fermentum: vinum et c · ferrum: et ramum: maza: non crescens in fermentatum. Iesod et decima: zahor et sciamor: memoria custodia uno hora diei et noctis: olem aba mundus futurus: voluptas:	or: lux facta: 5s · Annuli Spargere sanguinem Contraria CONTRARIA
[95v] olem aba Mundus venturus. Declaravi superius quod a Tipheret intellectus. Iesod · arbor: decima fructus. Tipheret etiam arbor intellectus et vite. Iesod arbor intellectus · et decima fructus: et etiam intellectus.	Carta: 224 ·

⁷⁶³ The word “Scem” is erased.

⁷⁶⁴ Erasure.

⁷⁶⁵ The word “mel” was repeated and erased.

comprendit: spernit ut quisquillas: et linquita. Sed cogitatio cum vult vestigare fallit: et non invenit: ut dixit Salomon ·	
[96r] Berescit bara eloim: Quomodo? Devas Mel comede quod sat: aliter evomes · Sunt enim secreta: ideo moses nihil de ensof scribit: quia humana cogitatio non attingit · prima ergo hocma procedit: aliter non licet homini ascendere supra macseva: ob profunditatem suam: sed considerabimus processionem ut flamme a carbone: sic a macseva: hocma: sic dicitur ain: non: et dicitur macseva ut hominis cogitatio: ignota. Moses non nominat: sed dicit ain · tantum: in murmuratione aque: ut videamus si est deus in nobis an ain: idest nihil non demonstrat esse aliud: nisi a recipientibus: cum dixit berescit: ubi non rescit: sed cum בֵּרֶשׁ · quod significat cum: bet est superflua: rescit ostendit hocma: · בָּ · vero significat cum: cum principio creavit eloim idest Bina: cum rescit: idest cum principio hocma: creatur mida que est Eloim: per rescit: creavit: eloim idest mida Bina: intelligit aliud quod creat per rescit creat eloim:⁷⁷⁰ bara: non significat creationem: sed quod unum procedit ab altera: dixit bara: non dixit וְאֵסָאֵרִיִּי fecit: quia fit quod non est in agente: bara vero est ex se: cum quis ex se producit citra opus et laborem: (bara: bar: hinc bar filius: et extra: quod exeat a patre:) bet significat · primam · Rescit · 2m · bet habet duas spinas: bet de berescit est Magna: bara creavit prima tertiam: scilicet Bina: prima creavit 2am idest hocma: creat eloim: posses dixit rescit idest hocma: creat 2m idest bina · quid igitur bet: addita est? Coronandi verbi causa · quia bet significat duas sephirot scilicet hocma: et bina: procedit potentia tertie: et dixit quod potentia 3e concluditur in 7m · celum et terram: intelligitur actus potentiarum septem: milla et: significat primas	Moses non dixit Ain tantum dixit creavit cum principium In pricipio creavit Deum: eloim idest per filium produxit · S · S · Bar filius: extra: bara: be rescit · 6 · bet cur?

⁷⁷⁰ The word “ברה” is erased.

coronas tres: alia cum dixit terram significat alias · 7m · Inanis et vacua: 3a dicitur tou vacua: et totum berescit. Col parasciat brescit: ubi scribitur⁷⁷¹: dixit deus⁷⁷² et fit sic eloim semper · demonstrat tertiam Binam: Diesque 7m demonstrant 7m midot: infra tertiam: que mundum regunt: sunt mores: et potentie: que regit dicitur Eloim ut iudex et rector: regens · midot suas: que regunt mundum. Hec dictio eloim est comperta el fortitudo hem: vis eorum: quia ipsa illa unde fecit procedere: et intelligitur Creator brescit: iozer Creatus a rescit: et creat alia 7m. Vidimus ordinem procedendi: per viam conclusionis: sic cogitatio hominis non errabit: in brescit non est scriptum mahut: quid est: nec propter quid · sed ut historia: trium superiorum: que clause dixit quasi negative: non aperte: fecit ne cogitare erraremus: non affirmative et pertinentur ut alia: ut vocavit deus fecit et c. In his 3bus non haberet licentiam in eis nisi in his que innuit moises et recepimus ea: nec potest homo ea 3a comprehendere: 3a enim illa sunt extra edificium · et homo non potest comprehendere nisi que imaginamus ex sensibilibus:	vacua · 3a · Carta 225 Eloim dixit deus 7m dies Eloim: el hem iozer: Eloim: creat: creaturque Negative
[96v] In edificio suo 7m sephirot demonstrat non aliter: 50 porte bina fuere demonstrate Mosi: nisi una: 7m · 7s · 49⁷⁷³ · porte: una abdita scilicet ipsa bina · que ne mosi quidem patuit · altiora te mira ne quaesieris: muffle: remota: vel propinqua tecta: ne⁷⁷⁴ petas: nec labora in secretis: dicit remota a te: cur a te: mimha: cur non sat remota: et in cur dixit ne quaesieris: cum dixit potest non querenda: Respondetur quod dixit a te: quia homo non habet partem in his 3bus quibus non sufficit homo: a te: scilicet remota sunt hec. Si velit homo disputare: (que massa mattan est hec: que disputatio recipere et dare in hinc mattan:) hec	· 7m · cabala: 50 porte: Mosi facte Bina latruit Mosen altiora te ne quesieris Secreta ne: queris: Te altiora ne quaesieris Te: homo non habet partem 3s in · 3bus · Mattane: post Elohim: sunt · 7m ·

⁷⁷¹ The words “sunt sic” are erased.

⁷⁷² The letters “fia” are erased.

⁷⁷³ In the MS is “59”.

⁷⁷⁴ The letter “q” is erased.

compraehendi plus non possunt · 3a · non plus quam scriptum est: sed post decem eloim: narrat particula 7m procedentia: in effectus: qui ut cathena trahuntur: mescial scelot: incathenatio: ab ore superiori: idest a deo: Edificium hominis et mundi et post ea: Resciut: potestas auctoritas: licentia: comprehendendi in mundo suo: ideo Moses aperuit omnia pertinententer intelligentibus be Cabala: hisc mi⁷⁷⁵ piisc: homo ab hore hominis: Moses comprehendit hec · dixit · et hec omnia monstrata fuere Mosi: potestas data comprehendendi: est: 7m · potestates agendi: significate sunt: agentes sunt potestates: in 7ma sciatur: tunc dicitur non posse ferri sabato:⁷⁷⁶ decla(ra)batur: quod 7m hec sunt potestates hominum idest in quibus homines habent potestatem intelligendi: 2r potestas · 2r · agendi: et intelligendi: particularia scripta a Mose: sunt profunda plus Mari: et Cabala non sat comprehendit omnia: dicitur: et fecit deus cortinam: firmamentum: quidam voluit cum disputatione mutare: ut mala verba dixerunt in creatione mundi (ut philosophi) · ideo dicitur ne dicatis aquam aquam idest ne dicatis divisa hec: et deos plures: divisit inter aquas et aquas: et fuit hen: quidam mecubal: dixit fuit hen: fuit sic: hem dixit esse nomen dei: propter quid fit Terremotus filius 30ma foras scilicet externus nimis audax in his: (in aveda zara sunt multi) qui oblocuti sunt in his: non⁷⁷⁷ in illis 7m · servire: possumus omnino etiam per Cabala: ob profunditatem suam · Didicimus a mose quod celat prima: ut ne cogitare quidem possimus: ut altiora ne quesieris quod ne cogitatur quidem possumus: finis gheder definitio: que non est de Masceva: non enim definiri potest: sed cogitare tantum cogitamus: ideo damus ei nomen cogitationis: non potest definiri sed	Cathena CABALA Mosi aperta hec omnia 7m potestates: 2r agendi: et intelligendi potestas: Cabala non sat? aquas et aquas: Terremotus: ob Gheder: definitio: non dei Masceva cur:

⁷⁷⁵ The word “pise” is erased.

⁷⁷⁶ The letters “deb” are erased.

⁷⁷⁷ The word “prohibemur” is erased.

tantum datur parva cogitatio: et statim recedere: non continuare: quid non fas est: dicitur: Qui respicit 4r infra et supra sunt equalia illa latera: quia parum cogitari et comprehendi prius equalia idest equivoca: Moses in Rescit dixit unde discemus: quod cogitatione cogitabimus macsceva: sed sermo non sufficit nec adhibendus est ut Moses non locutus est: unde dicitur: ne quesieris: dixit · al tidaber quasi dersciar idest praedicare noli: altitudo eius facit ne loquaris: non scribitur quomodo processere a macsceva:	fas non est propalare Cave
[97r] Maezil: auctor: principium: est 2a non ut prima: equalis tamen cum prima in hoc: demonstrata secunda cum macsceva: in una dictione berescit · berescit: be macsceva: rescit hocma: ecce declaratur ascondite et operte: prima plus asconditur quam 2a: quia 2a est principium⁷⁷⁸: et potentia · et est producta et nata ut alia sed macsceva non procedit ipsa: non oportet multum narrare: quia pele dicitur mirum et abditum: loqui: cogitare: et utrumque non curandum: non enim licet loqui nisi in 3a · ut parascia: ideo · dixit · vagiomer eloim: ut Moses facit: Non potest etiam · 3a · exacte dici: nec Moses potest omnino: non posse · dixit · Quomodo deus traxit de potentia in actum per potentiam · 3m · Cum complevit postea nominat adonai: sic intelliguntur omnia: praecepta: et opera dei: omnia concluduntur in edificio hominis: dicitur berescit per principium creavit eloim: ut decem est: et cum · dixit · et fecit deus: intelligit 7m inferiores sephirot: et dicitur quaecumque dicuntur⁷⁷⁹ creavi formavi feci: bara creavit scilicet etiam spiritus: non corporea: inde · dixit · iezarti formavi: inde vasiti: feci: Que vocantur nomine magno: creata sunt et significantur: in loco sephirot: creavit · dixit · inde formavit: 3 · fecit: creavit est	producens est 2a: non ut prima: sed equalis tantum 226 · Carta Be: macsceva: Rescit: hocma: potest: be: rescit: ⁷⁸³filius prima celatior: 2a nata Macsceva procedit non: sed hocma: natum: pele primum: ideo sile prima · 2a · mittenda: 3a potest 3a non exacte: Eloim cur dixit Elohim Bina: non omnino Mose potentia 3a de potentia in actu omnia adonai dicitur cum complet Edificio omnia clauduntur Principio creavit Elohim Fecit deus: idest 7m sephirot Creavi: formavi: feci Creavi Formavi

⁷⁷⁸ From here on, on the left margin of the text there is a note extended until words “3 fecit adonai ultimum” that says: «2a est nata producta prima non: non factus: nec creatus: nec generatus: de 3a fas: quia parascia nominat semper: vaiomer Eloim».

⁷⁷⁹ The letters “fo” are erased.

⁷⁸³ The drawing of a cross preceeds the word “filius”.

superiorium: quia spiritus: 2a formata a tipheret: 3a fecit · adonai ultimum · Gimel hariscinot: tres prime: ordo retrahendi locum sephirot: en soph: cheter: hocma: scribuntur etiam recte: una super alia: ensoph: cheter: hocma: bina: inde: in lateribus alia: Tria illa dextere in dextera hesed · in sinistra pacad · infra in medio tipheret flexum parum in hesed⁷⁸⁰: sub tipheret in dextra nezac: sub hesed: in leva⁷⁸¹ hod sub pahad: et regione simul: sub his in medio sub tipheret Iesod: flexum non nihil in tipheret Malcut sub iesod: in levam plus quam iesod in pacad: ubi plus a din. Tria prima ideo ponuntur unum supra alterum: sine dextera et sinistra: ob magnitudinis gradum: et profunditatem: quam humana ratio omnino attingit: et sinistra non potest iudicari in abditis sed in notis: ubi levum et dextrum: sunt causa et effectus in inferioribus: et quia hec tria non capiuntur ab homine: ideo non est ibi leva vel leva: sed oportet unire unitate equa et recta: et ibi non nisi misericordia: et ob significare unitatem suam: ideo simul possunt: ut filum simul: et feceret ex tribus unum caput: nec remanet sermo: nobis nisi de tertia bina: et non nisi ut in scriptura dicitur: sic Bina dicitur Rex superior: Iustitie et Iudicii Rex: unde numquam iniuria: et Creator: ideo dicitur dixit deus fiat lux: eloim: sic intentio in orationibus: sunt ad · 3m · ibi in 3bus est racmim tantum et negatio Din: non possumus loqui: tamen vere hec tria claudunt omnem potentiam: quia sunt hec tria substantia et fundamentum omnium. Tertia eloim nota est aliquam⁷⁸²: de qua non clare: ideo non dixit quod iustitia: vel tale: leva sinistrave: sed unite: omnino: licet omnia continent	Feci: Creatio: superiorum: spiritus: Formare: est tipheret: Fecit: est adonai ultimum: Tres prime quomodo? Ordo sephirot Hesed pahad Tipheret 10 sephire Nezac Hod Iesod dixit MALCUT in levam Tria prima recte⁷⁸⁴ una sub altera: Ratio humana non attingit Leva ibi non potest Iudicari levum et dextrum in causis perfectis · 3a · prima non capiuntur ab homine levam ibi non: sed unite Unitate equali Misericordia ibi tantum est Tria hec ut caput Sermo non nisi de · 3a · bina Non nisi in scriptura tantum Bina Rex superior Iustitie Eloim: dicit sub lux Creator est Orationes ad · 3m ·

⁷⁸⁰ The MS reads “heded”.

⁷⁸¹ A small drawing of a cross is traced next to this word.

⁷⁸² The word “tantum” is erased.

⁷⁸⁴ The drawing of a cross is in the same ink.

	Misericordia tantum in tribus Tria: sunt omnia: substantia et · 3 · Elohim: notior · aliquanto: est non clare Non din: non levum
[97v] Diximus quod prima macseva: aer vel spacium: laver: et 2a hocma dicitur es · ignis: 3a aqua: aer: ignis: aqua: 2a⁷⁸⁵ hec ultima est aphar pulvis scilicet mixtuus: omnia e terra et omnia in terra: sic viam in bina Radix et substantia omnium bina: ideo omnia e pulvere: et in pulverem revertantur: hactenus de Tribus: Nunc 7m procedentes: has habent potentias: in malcut: ex bina: regunt mundum inferiorem: et potentiam: hanimsciar: non miscetur una sephira in altera: cuilibet potentia sua donec venit voluntas superioris ad mutanda tempora: et ut dixit in oratione · Terminos · constituisti quos transgredi non licet: linum cum lana non miscemus: sic miscere non: licet · granum ordeo: idest sephirot non licet: 7m sunt mundi superioris substantiam et potentiam habentes: et⁷⁸⁶ sunt conclusiones edificii hominis: ideo auctoritas data · est: comprehendendi: quod homo perfectus potest videre prophetiam suam in edificio suo: ubi est fundamentum suum et for[ma]: perfectus ergo potest sua omnia et formam et alia in his 7m cognoscere: super iesod · 7m · non est auctoritas respiciendi: sed in 7m tantum ubi gubernatio mundi · ideo ibi levum et dextrum: quia comprehensibilia sed morem tantum tractum de potentiis superioribus: dicitur mundus misericordia edificatur: et sunt aque superiores: et mundus de aqua cum aqua: ibi misericordia magna: ideo dixit ponere dextram et trahere omnia in dextram: et Iustitia in levam: in hesed et pahat est enim Mida dura: nec deus habet levam vel sinistram: quia	bina omnia Terra: bina pulvis: unde omnia Carta 227 · Terminos mixta non: perfectus: principium in hesed: pahad: levum non in deo:

⁷⁸⁵ Initially “24”, then corrected.

⁷⁸⁶ The word “habent” is erased.

impium esset fundamentum omnium bonum et malum: ut dixit hoc contra hoc fecit deus: et ideo in factis non in factore levum: in sepher izira dixit profunditas: mala: Tipheret est mensura mixta plus tamen in hesed: flectitur: quia magna ex parte est misericordia: alie surgunt ad bonitatem: alie flectuntur ad malum ad Iustitiam: filum misericordie: dixit super hester: filum misericordie tractum est: mixtum est ideo dicitur tipheret: mixtum: hesed est⁷⁸⁷ plus misericordia quam tipheret: sic pahac est solum et perfectum: sed tipheret mixtius: Tipheret est fundamentum quia in eo clauduntur potentie omnes: misericordie et Iustitie: ideo mundi gubernatio et intentio inde pendet ·	Tipheret
[98r] va alav ne amar: et super ipsum decem est: primo Miscuit deus misericordiam et Iustitiam: et creavit mundum · ut dicitur initium macseva: et finis operis: mixtio quomodo intelligitur? Tipheret: ubi mixtio misericordie et iustitie: sic decimam miscuit: et Celum dicitur Tipheret: sic exponit Ignem et aquam: unde celum dicitur: et tollitur impedimentum cogitationis in historiis: dictis: Sapiens intelligit et floreant flores ramorum in tempore suo: Loquimur primo in Tribus superioribus hesed · pacat Tipheret: que sunt substantia mundi: et principium omnium · Tria hec principia omnium: et licet ibi non omnia: quia sunt superius alia: sunt tamen radices inferiorum: superiora tamen perficiunt eam: Tria enim hec prima sunt substantia et dicuntur patres mundi. Tres inferiores: sunt filii patrum quia procedunt a tribus superioribus: non est possibile creare misericordia sola: nec pahad: nec tipheret: sed oportuit et aliis · sed illa 3a sunt fundamenta creationis: declaratur in brescit: meretibus intelligere: Ante creationem mundi erant ordines temporum: et sunt 7m: et ut dicitur in capitulo igitur perfecti sunt celi: quod ibi	Tipheret aqua Ignis Tria principia omnium Patres · 3s · ordines temporum ^{.788}

⁷⁸⁷ The word “mixtum” is erased.

⁷⁸⁸ In the MS there is the drawing of a *manicula* pointing at these words.

adonai male: quod non ponitur in capitulo priori: dixit quod deus primus sociavit: misericordiam et iustitiam et creavit mundum · et dixit quod mixtio eorum: יְיָ qui meretur nosse perfectam creationem: deus dixit: quomodo? Quasi designet primo macsceva et cogitationes: inde actum etiam nostram imaginationem. Si sola misericordia: non potest stare Mundus · quia mali appetitus inde duci non possunt: mida nominis pahad non potest facere mundum · quia inde appetitus errandi: sic multiplicantur impii: et ideo ensis pacti hinc: et si crearet sine mixtione alterutrius non fieri potest Mundus quia pacad · dextrueret omnia sociatur malus bono · in Tipheret et est principium mixtionis. Hec 3a non sunt nisi potentia: que non exeunt in actum: nisi in inferioribus: Sed oportuit habere actum et alias inferiores: Din erat cum misericordia potentia sola: non actu: dicitur in principio ascendit in mentem dei creare duos: adam et Evam: Tipheret Adam: Eva inferior: voluit creare duos tamen non creavit potentia nisi unum: et post ea: secundam: in processu: non leva et dextra quia fuissent divisi: sed hic clauduntur recte: eva Malcut sub Tipheret: in linea recta: ideo est caro una: Misericordia Adam Eva Din: licet diversa: tamen concordant: cum venit ad actum: Tipheret homo vir unde sumitur Eva Malcut: et cum obit uxor remanet ut qui prediderit:	adonai non in creatione 228 · Tipheret et duo sua: potentie sunt tantum hec · 3s · Adam et Eva ·
[98v] Aeveda: ut amittens aliquid: forte dixere de processione tipheret: ut dicitur deus edificavit mundum · et inde diruit: intelligit quamlibet midot esse · Mundus · et quod cum deus cogitat mundum facere: non fit sat: nec misericordia: nec pacad · et ideo dicitur diruit non quod diruat: sed quod id non sat nisi aliud fiat: sic in cogitatione dei: misericordia sola non sat nec pacad nec tipheret: sic intelligit edificavit et diruit: sicut dicitur: hec prosunt hec non prosunt: quia scilicet non sat hec ideo: oportet facere 4r	fecit mundum et diruitur

inferiora midot ut de potentia in actum veniretur: Intelligit hec bona pro firmitate facere: hec non bona idest non sat · Deus ergo non edificavit diruit: intelligit quia addidit alia post priora: cum hesed fecit: edificavit mundum: post facit pacad: hoc contra hoc contrarium huic fecit deus: dicitur Genesis: deus posuit meum semen alterum pro eo quem necavit Cain: quare · dixit · quem interfecit chain: cum sat esset pro Abel: quasi intelligit Midot Chain et illam quam interfecit chaim: idest opertam · vocavit generationem in principio: quia sciabat deus futura omnia: ut non est possibili creare mundum in duobus tantum hesed et pacat: sic alie generationes nostre non merentur ut mundus in eis frementur: Deus plantavit in generatione et generationem: intelligit deum bene fecisse: forte quod emendande essent: generationes: ideo non firmanur: Hec · 26 · generationes mundi sine Thora cum sola misericordia: ideo dixit david: 26 · dixit in seculum misericordia eius: ob iustos: decima quaque generatio iustus unus fit: sic declaratur in masacata vot: ut noe abraam: Abraam primo misericordia: ante eum non est generationes merentes recipere legem: nec Abram nec Isac: quia is misericordia totus hic pacad: donec venit Iacob perfectus: et cepit hanc	contraria fecit pro Abel Deus vocavit generationem 26 · generationes ante legem misericordia: 26 · decima generatio unum iustum · Abram Isac Iacob
[99r] Le Iacob · et etiam dicam hoc in mercava: tamen ante legem: omnes erant firmati meritis iustorum qui tunc est: et dixit zadic sunt fundus mundi · et si mireris: quod dicitur: 972 · generationes fuisse post legem: Sed dictum lege firmari mundum: et Iustis firmari mundum: Quomodo?: dicitur nisi esset pactum meum die ac nocte: mundus non staret: firmitas mundi ex Tipheret et Iacob: contra: ante Iacob quid est? Non lex: non Tipheret? Dictur quod semper Iustus aliquid: Tipheret fit firmitas que est lex scripta: et mixtio duorum contrariorum: sic mundus totus firmatur per Tipheret. Mixtio scittuf: qua miscentur omnes midot. Tres hec sunt in conclusionem: unde numerarie sunt alie 4r ·	Carta 229 Iusti sunt fundus · mundi · 972 Iusti firmitas lex:

plantavit deus hortum in voluptate tota lex est partim aperta ut historia: partim operta ut alia: et omnia verba col parasca brescit devarim chefulim: tota parascia: de brescit: sunt verba duplicia: aperta: et operta: et utrumque est verum: et ut res infra: ita et que supra: que sic vocantur: et superiora sunt fundamentum rebus inferioribus: que sunt similitudines: ortus voluptatis: quid significat nisi Tipheret: cheden ante idest e regione hesed intelligit: idest intra hortum plantat: et intelligitur scituff: idest mixtionem in medio inter hesed: et contrarium ponit Tipheret. Intelligit chedem · intelligitur hesed · quia magna parte est misericordia sed mixtio etiam cum pacad: tamen maior pars hesed · 10 ait micheden: aperte hesed: micheden intelligit a(d) dextram: ubi misrac: ut dicitur dextram fundasti: declaremus hoc omnino cheden: intelligitur cadmon: idest a primo: quia prius est hesed · inde pacad. Voluit deus creare duo: et non creavit nisi unum: non enim potest hesed: nec pacad: ideo Tipheret sic abiit a prima intentione: et miscuit: Tipheret · cheden cadmon · intelligit primam intentionem: unde post factum Tipheret: hortus et voluptas 2e res essent: ut chesed et pacad sic exit fluvium inde: quia fecit unum exiens a prioribus · patres etiam tres: sunt: et Tres filii: et filii sunt substantia ut patres: fines opere sunt substantia sua. Trahitur procedens deorsum: a tribus his: ut hec a superioribus. Nezac ut hesed: in dextra: misericordia dixit non tantum omnino ut prima. Tipheret est mixtum: et inde canalia veniunt infra: ergo mixta sunt potentia ipsius pacad: sic misericordia hec inferior non ita bona ut superior: que quasi immixta est ·	paradisus voluptatis Duplicia sunt omnia Superiora sunt substantie hec similitudines eorum paradisus Tipheret Dextera chedem Tipheret Fluvius patres · 3s · filii Dextera Nezac
[99v] Bo ve haed: est similitudo pacad · et ideo in sinistra: et non est Iustitia fortis ut prima: quia recipit a Tipheret quod est misericordia magna parte: et quia est prope: et hod sunt pacad: et nezec sub hesed: hoc misericordia: id Iustitia non ita vehemens ut superior: mundi firmitas stare non potest	

sine mixtione: ut superiora: et ut Tipheret mixtum: ita inferius est Iesod · in dei ergo mente fit duo facere: inde unum fecit mixtum. Iesod acol: fundamentum omnium: et omnia sunt fundata super eum: et est zadic et fundamentum mundi et omnium. Est et pax: ut dicitur facit pacem in superis: in celo suo: sunt hec sugillata in benedictionibus ubi dicitur pax domini in celo: sic in hoc iesod completur omne edificium: et est fons omnium benedictionum: et misericordia tracta e Tipheret est misericordia: et est Fluvius qui exit e Tipheret: exit enim e Cau et Tipheret sic e paradiso. Et considerabitur hoc in porta hominis: ubicumque dicam diferet: est ac si dicam Iesod: et non mutantur hec: sed eadem via nisi quod Tipheret est caput in edificio et primus in gradu. Iesod vero finis et posterior in gradu: recipiens ex omnibus. Iesod indicat partim non nihil in levam: ideo Ramban vocat pacem quia in medio. Bair vocat zedec: iustitiam et fortitudinem. Etiam tres filii sunt hii patres vero superiores: ut radices arborum: sic radices edificiorum: et filii sunt ut Rami: unde non veniunt fructus nisi⁷⁸⁹ ex eis⁷⁹⁰: unde potius mundus firmatur in filiis quam in patribus: fructus enim non e truncis sed ramis veniunt: licet Rami fructum non habent nisi a substantia radicunt. Hic Cain dicendus est · licet Illi sint patres: hii filii: tam omnes sunt a · 3a · quasi eius filii scilicet Bina: et filii filiorum sunt ut filii · sunt filii et nepotes: omnes ut filii. Cum rumpitur fons · horum: in mare. Decima ultima est in quam omnes: fluunt: ideo dicitur Sciadai mundo inferiori: ultima dicitur sciadai: quasi sufficiens idest post quam non oportet ulterius procedere: completo edificio	Iesod pacem in superis · Fluvius e paradiso Tipheret Iesod · pax: in medio o palma quid Cain Bina: filii: et filiorum filii: Mare ultima: Sciadai:
[100r] hapoel alion: agens superius. Celi sunt Cav: filum medium et non habet deus hic in hoc mundo beneplacitum: nisi 4r brachia: homo enim est 4r brachia patet: duo altus:	Carta · 230 · 4r brachia patet homo:

⁷⁸⁹ The sentence “ut inde e regione ducunt” is erased.

⁷⁹⁰ *Superscriptum* above the erased sentence, see *supra*.

duo latus: spacium 4r brachiorum: sic suum dixit 4r brachiorum spacium arba amot: 4r brachia: Deus non habet hic nisi 4r brachia ubi legitur: ubi est lectio: ibi quiescit Deus ubi legitur: et ubi oratio fit: sic mundus superior est mundus dei: non inferior nisi 4r brachia sic in fine sephirot dicitur Sciadai idest sat: nec ulterius procedatur. Demonstratum est in circulis mundi quod in creatione completur fons: in ultima: nisi dixisset Sciadai idest Sat: ubi finit ai tripliciter fons. In Bair hec: Deus faciat omnia. Ani ego sum qui plantavi hanc arborem: de qua dicitur: quod radix est⁷⁹¹ ad quam est via · 60 · annorum. Arbor est hec: Rami⁷⁹² via: est 500 · annorum. Gradus quilibet est ut annus: qualibet midot: sic 50⁷⁹³ porte: sunt ut 50 anni Iovel. Decima est ut uxor tipheret: ergo deberet esse propinquior quam Iesod: cum Iesod est infra: sunt 6x sephirot supra e 7m scilicet et quelibet sephira concludit omnes 10m · ergo sunt · 60 · anni: circa⁷⁹⁴ arborem. Rami vero · 500 · dicitur cum vero Iesod tenet locum suum: habet supra se · 5 · non sex: et quilibet concludit · 10 · sunt · 50: numeratio nunc multiplicando: per · 10 · 50: sunt 500 · et hii sunt rami: sic dicitur sub ipsis extenditur totus ordo berescit. Mare est ultimum: et consilium claudens omnia: merens creare mundum: necessarium sapientie dei: ut aperiretur⁷⁹⁵ potentia clausa in eo: a Tipheret: in confine ubi potentia superior est clausa: ros pina: capud finium: et Terminorum le ros pina: in caput anguli. Caput Anguli: · ך · finis nominis magni: ubi creata omnia cum potentia Tipheret: ut nuncius nuncians mandata domini: hoc est sociare nomina dei. Cum dixit potentia tipheret: non gubernatur potentia ultima que est a pahad: nisi ex abundantia tipheret per viam Iesod. Et sic nomen plenum:	Sciadai ultima: Arbor: radix 60 annorum via 500 · 60 · anni 500 · anni · qui pina⁷⁹⁶ Angulus ros pina caput anguli ך

⁷⁹¹ The sentence “arboris · 60 · annis” is erased.

⁷⁹² The sentence “sunt · 500 · anni” is erased.

⁷⁹³ Initially “500”.

⁷⁹⁴ The word “Iesod” is erased.

⁷⁹⁵ The word “substantia” is erased.

⁷⁹⁶ Near this word, in the MS we can see the drawing of a cross.

ibi · dicitur vidit deus in lege et creavit mundum: intelligitur in prima macseva. Non potest per tipheret solum: quia gradum illum habens non possent habere malum desiderium et appetitum: sic firmitas mundi non potest in illo: oportet ergo esse pacad ·	
[100v] hu: ipsa est serpens: dicitur in iob · quod deus vult esse appetitum in hoc mundo: ut lucretum alterum mundi: dicitur vidit deus omnia que fecit et Ecce bona multum: est appetitus malus: quasi dicat etiam appetitus malus bonus est Bona ergo omnia sunt: ob mundi firmitatem idest perfectionem · Decima facta est in caput anguli idest a Tipheret. Decima enim recipit a pacat ideo ad levam non nihil flectit: Tipheret cur non regit mundum quia est misericordia magna ex parte: ideo homines nimis presumerent · etiam non oportet ut per pacad solum regit: quia omnes ruerent: bonus est firmitas mundi. Fluvius manans de paradiso voluptatis:⁷⁹⁷ Iesod exit ab orto idest Tipheret: et venit in malcut. Flores horti per potentiam bebil · Femina audiet virum: non contra: sic potest extrahi que Decima uxor: audiit virum idest⁷⁹⁸ decima faciet que vult et dat Tipheret. Col Iesod: Mallac angelus non grandescet: angelus idest con est 5a. Decima que est angelus non grandescet idest: angelus idest con est 5a · Decima que est angelus non grandescet idest non faciet nisi que iubet vir superior: et femina (dicitur) parebit: et tu damnaberis ei: et non potest nisi data a viro: dixit luna deficiet luce sua. Non potest servire una corona idest luna noluit ut Sol Solus esset: hattat la adonai idest sacrificabat domino · in capite mensis corban: dixit deum velle complacere lune: quasi dixit dabo hoc sacrificium lune quia illam feci deficientem: et Iareac dicitur decima sephira: que multum habet defectus: per Midot racmim non potest fieri mundus: nec per Din · ergo	Appetitus etiam bonus: bona omnia: Tipheret non regit: Fluvius: col: Decima: iareac: lune: corban: mense Iareac comparto creat

⁷⁹⁷ The word “per” is erased.

⁷⁹⁸ The words “nocte ter” are erased.

sociavit: et creavit mundum. Initium macsceva est finis actionis: quia finis et initium: simul sunt: et idem · non divisa: nec partita. Hoc dixit ut intelligas Decima non esse ultimam ita quod prius sit cogitatio: post opus: immo simul omnia: hic est ordo nostrarum rerum non divisarum. In fine creationis est nomen plenum: ubi · ה · et nomen ponitur in fine rei: quia finis et initium idem · nomen plenum super mundum plenum idest perfectum · prius Eloim tantum: quod est · 3a · Bina: ergo boni: quod deus miscuit Tipheret et Iesod: etiam tempore ire: cupit femina⁷⁹⁹ Maritum: femina idest decima: cupit virum idest Tipheret et superiora:	Initium est finis: Eloim: bina: femina cupit virum
[101r] Ascer: ubi crevit ad gubernandum: cum sanctitate: vel humanitate et redibit vir post feminam: idest Iesod retro post decimam: quia vir non potest sine femina: et ideo querit uxorem: ut qui querit que amisit · dixit · Filum misericordie tractum est super eum: ad tollendum saniem zoama: serpentum et tabo: idest pahad: et iniuriam omnem: ab Eva: que est decima. Sunt beemot in montibus dicitur · si pacat faciat omnia: behemot omnia diruerent · et aque veniunt in remedium · dixit · Sum murus Ani homa: et ubera mea: ut turres: ca migdalon: Ani homa: et quietam facio iram suam: est quasi repagulum ne pacad ruat in decimam. Aque enim supervincunt ignem: et ponunt finem ardori ideo sephira aqua est media inter ignem ne urat et devoret · et dixit hactenus veniat: et non amplius. In Agada dixit vir et mulier: nisi esset · וְאֵשׁ · אֵשׁ · nisi esset numen dei in eis esset Ignis in eis: est res frigida: quam · dixit · bestie in monte Alef. Et dixit Mida bona plus est quam mala et infelix. Initium macsceva: finis operis: Quomodo: cum sint similes: ut flamma in carbone: virtute contenta: omnia erant in mente dei simul: dicitur nihil novi sub sole idest Decima non est nova sub tipheret que est Sol: bone midot sub plures quam	Carta · 231 · zoama Eva: Sum murus: Aque · ignem: Ignis: ex viro et femina⁸⁰¹ bona plura: Novi sub sole nihil

⁷⁹⁹ Initially “feminam”.

⁸⁰¹ The drawing of a *manicula* points at this marginal note.

male et dure alie. Dure enim tres: pacad · hod · decima: alie bone: et plene misericordie · cur non dixit nomen in tota parascia berescit: non nominatur nomen donec sit firmitas⁸⁰⁰ mundi · et decima Mida non nominatur: mundo perfecto: cum perfectione sua: venit adonai: nomen magnum. Decima enim est ut nuncius Tipheret: et seviens ei: per quid omnia fiunt · callal conclusio: ut ne faciat opus: inde exponit · et · dixit · ne ignem accende sabato: exit partire ex universali: et hoc novuum: est a priori universali: licet in eo comprehensum: omne quod est in conclusione exivit foras: et fit partire: non venit ex se quod ipsum habeat aliquid: sed iunctum universali: et fit hoc ut exprimat quod non faciens omnia lapulatur tantum: sed qui etiam unum · facit: non ad discendum unum exisse foras: sed ut ex universali exire est partire intelligentias: et hec sephira est conclusio omnium: quia omnium partes continet: et non unum partire: et hinc cognoscetur creatio hominis inferioris: et inferiora a superioribus significatur: non est bonum hominem esse solum: sed faciamus ei auxilium simile sibi: sic deus voluit creare duo: et creavit unum scilicet mixtum: ideo dixit non bonum unum solum: sed duo. Respondetur quia unum solum creatum fuit: cum dixit non est bonum esse solum: intelligit de prima intentione dei: qui voluit facere duo: tamen fecit unum ·	bone plures: alie non nomen in parascia: auxilium simile sibi Non bonum esse solum
[101v] chi ium: tehila: firmitas. In hac creatione unum creatum est firmabitur in fine operis: non bonum esse solum: idest adonai tipheret non bonum sine decima: et trahit altera alteram. Amore trahit: auxilium socio: auxilium femine: que oportet faciat honesta viro · idest zog: par est decima cum Tipheret: auxilium · 3x · victum: vestitum: lectum: in passuc: vistum: operimentum: et horam suam: et Terra tunc benedicatur: et hec · 3a · Aqua: Ignis: ventus: et qui habet	Non bonum esse solum: Tipheret: zog: uxor tria:

⁸⁰⁰ The word “nominis” is erased.

intellectum intelligit: et erunt ad carnem unam: idest superius et inferius iunguntur una: et si homo merebitur cum uxore sua · in ordine creationis: ad opus suum: ad filios educandos: tunc Macsceva dei completur: et edificium superius: impletur: hic: et dare oportet mazon victum: sic multiplicantur⁸⁰² benedictiones que erunt in eo: relinquet homo domum suam: et exibat et filii⁸⁰³ iacebunt: ut orphani et faciunt quod volunt: cum errabitur: superiores similitudines non iungentur nobis: et filii matresque exulabunt: sic sephirot superiores relinquent inferiores: chenegdo: simile sibi: imo contraria sibi: quomodo ergo auxilium adversus eum: idest auxilium merenti: immerenti intentum: uxor cum facit que debet: est gloria viri · qui honorat eam ob filios: et matrem filorum letantem: mater est decima et nos filii: si erramus: femina a viro tolletur: sic ut inter virum et feminam et filios hic. Ita in decima sephira · pulsus filiis Mater decima: pulsa: nihil boni habet nec dat. Ba hem · in eis: dicemus in bechira hominis: idest studium et electionem femine · 3s · actiones: viri · 7m. In prima dei constitute mundi decimam voluit caput angeli: idest provisorem esse voluit: mundo inferiori: nec credas quia ultima est: habere parum dignitatis: multi forti cogitant: ob parvam intelligentiam: mecubalim: finis intentionis dei: est perfectionis gratia: dixit · in Creatione: illi iuvabunt me. Illi non finis enim boni: et voluptatis: est firmanti se in intentione dei: ut fit deo in principio: non parum dignitatis sed facta propter hominem inferiorem: homo enim omnino peccaturus est: si homo peccat: videtur non bene ergo creatus et dicitur proverbium: deus diminuit lunam idest Decimam. Hoc creatum in similitudine superioris: ut Rex · potens rumpens murum: quia homo est quasi Regnum dei: et res eius. Mundi creatio fit propter hominem: ut serviat ei	In Carnem unam: Mazon simile sibi · auxilium: quomodo imo contrario Carta: 232 · decima non parva Luna: decima: Mundus propter hominem:

⁸⁰² The word “bene” is erased.

⁸⁰³ The word “erunt” is erased.

· dixit · totus homo factus ut serviat mihi: intelligit pro homine qui est similitudo dei: cum facit voluntatem dei. Non est aliud simile deo nisi homo: quia est rectus sic factus ut sequatur vias rectas · dixit · etiam et⁸⁰⁴ Ego sum creatus ut serviam deo. Quomodo homo similis deo? Intelligit in viis suis: deus misericors: patiens: Iustus: liberalis: iuvans: sic tu fac: et assimilat⁸⁰⁵ formam agentis. Dedit sapientiam ad intellectum deum: et legem israel: et demonstratur lex tota: in homine prius	Homo rectus: hominis gratia omnia: homo ut serviat deo:
[102r] be Adam: in homine primo: quod scribitur · posuit eum extra paradysum ad elaborandam humanitatem: et servandam eam. Elaborare est facere servare: est cavere et non facere: intelligebant: sunt sacrificia corbanot et demonstrantur benedictiones que veniunt: ob servitium divinum: sic cum homo vult herere mida: herebit similitudini divine non precando: dicitur herebitis deo vestro vivo idest viis dei: zura: figura forma: deo similis fiet abundantia accepta: et natura inferior semper trahit simile: ob bonitatem Salomonis quievit scehina: ideo ipsa habet partem in omnibus · de Salomone quod habebat partem in superioribus: dicitur timor vestrum: est super omnes gentes: idest Cum scehina est in vobis: non amplus blasphemabitur terra: et est similitudo providentie et gubernatoris: dicitur israel in quo medio iacto: scilicet cum bene agit et similitudinem habet dei: deus se iactat: et hec est substantia cause: et ob hoc creat hominem: similem deo: super omnia et cum sic est meretur induere Spiritum Sanctum: quiescentem in bonis: sic prophetia est: et specularia lucida: et gradum magnum merebitur: et Mors illi non erit et perfectio erit ei: et non relinquet locum serpenti: et anima est firma in corpore semper: quam similetur anima creatori	extra paradysum Spiritus Sanctus⁸⁰⁶ Mors non

⁸⁰⁴ The letters "he" are erased.

⁸⁰⁵ The letters "fig" are erased.

⁸⁰⁶ Near this marginal note, there is the drawing of a cross.

suo: et in Exitu hinc: non recipit amissionem factorum: sed redibit spiritualiter et sine fine:	
[102v] vehu · et illa est vita eterna: cum peccat homo angelus mortis habet partem in eo. Iusti autem qui faciunt similitudinem dei: in morte non moriuntur ut alii: sed acquirunt gradum magnum: et Enoc vertit carnem suam ut Titio ignis idest spiritualis factus: sic dixit ego cepi eum ex hominibus: et feci ei sedem e regione: que sedes est · 7000 · et dedi 70 · Angelos ecce sedem eius: 70 · nomina. Decima sephira dicitur Enoch: et dicitur יהוה parvum: adonai scilicet ultimum dixit et non fit: quia tulit eum dominus: scilicet Enoc. Targum dixit ere vere: lo amit iade: non necavit eum. Item in Iacob dixit non obit: quia zadic cum vivit si iungit animam vinculis vite locis animarum: cum obit. Mercava in qua posuit animam inter vivos: non meretur mortem. Et ascendit moyses de planitie moab: dixit · 15 · gradus ascendendos in moab: et Moses ascendit: upassea: transivit: quod moriturus Moses: evasit spiritualis: nec habebat amplius elementa. Et de helia spoliavit carne sua se: et facta est lapid es: ticio ignis: vel lampas: et splendor ut scitur in Cabala de generatione in generationem: elementa ablata. Iustos dicimus:⁸⁰⁷ septimo miliario: quo durat Mundus: inde Iustitia magna: veniunt a⁸⁰⁸ luminibus dei: et eodem redeunt: quasi in Astra platonis. In 7o renovabit mundum suum: et faciet alas animalibus volantibus ut columbe super aquas: et quasi avulus non commovens alas. Ale ostendunt non morituros sed fieri spirituales. Angelus mortis non affert mortem dolore Iustis: sed quasi osculo vocat: sic de Aron et Mose: sic sine morte osculo obit · inde aron dixit Mosi: extende pedes: claude oculos: et ita obit: sic Iusti: et corpus remanet · postquam sciemus portam hominis: intelligere	Carta · 233 · Enoc · 10a · 70 · adonai parvum vere · ere · Mors non Iusto: passea passavit Moses spiritualis fit Titio Ignis: He Lapis: lampas: Titio Annus magnus · 7000 anni: Mundus · anima in astra Platonis: Alis volantes: ut columbe · Ale: spirituales fieri · Iustorum mors

⁸⁰⁷ The number “700” is erased.

⁸⁰⁸ The word “luce” is erased.

animas: et primas suas: tunc intelligemus nescica: idest osculum dei: quo obeunt iusti. Annus: magnus: in senedrim: disputatio: quod 7000 · vel 30000 · anni: dicitur quod attollitur anima:	Deus osculo necat⁸⁰⁹ · Annus magnus
[103r] zadic: Iustus dum vivit: de gradu in gradum usque ad locum gratitudinis: et voluptatis: locus is animorum iustorum: ubi heret et remanet corpus sine motu: et vos iungetis vos Deo vivo: ubi scilicet vivi eritis: et hii iusti perfecti: discedendo: licet videantur mortui: non tamen contaminabunt ut alii. Natura angelus mortis ob appetitum: non necavit eos: non ergo turpant: quia anime ac si vivi sint nec removentur a sanctitate sua. Remotum fuit sacerdotium: quia mortui non sunt sacerdotes boni. Mortui videntur: et non sunt mortui. In taanit: de Iacob hec dicuntur: dixit · vidi bene alia: filios ascensus: paucos: ascendentes ad gradum: si eligit calcare viam arboris vite: habebit vitam sine fine. Sin vero appetitum sequitur mors venit. Mala tracta a serpente: auxilium simile simili: imo contraria chenegdo contrarium: idest si bonus est: erit auxilium simile: sin malus: contrarium · et is est serpens sic decima sephira est utrumque racmim et serpens: idest pacad: et Arborem vite serpens dextruit · (Scerut: Servire:) mesceremus super hac forma excidetur voluptas magna vite eterne: et propter peccatum: hominis deus blasfemat terram: scilicet in decima sephira: sic benedictio non invenitur Baolam in mundo: peccator qui assimilat se creatori: non meretur servire in lumine dei: et tunc non est amplius in mundo lumen vite: et dicitur et vidit deus quod non est in mundo lumen: et reponit illud Iustis: cum dixit luminare maius et luminare minus: et⁸¹⁰ lumen magnum reposuit Iustis: in ahagiga: et va: Salom: hoc est lumen vite	Carta 234 Mortui non Iusti Sacerdotium · a morte Mors: Appetitus sine ratione Serpens diruit Servus unde Terra maledicta Lumen reponit Iustis

⁸⁰⁹ Initially “negat”, then corrected.

⁸¹⁰ The letters “cu” are erased.

repositum. Quomodo? Quod removetur femina idest decima sephira: cum dixit qui irritant me semper. Serpens iacit zoama aconita et spumas in decimam: in Evam · et hec est maledictio et turpatio fedatio. Et pacad cum heret decime: Mundus non potest stare quia deus dat partem dirutoribus ad diruendum: sedet mensuras factorum: causa bonorum et malorum in homine posita est: si similis creatori et forme sue nec peccabit erit pax et benedictio. Sin contrarium nihil tale est: sed ensis et bellum et⁸¹¹ maledictio est: et gladius versatilis. Radix orationis qua dicitur auxilium suum idest simile et bonum: vel contra eum: et uxor est ut auxilium: et appetitus: idem: si bene est auxilium: sin contrarium contrarium · sic uxor et lezer: appetitus: in leva: que impellit: rectam: sic leva tollenda: femine enim appetitus nihil nisi malum querit: sic ad malum impellit: cum homo fortificatur super appetitum et mala: tollit serpentem: et assimilatur creatori: sin contrarium: contrarium: quia ipse met malum sibi creat: dicitur dextera eius amplexabitur: quia viam bonam dat. In principio deus peccaturum scivit:⁸¹² ob appetitum hominem ·	Serpens zoama In evam iacit gladius versatilis uxor Eva: appetitus Malum semper:
[103v] hazarit: quod oportet dominari in mundo ob firmitatem Creationis: ascendentes erunt pauci. Causa peccati veniet Din ad ruinam et non esset iustum ut deus parceret: licet aliqui iusti sint: non tum iustum ut omnibus parceret: ut dicitur de Luna. Illa Caput anguli: mecabel recipiens a marito misericordiam. Marito tuo voluntas tua ipse dominabitur tibi: et in tempore⁸¹³ ire est filum misericordie. Iusti similes deo parvi in oculis suis: 2m for: superiorem: est causa quod non tolletur bonum superius sed semper confirmatur bonitas: et quiescet tellus: sis semper tu recipiens iniuriam: quam faciens: dixit · et Amici sui cum	caput anguli Iusti parvi patiens quam faciens

⁸¹¹ The letters “bened” are erased.

⁸¹² The letter “p” is erased.

⁸¹³ The letters “in” are erased.

exit Sol: cum forte Iusti: Malum tollent omnino: dixit · Cum exirentur a spelunca: sapientes⁸¹⁴ dicebant hec: et unus alteri benedixit. Non tamen bonum est Iusto pena: boni enim mala habuerent: dicuntur castigationes amoris: hic ut salventur in alio mundo · pena non est cara quibusdam: tamen operata: quidam Iusti vocabant et dixit venite castigationes divine: ob necessitatem firmitatis mundi · necessaria sunt hec · Luna non contentabatur: idest Din · cum homo errat ponit se in contrario creationis sue. Alia etiam dicte sunt magne substatie. De luna scilicet et substantia rei comprehendetur de peccato Adam et Eve.	Spelunca sancta: castigatio Amoris: Luna non contentatur Adam et Eva
⁸¹⁵neenasciu: Punitur: fedatus: qui venit purgandus iuvatur: qui vero fedandus: aperitur ei: accidentia sequuntur substantiam: et filii patres: ut dicitur quod non est unus qui non peccat: vidi ascendentes et sunt pauci: vidit primo deus esse homines peccaturos: et prescivit puniendos: et tollendum bonum perfectum a latere vite: dicitur etiam in hoc: divisit deus lucem: quomodo divisit: quia servavit lucem bonam pro zadichim. Tempore voluntatis: quomodo appetitus fortificatur: ita ut lumen auferatur: ut comprehendi amplius non potest. Quomodo respondit deus: Intelligit quod serpens idest Din iacit spumam: Et homo qui in vita vult iungi luci: Din obviat ei: ut Ignis in faciem · et non potest mereri: ut ante peccatum: parum quid comprehendimus: non possumus nisi labore magno: nec timorem: tribulationemque ante considerationem et intelligentiam. Reponit deus arborem vite: iustis: in paradiso voluptatis: redit ut filum capillorum vocatur: gladius versatilis. Gan eden est iustis: bonis est Gan eden: lumen hoc decime: bonis paradisos voluptatis: impiis vero gladius versatilis: ideo versatilis: quia hoc vel illud fit · splendor ensis versatilis:	Carta · 235 · prescivit: lucem divisit · Quomodo: Lumen perditur Labor hic Gladius versatilis paradisos voluptatis:

⁸¹⁴ The word “me” is erased.

⁸¹⁵ The letters “Ne” are erased.

quandoque mas: quandoque femina: idest misericordia: et Din ob timorem venientem cum peccatoribus ⁸¹⁶ : oportet cavere intrare intro: et gladius versatilis custodit ne intretur. Decima ergo est via Iustorum: dicitur ex oriente cherubin: et splendor gladii versatilis custodit:	Mas: femina: misericordia: Din Decima via iustorum:
[104r] Et derec: viam arboris vite. Qui habet intellectum in secretis passuc: intelligit partem edificii: primo posuit cherubim contra paradisum: paradisus misericordia: in dextera: plantat hortum idest Tipheret: splendor gladii custodit: Mundi separati a nobis: et ibi vita ezechiel: et anima: et ibi sunt qui vestiuntur: et cherubim etiam inferiores: et superiores sunt: ut in mercava. Mas et femina creata sunt: leviatan: idest Midot: que si iungantur: omnia everterent: sed Sale condit feminam leviadan pro Iustis · ut supra dictum est de equivocis. Leviatan: dictum est: et serpens: et bariac: pessulum hostii. Secunda idest Tipheret non ita misericordia ut prima: scilicet heset. Femina leviatan salitur: et reponitur iustis: Quomodo? Quod firmatur ut perseveret: et est firmitas Iustorum salitio. Leviatan mortuum cur: Et behemot: bestie silvestres: ut Taurus silvestris: hoc ostendunt: pisces hos capi ad pacem hic in hoc mundo femina necatur: nisi hoc fieret: ut femina necaretur: idest decima sephira pax ita multiplicatur pax: ut non desiderate fuisse(n)t res mala: sed remansit salita: idest non omnino sublata: ut firmitas mundi haberetur. Mas non tangit: nec comedunt: dum salita est: et intelligitur lumen repositum Iustis: quod hic non datur: sed in mundo alio: et hoc est salire hanc · Sed quomodo · dixit · refrigerare feminam in piscibus: quia aque frigide: et refrigerant calorem:	cherubim paradisi 2s · cherubim 2ces leviatan femina Salita: Salitio firmitas Iustorum Pisces: Salita Lumen alius mundi · 236 ·

⁸¹⁶ In the MS “peccatorum”.

Iscim · bestie sunt in aqua⁸¹⁷ sed leviatan: et pisces in aqua Leviatan: est medium quasi collare: si iungeretur cum femina · pacad: omnia ruerent · in decima nisi veniret pacat et lumen reservaret: tanta pax esset quod nemo vereretur. Necata est decima: quia lumen non patet malis femina ergo necata: sed salitum lumen id: reservatumque iustis in alio mundo · oportuit frige facere: anquis: confine arene † quia scilicet est in medio externarum: dixit · sub te appetitus: et vir dominabitur tui idest Tipheret hanc decimam regem: sic non omnino femina bestiarum necatur: ne malis impune prorsus esse liceret. Pisces cur hic? Quia breha beraha: de qua dicitur multiplicantur ut pisces maris: benedictio est: ve idgu crescant ut pisces: piscescent: ut pisces: ob multiplicationem magnam:⁸¹⁸ Quam hec decima: dicitur mare et aquarum adunatio: sic intelligitur luminis repositio: et salitio et non potest comprehendere lumen zaphon repositum: homines recessere a lumine ob peccatum: sed fortiter ob arborem vite: ex eo latere: reposuere et saliere iustis: idem est: demonstrabitur tempore Messie · et tunc homo est bonus: et appetitus malus vincetur omnino: ut ante peccatum meruisset. Et tunc rector est ut⁸¹⁹ omnipotens: et est Pax in mundo: et homines servabuntur in lumine reposito zedechim: et tunc merebuntur vitam eternam ubi pax: et non moriatur qui hec habebit: et qui heret altari idest mide lavabitur: scehare: iam: rahaz lavit se be maim hagim: aqua viva cum intrabatur locus sanctuarii. Ingressus est: alius in meridie: alius in zaphon: et erat barre ibi dividentes intrans: quod est in meridie demonstrat Tipheret: qui Βρεχω: zaphon: demonstrat decimam: Darom meridie: non aperiebatur	Leviatan · Salitum in alio mundo femina necatur · non piscescent · Zaphon lumen Messie⁸²⁰. vitam eternam Aqua viva lavit Meridies Tipheret: zaphon: Decima

⁸¹⁷ The words “magna animalia” are erased.

⁸¹⁸ The word “et” is erased.

⁸¹⁹ The word “rector” is erased.

⁸²⁰ A cross is traced next to this word.

[104v] Darom que in meridie est Tipheret: zaphon: decima: meridie aditus non aperibatur: ideo dicitur: porta hec clausa: et nemo intrat nisi deus Eloim. Intelligit venturum deum tempore futuro et mundo futuro non hic ideo non me veidebit homo et vivet: que in zaphon semper aperta scilicet ultima ut intrare liceat: tamquam in principium: sic intelligitur.⁸²¹ quid significat barre ille: et quod aperiebantur intus non foris: aperieba(n)tur brachia usque ad alas posito. Et sic in porta tabernaculi: quod porta non aperiebatur nisi intus. Faciet · dixit · deus convivium de carne Leviadan: et de reliquiis mercaturam faciet: idest non amplius secreta: sed palam ut in foro patebunt omnibus: et de pelle fient caselle: et reliquum extendetur super hierusalem: quia non de tota pelle fient succot · Caselle: et hoc ubi de Gabriele dixit veniet Gabriel futuro tempore: certaturus in certamen cum Leviathan: et nisi deus iuvaret: non potest Gabriel quicquam boni agere. Initium viarum mearum: appropinquabit ensem suum: significat Gabriel Ghevura: unde est desiderium huius: leviathan tipheret. Iusti iungentur mari multitudinem et erunt multitudinem boni: et merebuntur ut ante peccatum: et via dei: et valde herebunt deo: quousque non cupiens quicquam et nisi deus excitaret ghevura: omnes essent boni: et mundus non desideraret et caro et coniugia: non esset firmitas in mundo: ut dare operam liberis: et essent ut olam asacalim: mundus intellectualis et intelligibilis: et remanerent in eis: gubernator: ideo dicitur: prima via dei: gladius⁸²² · ostendit quod diximus: quod deus iuvat ne omnia cadant: et facit esse etiam cupiditas. Ghevura est deus: Tipheret leviatan: Gabriel est lingua ghevura: que nisi sit peccatum nec concupita non esset: dicitur in bair dixit quod Gabriel regit mundum usque ad 7m miliarium · quod est	Mundo alio Tipheret zaphon aperta semper: porta aperitur intus: Leviathan Convivium patebunt omnibus: Gabriel in prelium cum leviathan Gabriel: ghevura: Deus excitat cupiditatem Mebutal Carta · 237 · Ghevura est deus Gabriel est Regit hec

⁸²¹ The word “quomodo” is erased.

⁸²² The word “et” is erased.

Sabatum magnum Sabat Gadol: et adonai: tunc placebunt ei sabbata sua. Nunc homo regitur per potentias bestiarum. Tunc in perfecto tempore edent Iusti carnem leviathan: et facient succam de pelle: et potentiis bestiarum regit Mundus iezer ara: appetitus malus: iezer tou angelis · forte est demon in historia de iordane quod exit e loco suo et it in Mare Tyberiadis: inde it in mare sibhe: inde in mare allit: et⁸²³ vertitur et descendit in os Leviathan: Iob: 40 · c · sperabit ut Iordanis influat in os eius: non erit fracta vis bestiarum appetitus: usque ad sabatum magnum: bellum Gabrielis non finietur usque ad sabatum magnum. Id est Convivium: intelligitur non implere corpus: ut stulti sed significat Intellectum clausum: quod intelligitur tunc: et cognitio est maior. Et sic · dixit · vinum repositum Iustis: idest Dulcia ut vinum: et bestias et be leviatan intelligit tunc: et tunc ibitur et ascendit in gradum magnum. Et nomen magnum non est sanum: donec tollatur sem amalech: non est Tipheret: sedes intelligitur decima: et mala tollunt pacem hunc. Sed serpens iacit zoama in decimam: et non est ut status vite.	Annus magnus Equus bonus et malum appetitus Bestie hic appetitus Iordanis: in os leviathan principium viarum: Iob · 40 · c · De Leviathan: ibi · Sabatum Magnum vinum et dulcia
[105r] Dulcia sunt lumina creata in principio: pro Iustis · ve Iadua: et sciuntur: quod hec ab eo latere quod est a principibus in lateribus et planete comprehenduntur: pacad est isac: (dicitur⁸²⁴ supra non est nomen dei perfectum: nec sedes dei perfecta: nisi tollatur amalec: idest nisi Din a pacad tollatur: amalec est nepos Isac: sic cum in decima est multitudinem pacad tunc din · ensis est in decima: sic decima numquam est perfecta: donec potentia amalec tollatur idest Din ·) donec tollatur princeps hierusalem ghevura: mastin tentans: et malus appetitus et mala omnia tollentur · in adventu Messie: tunc memoria amalec: tolletur: perfectumque remanebit. Cum Moses manus attollebat	Amalec: a Isac Ghevura: princeps Mastin Messias tollet⁸²⁶ Mosis manus in Amalec:

⁸²³ The letters “ver d” are erased.

⁸²⁴ The word “non” is erased.

⁸²⁶ The drawing of a cross is traced next to this marginal note.

contra amalec 10 · sephiroth perfectas significat: contra quas non potest amalec. In fine scilicet finientur peccatores: et impii non erunt amplius in terra: sic descendentibus israel: gentes ascendunt et · contra · ubi dicitur de uxore Isac: gentes in gentes Dicitur non impletur Roma nisi destructa hierusalem: et contrarium uno elevato alter cadit. Malis potentiis dirutis: hec decima bene stat: Isac benedictio in Esau intelligitur: qui est⁸²⁵ causa peccatorum homo: Iacob cepit benedictionem bonis cibis: qui fregit Din. Item dicitur habeo bonos tibi edos: bonos bonos lac: tibi: quare: bonos tibi et filiis tuis: de duobus edis in die chippurim: unus frangebatur collum princeps in monte Azazel: pro demone: alter hircus princeps: alter sacrificatur: (2o appetitus). Corbanot sacrificia hinc cognoscuntur: et orationes: et preces: cur necessaria? Licet tunc est sanctuarium firmum: et tempus beneplaciti dei: et firmabatur macseva: et trahebant potentias bonas et filum misericordie: in decimam: et non excitatur amplius din: ut Salom manum extulit: oportet ergo orationes multiplicare: et semper orare: ne irascantur super nos gentes duris sententiis: dum fortificatur manus eorum super nos: et esse humiles est bonum eis: et hoc pati prodest eis: ne indigneris in malos prosperantes: quia tunc deus favet. Quandoque rumpetur favor is: et venit misericordia tempore beneplaciti: Sacrificium corban non est ob peccatum: veniet bono sacrificium laudis: sic oramus ne plus patiamur	Rebecce uterus: Duo populi: Ro(ma): hierusalem Iacob: benedictio · venatio Edi capiti 2o appetitus Azazel · tempore templi gentes fortificantur super nos: Asperis iuvantur ne prosperis indigneris
[106r]⁸²⁷ gitbarac · benedictus · et redibimus: ad repositum lumen: et quod pena hominis est a deo a principio: et quod repositio luminis est ad felicitatem: quod vero Adam non fuisset mortuus: intelligit quod repositum est lumen quod non potest comprehendere lumen vite: quod obit: idest amisit lumen vite: quod non potest amplius divinum lumen intueri:	Carta · 238 · Adam mors: luminis: finis

⁸²⁵ The letters “fac” are erased.

⁸²⁷ Fol 105v is left blank.

sic sephira mors dicitur bono amisso: pena hominis primi non mors: sed cecitas luminisque privatio: dixit · quod adam in principio perveniebat usque in celum: dicitur posuisti manum tuam super me: et diminuisti me: quod postquam fetuit: diminutus est: corpore et quantitate dicuntur: sed lumine intelligit: quod primo pervenit homo rectus intelligebat hesed et pacad: celum et terram: post deus posuisti caf: manum decimam super me: et diminutus sum. Capeha: manus tua: non bene scribitur: sed cum he: ך ultima que numquam additur nisi pro · 10 · significanda: ablatis superioribus mundis: et midot. Pena ergo Adam mors fit: non amplius nosse celos: sic arborem vite: et gladius versatilis. Dixit etiam ecce es ut unus ex nobis ad sciendum bonum et malum · forte arborem vite capiet idest vitam eternam habebit: intelligit creatum similitudine divina cum electione behira: ad heset et pacad: bonum et malum: ne forte mittat manum suam: idest malum: et tollat arborem vite et vivat semper: quia non meretur lumen id opertum: dicitur ibi Gam etiam mittet manum suam · comprehendet alta lumina dei: ideo dixit Gam: si enim rediret ad penitentiam mors adhuc staret: ergo sententia mortis stabat: ne igitur extendat manum ad vite arborem: non potest intelligere vita hec: sed intelligentia et luminis comprehensio: sic Gam ostendit: remansisse in pomo absumpto: intelligit quod si penitentiam aget: vitam recipit: non vivendi: sed intelligendi: et luminis comprehendendi: sententia enim mortis stabat: et stabit: donec Finis:	Adam diminutus Capha: manus 10 · homo ut unus ex nobis bechira electio bonum et malum Gam etiam: Arbor vite quid · vita eadem eterna: quid
[106v] Scehaia: quod fit homo primus Radix et substantia et pricipium divinum qui punitur peccatis post ipsum: et nemo natus e femina: potest comprehendere lumen id: licet opera patrum faciunt filios: et nemo est qui non peccat: et etiam Moses non comprehendit id lumen. Dicimus decimam caput anguli lunam defecisse: intelligitur decima: deficiens: et hec	lumen post peccatum: Moses: Caput anguli Luna deficit decima:

non bene intelligitur: sed aperietur secretum⁸²⁸ creationis: et hoc est sat sapienti. Mensis sacrificio intelligitur: et oratio in nova luna: chidus hacodesc: sactificatio mensis: sic sacrificium quod fiebat primo mensis: scribitur la adonai: et multa aperientur: ubi multa magna latent: fecit deus magna luminaria: et quomodo dicit edus in capite mensis: ab aliis: luna · dixit · non est posuit duo regna sub una corona dixit · 3e · bina: unde hic mundus et luna et lumen parvum: singnificantur · 10 · lumen magnum Sol Tipheret: et · dixit · fit chen · sic idest Tipheret et decima: duo lumina: significat processum hesed et pahad duo⁸²⁹ regna una corona: sunt: quia cogitat deus duo illa et fecit unum: sic unam coronam. Luna non invidit solis potentiam: non est invidia in celo nec inimicitia nec lis · non est mutatio in illis. Intelligitur luna: midot hadin ·	Mensis sanctificatio Luna: una corona: · 10m · Sol Tipheret duo: unum lune ne invidia? Non Lis non in celo:
[107r] Luna minuta: Davar: omnis res meretur esse Iustitia: primo fecere argumentum: primo dicitur fecit duo magna luminaria: inde ait unum parvum: Quomodo? mascialem: proverbium: perfecte a principio constituistis: quod dixit · luna non bene sic: non est possibile 2o regna una Corona: non: mistio est: mida temperata: procedens a hesed et pachad: fit in cogitatione dei: quod aperta esset potentia a din: quia facit desiderare cupide res: quia⁸³⁰ mundus creavit ad habitandum: et hoc non sine Din: et ratione: et iure: quia est necessitas perfectionis mundi. Luna est midot haDin: ideo una corona non est possibile 2o regna. Corona est racmim: ideo dixit non est possibile sola illa sit: sed etiam ego necessaria dico luna. Non igitur est necessarium lineae Iustitiae: quis dabit abundantiam: aut quis recipiet? Nisi enim esset iustitia: quis daret premia vel supplicia: aut quis	Carta · 239 · luna: Una corona non cupiditas hinc · Lune ratio necessarius Sensus et appetitus cum ratione Din necessaria: Din

⁸²⁸ The word “declarationis” is erased.

⁸²⁹ The letters “co” are erased.

⁸³⁰ The word “hec” is erased.

recipiet? Si etiam fuissent due midot: qualibet pena: Din plena: omnia diruisset: parvo peccato. Altera etiam non bene: quia si semper misericordia: nihil meriti fuisset. Trahitur homo ab appetitu et peccat: sic filum Iustitie agit: et mundus firmatur et ensis venit in mundo: et si Din non fuisset: omnis in malum rueret: sic o luna tu dicis non posse esse per vos simplices: sic dicis o midot adin: sic dixerunt o luna ii et minuere: facio te decimam diminutam et mixtam: et recipientem a superioribus duobus: per Iesod · sic Luna decima diminuta est: frigida scilicet aspera vis iustitie movens omnia: diminuta est sola inter astra. Et sic intelliguntur Angeli non regnabunt super te: idest decima que dicitur angelus non est super alias. Erit ergo lenta et lenis hec ad regendum. Equitas dicitur intus in via rationis: non omnino via citra viam quasi: sic est equitas in decima: non in Din que est oratio severitatis et rigor. Lune dixit deus fiat parva: et humilis: consuetudine et moribus: non minor gradu sic non mutata est fantasia dei: mutando illam: ideo gradus tuus ne mutetur: sed tu fias parva: idest humilis: mitis: mansueta: ut tempore ire minuat penas: clementia et mansuetudine: sic dictum lune ut se minuat: rigorem scilicet non gradum potentie: sed actum iustitie ·	Din non plena Din nisi sint: mala omnia: malum ergo causa non mali o luna minuere Diminuta Angelus decima · Equitas hic est Luna minuta Mansueta: clemens ·
[107v] hahat: peccatum: secundum magnitudinem potentie venientem de adam de tipheret licet homo peccat: non tamen plus punitur quam homo idest Tipheret det: ideo vir imperabit: tibi: et reget te: misericordia sua. Non deerat mazoc: temperantia: quia semper deus introducit benedictionem: mixtam dicitur deus facit pacem in celis suis. Numquam vidi hamma solem contendere cum luna idest ibi non lis · sed pax semper. Iesod enim pax: inter Solem et lunam: Tipheret scilicet et Decimam: dicitur in Talmut pax Domus Candela Sabati: Iesod est Sabatum habens candelam domus: inter Solem et lunam: 4m · et decimam. Scialom bait · Lune etiam rem extenderunt: caput	Misericordia semper: Tipheret vir regnabit Hama Sol Tipheret pacem facit in superis pax Iesod · quomodo? Candela sabati: pax domus:

anguli fieri non meretur: ideo lune verba: que est midot adin: ac si iussa esset a deo fieri caput anguli et humiliorem sole(m): et non agere plene omnino. Dicitur aquis querentibus ascondere: deus illas increpavit: et retraxit: sic dicitur de luna minuire: idest facta est talis: ut pareret Soli. Sed ex se prorsus ageret: quod dicitur est Agada: tempore Creationis: dixit deus lesciar scel iam · principi maris: est decima que debet recipere aquas superiores: et non mergere omnia suis aquis: idest Din · respondit angelus sat mihi abundantia mea et aque mee que a pacad sunt: et ille sunt aque a mari a pacad. Et sic dixerunt: quod deus astitit et necavit principem maris ut supra refrigeravit piscem. Intelligitur Aque significat misericordiam: in spumam Serpentis: non ad vindictam: quia si pahad et decima convenirent: omnia everterentur: et nisi sint: appetitus omnia traheret. Homo est liber ad bonum et malum: de luna ergo quod minuatur dictum a sapientibus mystice. Dictum in · 3a · quomodo deus contentam fecit quia dixit quod luceret nocte et etiam die quandoque: potentias hamma Solis die: lune vero die et nocte · quasi lune operibus omnia fiunt: die et nocte. Candela sciaraga be Thiara: candela in meridie quid oportet? In zadeca: in Iustitia: vel liberalitate: sol die et dat lune fieri caput anguli: quia recipit lumen a sole: luna si zadeca idest ius hominis: quare se minuit: et non habet nisi quod recipit a Sole: in hac tamen satisfactione recepit a deo: ut omnia per manus suas⁸³¹ faceret. Item aliud munus dat deus lune · quod bonitate transcendentium super gradu eorum idest tenent se supra naturam et morem: et assimilant fortitudinem: deo: et non insurgunt potentia super alios: sic decem imitantur · humilitate: et mansuetudine: non vituperant alios Magni	Aque inferiores audaces: Luna Neptunus · 10ma · aque inferiores Neptunus necatur Serpens spuma Carta: 240 · ahar iezra Deus lune Luna facit omnia Candela in meridie · Thiara · Luna facit omnia licet ima: Iusti humiles:

⁸³¹ The word "satis" is erased.

Iusti si irasci vellent ob dei propinquitatem omnia diruerent: sed clementia vigent: luna substat quasi cum sponso sub cupa idest peplo: vel tentorio. Mascial dixit quod luna non contentabatur: obvis suum: dixit deus tolerate me quia diminui lunam: et fertur edus la adonai in mentis capite et numquam scribitur sic la adonai: in aliis dicitur facite corban: et c · hic vero dixit La adonai: quasi dixit petiit hoc deus quia diminuit lunam: capite mensis quasi petat munus deus · dandum lune a se diminute: ut non obviaret casui malo: luna enim est Din: apta irasci et punire: ratio edus adonai Tipheret: ut pacet sponsam: corban: quia midot proximant altera alteram ·	Sponsa cum sponso: sub pallio: Lune minute sacrificia Luna pacatur Quomodo
[108r] filum ergo misericordie venit et temperat iras: oratio in capite mensis · dicitur · dedisti domine venie tempus: et fecisti approximare tibi: et ibi dicitur la adonai: et non alibi: nam hoc solum est sacrificium deo? Non: Cheme: ut meminimus · de prima cogitatione dei: quod decima sit equitas non rigor: deus ergo iussit ferri ad veniam eis: et redemptionem a malis et penis: que dictum edi: et mensis: ferte inquit veniam munus venie mihi: quia lunam minui: idest ferte munus ne luna excitetur⁸³² contra vos: contrarium · dixit ṽalai deus super me: non sed vult dici elai versus me: ṽalai dixit in Talmut · in sceschatot: Iuramentum et vota: in scebuoth: dicitur ṽalai super me. Respondetur quod significat ut elai: mihi: quasi dicat ut ego mitigem lune: merorem: Nomen magnum Tipheret Imperat ubique: et dicitur oportet afferre sacrificium ṽalai: mihi: mea causa: propter te cruciam⁸³³ toto die · a leha: tua causa. Adonai est Tipheret. Nuncius eius est adonai ultimus: sic nomine superioris dixit	Equitas decima Corban mensis capitis Iuramenta Talmut Nomen Tipheret ṽalai: mea causa Nuncius loco regis

⁸³² Initially “excitentur”, then corrected.

⁸³³ The *suprascriptio* proposes the alternative translation “mortificam”.

· fer mihi pro se decima: non pro Tipheret: sic dixit fer mihi: ubi Iustitia extensa non est: sed non potest bene quia dixit quia diminui lunam ergo pro Tipheret: melius ergo exponere ut supra: minuit Sol lunam: diminuete ipsam dixit. Sol noac lo: quiescens et levis: minuit lumea. Cum luna iungitur in media linea recipit lumen ab eo: ad regimen mundi super fumum corban: quod approximat femina ipsi adonai et tollitur malus casus: annus intercalaris: post tres vel 4r annos: ne menses crescant: quandoque menses · 13 · non enim mensis habent · 31 · ille annus 13 · mensium · meubar: idest pregnans: et hoc est secretum illius anni: quod extenditur ad circulum lune. Decima est ut decima que concipit et grvida fit abundantia Solis Tipheret: intrat cupa idest peplum sub quo⁸³⁴ teguntur: impregnatur Tipherto et parit: impregnata testibus: idest inter alias sephirot ·	Augustus · Sol Noac Annus intercalaris Decima sponsa
[108v] chi rau: quia viderunt lunam: viderunt lunam et non lumen impregnationis sue. In ros asciana dicitur de sanctificatione mensis: quomodo testimonium in femina enixa: intelligit quod dictum sanctificationis mensis est secretum magnum: dicitur hic mensis sit primus: aze: hic ostendit quasi digito. Nisan Martius erat hoc difficile Mosi quod sit principium mensis: non de mense quod est facile: sed de secreto Tipheret Solis cu(m) luna decima et ideo dixit che ze: ut hic: digito intelligitur nevua: prophetia et que late protraximus in eis: sunt negativa mutationis cogitationis divine: et oportet esse duram ad iram: velocem ad conciliandum: quiquam cito conciliatur habet similitudinem duum sic dicitur cirbo: approximare: dicitur ut corban: quasi opertum sacrificium: qui proximatur:⁸³⁵ proximare hec facit. Iracundus enim est ut qui incidit plantas plantatas in celo: oportet enim imitare divina: et si Iracundi sumus: deum non	Carta: 241 Mensis caput Nisan Martius: sol · cum luna: Ira seco: pax cito: chirbo: corban Ira non

⁸³⁴ The word “incedit” is erased.

⁸³⁵ The word “et” is erased.

imitamur: in ave de zara dixit qui maior est altero: appetitus eius⁸³⁶ melior eo. Iustus imperfectus qui statuit bonum fieri quomodo: magnus appetitus: est ut angelus: ut qui maior est socio lege et sapientia: sic etiam mida sua que quiescit in eo: est maior et melior quam mida socii. Sic spiritus in zura in forma et figura nostra: sic de potentia ad actum res nostra opera trahitur: zaphon pahad: vel inferior: a pahad: scilicet Decima: concludit omnia: et regit omnia inferiora · dicitur princeps mundi: et Creavit omnia potentia mundi superioris · fantasia iom diei idest Tipheret: finis solis decima: Aval sed: trahent phantasiam ad agendum: dei scilicet in decimam que est caput anguli: dicitur primogenitum dabo eis: est gubernator inferioris mundi lactat tamen superiora: et porrigit inferioribus. Deus iungit midot a din et racmim: et Creavit mundum et comparatur Regi habenti gubernatorem habentem⁸³⁷ merces et ut Rex qui edificavit palatium per unum principem suum. Rex non conquerit: nisi de eo: principe. Et sic comparant Nutrici alenti filium Regis: sic Decima est gubernatrix omnium. Nubes super terram: ostendit oscurandam terram: decimam scilicet in quam Sol tipheret non descendit: sic obstetrix: hec intelligit. Rex est Tipheret: cui si placet dat: sic filiorum educatio ab Nutrice: et Rex irascitur: si edificium si filii: si mercatura non bene processerit: sic si voluptas hic Regnat: Rex irascitur et abit: ob spumam serpentis: et vis serpentis semper in evam: et ex spuma gentes insurgens: et est unus gradus gentibus: quibus surgentibus israel pelletur cum matre idest decima: ibit in affligentes gentes: et mater heret filiis scehina sequitur · dicitur in omnibus angustiis vestris et ego patior: sic castigatur ob fedationem spume.	qui maior: et appetitus suus: ut inferiora: zura · zaphon Creat midot⁸³⁸ · obstetrix: decima Rex fugit a serpente: pelletur israel: et spumam

⁸³⁶ The words “maior et” are erased.

⁸³⁷ The letters “merc” are erased.

⁸³⁸ The drawing of a cross is traced below this marginal note.

[109r] ve od · et declarabitur in homine: in galud mizraim: scehina est cum eis · dixerunt patres: dixit · quod ob bonitatem Iustorum facientium a similari formam creatori: scehina venit: semper enim invenit simile simile: sic munda mundis iunguntur · femina ergo sic iungitur marito: et fit sapientia in thora: et faciet prophetiam: et sciet futura: qui precepta servat · qui vero contrarium turpabit formam suam: et qui sequitur bestiam idest sensum et appetitum: non merebitur: servire virge regis: et hoc tollit abundantiam superiorum: et luminis. Nutrix est: decima lactans filios inferiores: deficit autem non recipientibus · decima matre perdita: filii perduntur: dixit · evertam ipsam cum terra: ut ipsi errant: terra idest 10 ruit: laborabit nutrix ut redeant cum ea a domibus servorum intro in domum Regis. Malum ergo est causa omnium malorum cum recipiunt contrarium boni. Hoc intelligitur in prophetis: quod iusti erant · ideo unus clarior altero: sic Moses clarior: quia gradus Mosis in prophetia est altior aliis: quia ipse melior: ita prophetia altior: et hic defectus non venit a deo: sed ob defectum recipientis prophete: et populi non merentis prophetas: ut generatio deserti: habens mosen: defectus ergo prophete vel populi. Deus unus nomen unum: mores: et omnia una: ut in libro qui dicitur unum: sed omnia ob defectum recipientis: prohibente tempore: vel populo: cum deus voluit necare post vitulum · dicent egyptii: quia deus non habet potentiam reducendi in hierusalem: ideo necavit: sic dixerunt gentes deum non habere potentiam: malum ergo non a Deo · sed a nobis: La hazilam: ad salvandum eos: princeps: decima sephira: potentia infima est decima:	Carta · 242 · bonus est propheta Malus contra · Nutrix: decima Terra: 10a · Moses altior defectum recipientis: non dei: Dice(n)t mali: deus non potest: Defectus a nobis
[109v] Sciar taam: ubi reditur ratio sephirot: Negativa diximus: Tria superiora negative iustitiam habent: quia dextrum et levum: non ibi: ubi Iustitia et misericordia: non tamen negamus hec omnino illic: sed ideo	Carta 226 · post · Tria illa: negativa: Tria illa continent omnia

negamus hec illic: quia non est nobis facultas comprehendendi: tamen veritas est: quod omnes essentie illic clause sunt: et omnis res clauditur in illis · ergo est intus in inferioribus hec due et inferiora sunt in superioribus: ergo et illic sunt: sed negantur: non quod non sint: sed quod effabilia non sint. Quomodo · si cum illis tribus non est perfectus mundus quid illum perfecit. Hii sunt mundi quos dicunt deum edificasse: et post evertisse: licet non perficit mundum. Tria illa tamen sunt radices omnium: et scilicet Tipheret et duo sua. Inferiora: sunt Rami:⁸³⁹ et gubernatio esse debet cum ramis et non cum Radicibus: · 3bus · scilicet macsceva: hocma: bina · non radices facit in mente ob magnitudinem. Diximus deum non habere nisi · 4r · brachia ubi oratur vel legitur in hoc mundo de mundo ha ezez: idest appetitus et desiderii mundus peccatorum dicitur. Deus providet in mundo superiori: et decima potentia ultima providet mundo inferiori. Si est Iustus in mundo habens 4r elementa: et exuit tandem corporeos appetitus: tunc meretur: et sibi provideat qui providet etiam superioribus. Iter · 60 · annorum ad arborem: Intelligitur omnis sephira dicitur annus: et quelibet concludit: a Iesod ultima: adonai ultimum iungitur Tipheret: sic Iesod est ultimum: tunc est · 6x · sephirot · supra · et quelibet tenet · 10m · ergo 60 · usque bina: et sic Rami sunt 500 · anni: decima caput anguli: sunt supra Iesod · 5 · decies decies cuilibet ex quinque sunt · 500 · scilicet dividitur sub eis totus ordo berescit: dixit · quod septima est ut punctum: centum in pila: in cadur: ut terra: Iesod scilicet est 7ma ut punctum in pila: et omnia ab ea extenduntur sex sephirot. Diximus a bonis midot veniunt bona: et plures midot sunt bone quam male. Intelligit hocma · Tipheret: nezed · Iesod · hec sunt mites seve sunt · 3s · pahad · hod · et decima: non est novum sub sole: intelligit col: dictio indicat decimam:	Rami · Radices huius arbores: Deus providet superiori: decima mundo huic: Iusto deus provide: anni: 60 · sex sephirot: Iesod ultima: 500 · in ramis: Pile centrum: cadur: bona plura malis · bone 4r sephirot Male · 3s ·

⁸³⁹ The word “ad” is erased.

hama Sol Tipheret: non col sub sole: non est nova decima: quia non a se habet aliud: quod non a sole acceperit: et a superiori: et regit potentia eius ut homines recedant a voluptatibus: quia omnia primo est in Macsceva: et non successive: omnia principium et finis simul in dei cogitatione. Item Sol significat pahad dixit quidam: nizuz: nidor: et radius solis: et faville: dixit solem esse pahad · et Tipheret splendorem et lumen. Si ergo sol pahat: hec decima non est nova facta scilicet diverso gradu: hec col decima non est nova idest diversi gradus Sed eadem cum pahad · quia in macsceva idem sunt · antequam mundus crearetur: sed defectus recipientium ·	Novum sub sole: Tipheret · simul deus omnia Sol pahad: lumen Tipheret: col sub sole
[110r] Non enim habet potentiam lucidam aptam servituti dei: et ideo defectum habet homo: Philosophia nunc: Possibilia sunt necessaria omnia: necessaria vero superiori: ideo defectus a possibilibus venit: que possunt esse et non esse: quia habent prohibentia inter eos: possibilia habent impedimenta: que non removentur: dum durat mundus. Si dixit cur deus non dedit homini preparationem naturalem ut non deficeret: naturaliter: ut reciperet bene omnia. Si sic esset: esset necessarium: non voluntarium: que mutantur non sunt necessaria. Nunc in natura impossibile: et non impossibile. Deus quandoque potentia: quandoque actu et effectum. Deus est fortis fortitudine sua: potentie due propinqua et remota: magna differentia est in hiis potentiis duabus: differentia est dicendo est potentia: et est in potentia: cum dixit potentiam dixit quod est super essentiam: et non est cum potentia: una est potentia substantialis et alia accidentis:	Possibilia: habent impedimenta · Homo cur non bonus semper: ne necesse esse: potentia: et in potentia ·
[110v] Sciahar varisa porta ruine: hominum impiorum et non credentium: qui diruunt verbis: sacra. In hac re declarabitur quod dicitur in Talmut: quod quidam mecubalim: in Avedazare: quod ben hamuia: non habent	243 · hereticus: contra Cabala:

partem vite eterne: quod diceret contra metatatron: quod cazza binetioth: incidit plantas: scilicet arboris sephirot: sapientes mecubalim dedere: quedam thoarim: idest nomina attributa deo: que non sunt addita cum deo ut globus solis: et lux: id hama: hoc si lux dicitur sciames: non sunt hec addita: tamen habent duo: licet res una: vocantur autem hii mores attributa: et uno nomine vocantur sephirot: a mesaper: quod est narratione: quod narremus laudem dei: que non sunt addita: sed ut distinguamus quid sit chizum: lux et radius quia hec addita nullo modo sunt · sed distinguuntur · intellectu. Scito quod intellectus hominis non potest comprehendere illa divina: nisi per formam alphabeti. Hii sunt 30 gradus sapientum: et secretum essentiarum omnium: aleph: bet: usque iot: decem: inde alie decem: a Ioth: usque decima. Textus nunc: In his declarabatur: quid sit incidere arbores: heretici hec dicunt Epicurei: et hic declarabitur Menora et lulav idest ramum dactili: ut homo filum renum: edroc etiam cedrus: citria scilicet et scimitta quia omnia cum · 7m · et omnia octo cum numero: et secretum ibur anni · 13 · mensium: per mecubal et secretum ibur idest fratris ducentis uxorem fratris cum calceo · diximus in superiori libro quod ob peccatum Ade remansis comprehensio in decima sephira: idest in ultimo gradu: ubi cognitio obscura et quomodo · dixit · mitto angelum meum ante te: ne rebelles quam nomen meum ante ipsum: oportet quam non plus intelligere quam oportet: et hoc servandum est sic dicitur quod custoditur via arboris vite: a cherubim: et cum splendore gladii versatilis: sic oportet custodire non audere comprehendere nimium divina ideo ultima sephira est posita a deo: ubi non oportet rebellare: alter rebellaret nomen dei: quod est inter eos per chirbo idest nomen ioth he: parvum est hic et si nimio ausu in ea decima desperamus: errabimus: in aliquo latere eius · et ideo lata in decima est Iustitia: et dei splendor gladii: ad	Incidit plantas: examen hinc micans: attributa dei: Sephira quid 30 gradus: in litteris: Epicurei: Menora: omnia octo: annus · 13 · mensium peccato ade: intellectus in ultimo gradu non plus sapere: Decima Ne queras altius: Heretici · qui

puniendum: hominem incidentem plantas in nimia investigatione: sunt enim qui parum sunt qui multum heretici sunt In talmut de filio zoma: et filio azai: quia intrarunt intra septum: filius zoma respexit intro: et male passus est et filius azai respexit et obiit · non omnis ergo respicit: quia decima est ut puer portam servans: sic qui audet supra id quod meretur ma† afficitur · qui intrat cum bar: idest cum potestate et libertate facta: aliqui sine bar idest sine auctoritate et dixit quod qui aspiciunt hunc locum durum: male pantiunt: benedictionem cum dant: qui illum aspiciunt cecantur: et hoc in sanctuario erat alibi: et oculi respicientium benedictionem: obscurantur quia scehina quiescit in · 10 · digitis	pereunt qui hec querunt benedictio: in 10 · digitis
[111r] scenoscim: quod attollunt 10 · digitos: et dixit quod aspiciens arcum et non respicit cum honore domini: meretur non venisse in mundo quia arcus significat · 10m · dicitur arcum meum dedi in nubibus: cas · dicitur balea: et est chelippa idest cortex ut nucum: · 3s · et dixit qui respicit pudenda sua: arcus eius rumpitur: idest male afficitur · sic figura hominis est figura decime · uxor etiam lot respexit retro: ob puellas: non: sed vidit retro scehina: et fit statua salis: nezib melac: statua salis · quia noluit dare sal pauperibus. In senedrim: ideo facta est sal: et hoc quia vidit scehina · decimam: dixit · quod orantem oportet oculos subiicere: cor attollere. In Abel et Cain: Abel necatur forte: quia deus respexit ad munus eius: et incendit: dixit · in talmut: qui respexit in Ignem sic obiit: sic nisi necatus fuisset: Mundus stare non potuisset: sic Mosi dicitur quod ascondit faciem suam: timebat enim respicere versus deum: qui enim audent: male habent: sic intelligimus de Mose: quod ascondit vultum suum: quia timebat: sciebat enim quid factum est sibi olim: in obtutu suo: ut dicemus infra: gilgulo in circuitu suo: (gelgul nesciamot) transitus animarum) qui nimium intedunt divinis	243 · Carta Arcus: palea: cortex pudenda ne videto statua salis loth: quia vidit scehina: oratio: oculos sub: concursum Cain cur obit · Moses se ascondit circulus animarum Anima mosis: fit in Abel

speculandis: errant: quia aliud occurrit mali cogitantibus · peccatum Ade in fructu fit vetito. In berahot: pomum ade quot: alii citria: alii ficum: frumenti granum: alii uvam: sed fructum ostendit decimam · T תאנה ficus:⁸⁴⁰ תאנה bellum rixa: quia a ficu bellum et malum: chitta tritici granum: quia infans non loqueretur: nisi pane vesceretur: idest hocma: quia puer non potest dicere aba: ve ama: pater et mater: donec edit frumentum. Renes ponuntur pro consilio: et sunt ut grana frumenti: et inde venit appetitus: tacua · sic dixit in lumbis appetitus. Targum desiderii · himud: non concupiscens uxorem proximi: targum: regheg: raghig · ideo dicitur edrog: appetitus: desiderabile oculis de meraregheg · edrog · citrium: significat quasi appetibile. Alius dixit uvam Anavim: acinum uve dixerunt · alii	peccatum Ade pomo pomum est decima Ficus cum mali pater et mater: frumentum: Appetitus in renibus: citrium si fit:
[111v] habinian: edificium sephiroth est simile botro uve: ut dicitur in canticis: sed partes botri sunt fines voluntatis dei: Nunc ad peccatum · de Eva quod pressit uvas et dedit Ade: intelligitur quod multum in peccato occupavit: non leviter: sed pressius: et quesivit vim suam attollere super vim et potentiam viri: et quia decepit virum: pena fuit magna: fuit verum quod dicitur: viro tuo est voluntas tua: et ipse dominabitur tui: intelligitur: Maritus Tipheret vel Iesod · et imperabit decime: sic vir femina superior semper. Celum celi dominatio terram autem filii hominum: intelligitur: est divisio agentium: et erravit quia non cognovit gradum suum: idest decimam: que pomum dicitur:⁸⁴¹ decima est firmitas mundi et extulit manus suas ad orationem: et putavit hanc decimam sufficere administrationi mundi et non cogitavit superiora: et quia intendit dividere decimam: ut fructum ab arbore: et non intendere superiora: sic cessit Eve: decima et est ut dividere corpus ad anima: vel contrarium: ideo deus facit mensuram contra mensuram: quia separavit anima a	botrus: A eva: super Adam: Quomodo Decima: Tipheret · celum celi dominatio pomum ade: decima: Manus ad pomum arboris decimam ab arbore sephiroth

⁸⁴⁰ The word “et” is erased.

⁸⁴¹ The word “Adam” is erased.

corpore: in eo separata est anima a corpore: et Mors intravit ipsam et damnatam posteritatem. Peccatum eius fuit mente et opere: Appetitus traxit eum post sic mors fuit et ipse in eo malo mortuus est · peccatum et pene demonstrantur in eo loco. Ecce homo factus est ut unus ex nobis: sciens bonum et malum: לָדַעַת · non ad sciendum: sed ad volendum scire: ut dicitur et post cognovit deus: idest habuit se per modum scientis. Sciens ergo bonum et malum idest scire audens: et contra modum tentans: et nescivit: sed elegit malum tantum: et sprexit bonum. Pena vero eius 2x corpore et anima: et dixit forte extendet manum suam ad arborem: et capit vitam: sic mors in eum dixit Taurum quo Adam fecit corban: habebat unum cornu in fronte: et dicitur: complacuisti deo par in tauro cornuto et divisa ungula: cornua producentem et ungulas · pars · 68 · Maccran: cornua: deberet dici Maccrin cum ioth: et tamen est sine iot: quasi maccran: quasi doceret esse unum cornu: quia est singulare: non plurale: una choren: et cornu significat Regnum david: illud subducam cornu David: vel azemiac faciam florere cornu david: per Cornu intelligitur Decima: cur dixit unum cornu et non duo? Quia adam resarcivit quod erravit. Erravit contra unitatem: dei: dividendo sephiroth: et unitatem dei et ideo attulit Taurum habentem cornu unum: ut penitentia satisfaceret ·	peccatum Sciens bonum et malum: quomodo idest volens scire Mors: Ade: anime: et corporis: Cornu uno: Malcut david: Decima cornu: producam non sed faciam florere Unitate dei peccat adam Adam Bove unicornu
[112r] De TURRI Edificantibus: DOR hapelaga: Vahazar: et rediit in rebus suis · dixit in fronte huisce: quia in medio capite: quod ut significat: quod cornu idest decimam non separavit a medio et cav linea media. Peccato Ade: peccant qui divisi sunt in Turri⁸⁴² babel faciamus nobis scem idest nomen · que est decima · ideo dicitur nomen meum chirbo · illi dicuntur Dor: pelaga: generatio divisionis:	Pelasgi hinc 244 · Carta · dividere Pelasgi hinc dicti: palantes

⁸⁴² The letter “M” that stands for “mundi” is erased.

quia separavit decimam a superioribus: et terram a celo: contenti mundi vili: penati fuere: mensura contra mensuram: mida che neget mida: et quia diviserunt divisi sunt: in populos: contra intentionem suam: dixit · quem edificaverunt filii adam: idest secuti peccatum patris: dixit · Robi brachia: declarat hunc locum · a tu: significat credis tu · alios homines esse filios asinorum vel camelorum? Sed intelligitur quod adam cadmaa: homo primus erravit: et illi errorem secuti sunt. Sciendum quod intentio Apallaga: idest pelasgorum Astrorum potentias viderunt: quod omnia gubernaverunt: et fata siderunt: et volebant exire fata: et ingredi sub alas scehina: ideo edificavere scilicet arborem: que est aspectus prophetie: et dixit scehina quiescet in nobis: et non spargemur in climata: et cogitabant omnia occupare: ut dixerunt et facient que cogitabant: sic volebant facere ut deus deorum esset super eos: ne ab unitate spargerentur: veiscare: et quiesceret elehem ruac hahodes · super eos spiritus sanctus: dixerunt de Turri quod caput in celum Reliquerant avodazara: idolatriam scilicet cum eos punit dixit et descendit adonai: ubi adonai superior: racmim: quia voluit facere misericordiam cum Iustitia: peccatum fit poni sub scehina: et quia noluerunt stare sub fato: sed sub deo: et non aliud facere peccatum: sed voluere fugere planetas et omnia et esse sub scehina et spiritu: 5 · et ideo deus reliquit illis vitam eternam: si redirent⁸⁴³ · in penitentiam: qui vero in diluvio fuere: non sic fecere: sed peccaverunt: quia dextruxere creaturas et creatum ordinem dei: et fecere in hoacsta et discere⁸⁴⁴ a sar hapoal: a principe angente: idest decima.	Terra Dividentes: dividitur · palantes Ade peccatum secuti cadmaa Adam Pelasgi: Fata fugere Sub scehina poni Dividi non nec pelasgos esse Spiritus Sanctus descendit יְהוָה · Spiritus Sanctus Princeps Agens
[112v] Le sar hapoal: principi: et ille gubernator eos spernit: et nomen magnum: non miseretur eis: et peccatum hapalaga	Pelasgorum peccatum:

⁸⁴³ The words “in v” are erased.

⁸⁴⁴ The word “ab” is erased.

a Palac ut unus dicitur: prope Ade peccatum fit: ut עֲגֹל vituli Idolatria: totus israel preter Mosen: nihil intelligebant: nisi vocem: קֶלֶקֶל: vox est · 10m · quia populus hanc solam: in cantico Mosis · dicitur et vidit israel manum magnam hec est manus magna comprehendens mare. Manus hec magna Iustitiam significat Din · cogitabant bonum esset eis habere hunc principem: et locum eius ubi est fortitudo eius: qui est princeps destruendi et bellorum. Et putabant quod omis potentia esset in eo: et quod esset intentio tota excitandi desiderium eundi ad locum illum scilicet ad decimam: et non oblivitur nomen magnum quod est chirbo idest inter eos: et in illa decima: cum tamen adonai superius potentia maior extraxit ex egypto: et manus fortis est decima ut organum: sic deus verus est Tipheret: hoc instrumentum. In sacrificiis significantur · taurorum parim: ubi midot haDin: Scelamim pacifica sanctificata: sunt: non peccati gratia: hec non: et hec ut sephirot pace iungerentur: et si intentio in vitulo fuisset: sicut in pacificis sacrificiis: iungendi scilicet bene fuisset: sed intentio hic erat mala: pro hoc principe tantum: sed licet intentio quorundam bona fuerit ideo vixere: alii mali non posuere cor nisi illi decime: ideo periire. Scior dicitur decima et Taurus: et fecere zura aegel: figuram vituli: vitulus unius diei etiam dicitur taurus et vitulus: decima est scior taurus unus pes mercava: et ideo non sat est. Aureatum fecere Taurum quia midot hadin: aurum enim venit e zaphon quod est in leva: unde opes hee proveniunt: dicitur enim in sinistra opes et honor: proverbiorum: et ob malam intentionem in eis obviarent in Din: et cecidere: et quia intentiones eorum non fuere similes: ideo non periire omnes: quidam bona intentione ut in pacificis sacrificiis: conciliandi gratia omnes sephirot: capiebant quidam taurum: et idolatriam habebat a quibusdam potentiis	decima: vox: populis · Manus magna Iustitia princeps destruendi princeps ille: non omnia sic non sat: unus sed 4r Tipheret est deus verus · Decima est instrumentum: pacifica: sacri Dividentes pereunt Scior: Vitulus: 4r necessarii principes Aurum: din: opes zaphon: leva cur: Idolatria Tauri

celestibus:⁸⁴⁵ ut taurus 2m signum: sic idolatria: et capiebant taurum: quia est unum animal mercava: et discendebant ab unitate dei: ut qui solem et lunam adorant: Moses habebat insignia quedam: Moses dedit aquam: idolatris tauri: ubi erat sparsa pulvis vituli: potus hic in experimentum precantium: carnibus vesci poterant: ut datum post Noa: ante quem non: non enim licet malo vesci vivis · ut ade vetitum fit: cui dicitur comedes herbam agri: non poterant idolatre illi carnes desiderabiles: unde non dabit sacerdoti besar taava: carnes desiderii: oportebat facere pacifica: ⁸⁴⁶dixit · id donec completur illa generatio.	Aquam potant carne vesci: Pythagoras:
[113r] Lac le daa: est tibi sciendum: cum homo est iustus et perfectus: timor eius est super omnes bestias: dixit · timor vester est super omnia · dixit Ade: et omnia creata sunt ob homines: qui creatus est ob similitudinem dei: et meritis est esse Rex omnium: et est liber edendi carnem viventium: ut · dixit · de Adam primo · ante peccatum angeli assabant ei carnes: et dabant vinum: sed post peccatum clausa est et prohi(bi)ta caro: ut dicitur concedens herbam campi: sed cum venit Noe Iustus: fit quasi nova creatio: factum est sacrificium holocaustum: intentione perfecta: tunc facta est facultas carniū: et dicitur: dedi vobis omnia: ut herbas: sic peccantibus in vitulo: data sunt frustra carniū quedam: sed non pro arbitrio: post vero generationem peccantem: datum est ut liceret: Ut Noe dictum post Diluvium: sic post generationem deserti: secunda generatio Iustitia sua: meruit intrare terram israel: et potest edere omnia: dicitur enim potestis edere omnia ut cervos et capriolos. In generatione Palaga non prohibita caro: qui est sub alis scehina: dixit · vulgus privatum est esu carniū.	Carta: 245 Adam ante peccatum: Angeli ministrant caro prohibita Noe Iusto: Carnes: carnes ob peccatum vetite: Pelasgi Aaron filii

⁸⁴⁵ The words “et me” are erased.

⁸⁴⁶ The text is written in very small characters extending to the very lowest marginal end of the page, where there is also a minor tear.

Diximus de Adam: et palaga: et generatione deserti: nunc Aron filii · 4r · obiere igne celesti subito: quia intentio eorum non est nisi in decimam: et panim facies ostendit · 10m · fecere ignem extraneum: sic divisa est anima eorum ante tempus: quia incidere in mida contra mida: inciderunt plantas: et ideo obiere: intentione enim inciditur planta divina · dicitur enim propheta: et tunc prohibiti sumus dare thura Deo: Hasarno col: defecimus omnia: Melaha: opus: melehet: coniungit: et ibi scribitur sine alef: et melehet sine alef · sicificat regnum: et tamen interpretare operam dei et non regnum · legitur plenum ac si pro opere celi idest ornatus celi astra⁸⁴⁷: sol: luna et c. Striges enim fecere quedam contra ordinem celi: ideo dicitur: ad dandum thura ordini celi: vel operi celi: alii dicuntur regine: celi: ut ostendant decimam: ideo sine alef: quia est Regina celi: sic inciderunt plantas: ut dicitur in illo loco quem · dixit · hasarno col: idest decimam que col dicitur: abstulimus: quia non dedimus amplius thura ordinis:⁸⁴⁸ celi: sed hanc sanctam decimam abstulerunt. Et sic Adam: Pelasgi: filii aron: peccaverunt: quia nomen non honoraverunt: sed intentione divisere: qui enim auget honorem nuncio: minuit honorem Mittenti nuncium. Sic hii omnia tribuere decime: sic dicitur terram autem filiis hominum: idest decima vulgo · sic fecere imperare feminam Evam: decimam: et tamen dictur ipse Imperabit tibi: scilicet Tipheret: et non ipsa imperabit. Cum vero Tipheret tollitur: Nutrix punitur: · 10ma · sic Ira dei: et datur potestas destructori a latere serpentis et diruentis omnia	Intentio non plantas cedunt Thura prohibemur hasar Cassar · Malac: Rex opus · a · deest: Quare: Regine celi non Sed operi celi Pelasgi · 3s · Terram filiis Ipsa imperabit femine
[113v] Eno: non ipse: comprehendit differentias: inter bonum et malum: cum venit serpens in decimam: ut cum obiere primogeniti egypti: dicitur ibi: nolite exire domum: idest cum venit serpens: et bonum perditur: et destructor venit:	Serpens quid? Iusti etiam patiuntur:

⁸⁴⁷ The symbol for “et c.” is erased.

⁸⁴⁸ The letters “lera” are erased.

non novit differentiam boni et mali. Et sic Dor diluvii diruta est quia contempsere opera sephirot: necessaria: firmitati mundi et venit Serpens et iniecit zoama spumam in hava: evam et desiderium: et deus dolore plenus est in corde suo: cor est decima deus casticavit lactantem: idest decimam: cuius castigatio Nutricis quia ibi non est Tipheret nomen inter tauros: Tauri sunt pahad⁸⁴⁹ et Decima: si simul: omnia: ruerent: Serpens intrat decimam idest pahad descendit in eam: penituit hominem fecisse. Quomodo · non fecisse: sed fecisse in terra: idest per Adam Tipheret: in decima que est terra: deberet dicere feci eos · וַאֲסִידִם: tamen deest · י · que est decima: sic intelligit decimam illam que per iot signatam: esse vacuum: penituit quod fecit per decimam: que terra et iot dicitur: ideo reliquit Iot: hic: sic reliquit decimam cassam lumine: a serpente invadendam. Quomodo? Penituit: quia facit per morem penitentis: et diruit punitque decimam: דִּרְרִי enim mabul errant: ideo Din venit est eos: et ideo dicitur⁸⁵⁰ dixit deus Noe: volo evertere eos⁸⁵¹ terram: ubi ponitur suum et haarez: quid ipsos terram: non convenit: sed et significat cum: cum terra: quia Tres palmi in superficie: aquis diruta est: et cum ruit terra: ruunt ipsi: et in mundo futuro: in paradiso voluptatis. Cur non dicitur racmim: in mabul: sed semper eloim: et cum exeunt · dixit · hoc est signum pacti: inter eloim et omnes animantes: eloim Iustitia superior pacad: et inter terram idest decima: est rapha lenta levis: superior dura · Inferior levit⁸⁵² ot · signum dicitur pietas misericordia: surget inter tauros: et utrius non pugnat contra inventionem. Et sic intelliges Dor hapallaga: quod non bene egere: quia solam decimam voluere: non tamen errare: quia voluere rem sub scehina: et non sub fato et	Dolet cor dei Tauri sic qui Serpens: penituit: Quomodo? Serpens: quid: hinc virginitas: vertam ipsos terram: Pelasgi non omnino mali Fatum fugere: et Scehina voluerit:

⁸⁴⁹ The words “et neze · hesed” are erased.

⁸⁵⁰ The word “eo” is erased.

⁸⁵¹ An unidentified word is erased.

⁸⁵² The letters “to” are erased.

nature rebus: sed sub gratia: rati ultimum illum gradum esse sat. Dixit · inde descendit deus: deum · dixit · descendamus: ubi adonai est: racmim: et ideo non diruit eos: sed reliquit vitam eis: quod unum fecit in mabul: nec in midbar. Sedom vero in hominibus non fit in eis incisio arborum et plantarum: ut in aliis: sed defuerit misericordia: ideo dicitur erant peccatores multum. Sar hagadol contenebatur princeps magnus ab eis: qui omnem misericordiam abstulerant: ideo Din in eos venit clamans in eos:	Misericordiam non habet sedom⁸⁵³
[114r] Ba: elehem: venit super eos midot hadin: ad clamandum contra eos: iniuriam: ad diruendum: non inciderant plantas: nisi hesed solum: deus cogitavit velle invenire aliquid boni sic Abram: utebatur adonai ultimo: qui est midot hadin: quia credebatur iam⁸⁵⁴ eos condemnatos: et deus semper respondit per adonai: iot: he: vau he: per misericordiam: abram per adonai ultimum: quia credebatur iam sententiam latam: deus dixit per adonai superius: quod non dederat ipse: si perpauca fuissent boni: peccatum Cain fuit contra principem decime. Abel attulit primogenituram: et fecit bonum Corban: ut traheret filum misericordie et⁸⁵⁵ abundantiam mundi. Cain habebat malum aspectum: idest nihil boni videre poterat: quia non portabat nisi fructus terre: et non bonam pinguetudinem Lini semen dixit Cain tulisse · in pistam lino signato: et non habuit bonam intentionem in decima: idest⁸⁵⁶ adama terre: res ferebat: lini semen dixit berescit raba · ideo corban Cain parum habebat: cui tantum terra decima placuit: que est mecabel recipiens tantum: et videns Cain quod deus sua non respexit iratus est in Regem suum: et voluit peius agere: nece(ssitate) fratris: Abel et Cain sunt per sephirot: Adam et Eva sunt radices rami:	246 · Abram orat pro Sodoma adonai 2r ibi Abel: Cain Cain Terre fructus Linum: decima Abel: Cain: 2e sephirot

⁸⁵³ A *manicula* points at this annotation.

⁸⁵⁴ The word “de” is erased.

⁸⁵⁵ This word is repeated twice.

⁸⁵⁶ The words “in homine” are erased.

Adam Tipheret et Eva in decima: ubi est sar hunc Nomen domini sui adonai: licet per · a · dixit · sic Radix est Adam: et eva est Idem⁸⁵⁷ quia omnia una: et hec decima ante Iesod: sic Eva etiam dicitur radix mater aliarum. Scis quod radix non facit fructum sine ramis: ideo dicitur non gignam amplius: scilicet sine ramis: credebat Cain: ceso fratre: non coitura amplius superiora: et radices: remoto Ramo Abel: nato ab Adam et Eva radice: sic putavit se omnia diruturum: et firmitas mundi est in ultimis non in primis: si necabo hunc: superiora deficient: dicebat: pater meus non amplius geniturum cesis Ramis. Similitudo superioris et inferioris idem: ceso fratre firmitas tota esset in eo: sine quo mundus vacuus:⁸⁵⁸ ideo necavit: Deus non curavit et Adam fecit alium filium pro Abel: et mundus fundatus fuit contra opinionem Cain: licet enim cesa arbor non fructitur: radix tamen habet humorem et pullulat: et hoc est gilgul hanefes: quia anima Abel fuit in sanctitate: Transiit enim anima ·	Adam hava: Abel: ramus ghesa: cesa gilgul hanefes Anima Abel sancta
[114v] Abel in set: et in eo fundatus est mundus. Cain enim id non meruit ob fratricidium: Cain 2o peccata: primo intentione mala sacrificii: qui ostendit terram tantum decimam et non bona. Secundo cogitatio evertere numerum rerum: et mundi firmitatem: in Similitudinem superiorum: ideo pena 2x: primo profugus: fuit: et hoc fuit pro intentione mala: in edificio superiori: ad evertendum: sicut cogitaverat tollere firmitatem: ideo factum ut mundus non firmaretur nec in eo nec in prole sua: sic profugus: et sterilis male prolis Uxor Noa de semine Cain forte. Est etiam heresis in deum vel impietas: cum sapiens putat non esse substantiam: in nuncio: nisi ob deum: si putatur opertum: heresis: ut exploratores narrabant male de regione: sic hii de regione vite: et quidam dicebant decimam esse fortiolem deo: et regionem visam fortiolem deo: ideo non intra(ve)runt ipsi:	Cain peccata 2o: pena Noe uxor Exploratores HeResis Aque de zur

⁸⁵⁷ The word “licet” is erased.

⁸⁵⁸ The word “ipse” is erased.

et hec Arisa: heresis: dicetur in proverbium: filii regis: Cavendum est a rebus huius principis · ut peccavit Moses in percutiendo⁸⁵⁹: montem bezur: in monte: unde aque fluxere: et · dixit · hec omnia esse a nuncio sine mittente: ideo bis percussere sele: bis feciere ob nuncium: et ob mittentem: pena itaque fuit non intrando terram sanctam: dixit · quia non credidistis ad sanctificandum me: nec credidistis ad sanctificandum populum: et Moses dixit etiam mihi iratus est deus: non ob eos:⁸⁶⁰ Moses vero et aron non rebella(ve)runt per se: sed propter israel: et non fecit scire nomen magnum: quod volebat esse super montem: ut dixit in horeb: stabo super zur horeb ·	zur mons: aque fluentium Sursani: Silex ob⁸⁶¹ nuncium et mittentem: Moses et aron non male: zur horeb
[115r] Be horeb · in horeb · puniti tamen sunt ob israel quia potuerim errare: quod fecerim sperni nomen. Heliscia ben ahuia: in avodezara: fretus sapientia: erravit in hoc Sar: et dixit vidi Metatron Sedentem: et facientem coronulas litteris: et bonitatem israel scribebat: alius dixit tu dicis quod sedebat superius: non est aliud: sic due potentie erunt sub et supra: quasi duo Dii · Ecce quod respiciebat a deo firme quod comprehendit illum principem in⁸⁶² racmim in Tipheret: scribatur: Metatron est decima sephira et scribebat bonitatem israel: quod din quod in decima: versum est in racmim: quia dicitur nomen meum est te: item israel ingloriabor: in te me lacto: quomodo sedet Metatron: intelligit expectare: ut dicitur qui sedet laudet israel idest expectat: sic sedere significat expectare. Scribere intelligit sententiam: deus enim est qui ferit et sanat: sic intelligitur quod est supra sedens: et scribens · respexit is ultima murum: nec tamen oportuit: et erravit loquendo: sic non habuit amplius: filum misericordie in eo principe: ille homo ipsius: sic est plaga quam suscepit: Metatron expulit eum et	Carta · 247 Metatron videt Duo dii · dixit · bonitas Israel in te gloriabor Metatron sedens ·

⁸⁵⁹ The word “zur” is erased.

⁸⁶⁰ The word “qui” is erased.

⁸⁶¹ The letters “bo” are erased.

⁸⁶² The letters “Tii” are erased.

flagellavit eum · 60 · favillis ignis: pulse ignis · scintille ignis · de nur. Decima enim est Ignis perfectum: vir et mulier: mulier est decima: his ve hiscia si tollit ia · remanet es · ignis · bat hol · venit illi aher: redite redite ad penitentiam: omnibus percetur nisi aher: qui sic erravit: quod dixit · duas potentias. Et cum deus negat penitentiam est maximum et durissimum omnium · et quod excidere quidam libri de minud: idest hereseos · In talmut etiam scribitur hoc de minuth hiis. Est etiam Aris magna ut qui negat que supra thora: que supra thora scripta: ut scebaꝥvalpe: scripta lex est Tipheret: ꝥalpe est decima: quia non potest intelligi Tipheret et scripta: non possunt intelligi sine decima: et ꝥalpe: volebat Moses declarare legem hanc ·	60 scintille Aher: dixit deos · 2s · hereticus: heresis: Min: Minuth lex 2x ꝥalpe Tipheret: et decim(a)
[115v] ies herisa: est heresis magna: ut negans omnem legem ꝥalpe: et est fundamentum scripture: Tipheret scripta et ꝥalpe decima: lex thora cum nomine magno facta est nuncius inter deum et hominem: ut patet sapienti ꝥalpe declarat plus rationes omnium: due enim leges ille sunt una et idem: una non sine alia: et sunt ut coniunctio: et qui Negat ꝥalpe: incidit plantam⁸⁶³. Est 2 alia heresis: quasi Idolatria ut dicitur erigebat laterem et adorabat illum in Senedrin: in ꝥarouin: in chittin: hec de⁸⁶⁴ iesu dicuntur: quod cum peniteret: et ad magistrum accessit orantem: Cariat scema: legere scema audi israel: et reppulit eum: ille ratus se repelli: iratus et stomacatus laterem erexit et adoravit et hec omnia fecit que postea sunt secuti: multa fecit be chesciaphav: de negromantia que est ut Idolatria · ut dicitur in Mose mehcascepha ne vivam sinito: striges: strangulantes contra statuta dei · ut dicitur: prohibitum facere perstigras visui: et hec sunt hereses ·	ꝥalpe ꝥalpe: leges due: una Negans: est hereticus Laterem adorat De IESU quid dicant impii hebrei⁸⁶⁷ Nigromantia ·

⁸⁶³ In the MS “plantat”.

⁸⁶⁴ The letters “chr” are erased.

⁸⁶⁷ Next to the marginal note that starts from “De Iesu” there is the drawing of a cross.

Qui servit principibus: stellis: demonibus: spernit creatorem. Qui servit extraneis punitur: Ade vero forma honorata: non habet peccatum: sine ruina unde arisa: est ruina superiorum · heres est qui sic peccat: et turpat appetitus leve: Iusti enim perfecti non⁸⁶⁵ polluntur mortui: sed vulgus polluit: quia anima abest: et corpus ubi sensus remanet: Iusti qui turpati non sunt spuma serpentis: non turpant · Qui vero volunt nimium scire: ut bene intelligant: intelligit: hieroboam: qui fecit duos Tauros: in midot hadin: et una in †: dicitur etiam venit in sensum suum facere duo imperia: · 5e · et · 5e sephirot: et cogitavit quod⁸⁶⁶ sephirot:	peccatum ruina Appetitus · Serpens Tauri duo ·
[116r] Tehalec dividetur: Impium dividere voluit sephirot: et Regnum david: quam regnum terre est ut regnum terre: non tamen ut esset Rex: sed quam multi sapientes erant: et sciebant: Regnum dividendum esse: et volebant: eius voluntati satisfacere: et fecere avedazara: et multi secuti sunt ex israel: quia ostendit sigilla Iuramenti et noluit absolvere ius iuratum: putabantque si reges futuros: et fecit multos peccare: et voluit per vitulos 2os ostendere secreta unus taurus in bethel: idest Tipheret: alter in fortitudine idest pahad · Dan · in zafon: dicitur in tota domo mea: fidelis: ut dicitur in introitu prophete: Fecitque auro quod est rubrum Iustitia enim azaphon: leva: et venit aurum. Intentio erat ruere et dividuntur · 5 · in · 5 · ut annuli arce: super · 4r · Annulos: mercave: quibus vehebatur arca: et dixit nunc tollantur vectes: ne scilicet midot solvantur: sic ille contra deum cogitavit: Et volebat tollere abundantiam venientem a coronis primis · 5 · in · 5 · sapientes: et radices sunt pater et mater: sic cogitavit benedictionem auferre: ut filum misericordie in malcud et david incidere: qui enim habet sine benedictione: et comedit ex hac arbore sine benedictione est ut qui furatur patri et matri · dicitur Non	hieroboam: · 248 · propalare in Tauris Dan zaphon pahad · Aurum Annuli · 4r · Dividere: non · David · sine benedictione

⁸⁶⁵ The word “sunt” is erased.

⁸⁶⁶ The letter “h” is erased.

perfectum est habere socium malum: et hic fuit socius scilicet impius: roboam: vel est socius destructori: pesciaim: rebelles in deum: propria malitia: pater eos diruit: pater deus: Mater: decima: Synagoga. Dicitur in ordine benedictionum · ostendit venturam abundantiam: a coronis superioribus: in agentes inferiores. Accidit in his incidere: parum vel multum: maxima enim pars errantium: in malcut errant: quo tantum perveniunt mali: et gradum illum tantum divinitatis attingunt. Iustitia enim est deo: hic pena malis datur: a superiori potentia dei et eius decreto: et nutu et acceptance: ascama acceptatio et nutus. Bona rursus omnia ab eodem sunt: bonus enim est rectus dominus: et non est iniustitia in eo: Qui incidunt plantas heretici sunt: et Idolatre: diximus miracula in primo homine ubi est	pesciaim: impii · corone: 5 · Agentes: 5 · Decima ubi omnes errant: peccatum hoc est omne · Nutu dei: Bona omnia inde
[116v] Sceadam: quod adam: Min aia: hereticus erat: ut diximus de peccato suo: Et forte illi ruine quas diximus: siquis benediret in corde suo: et dixit faciam semper secundum cor meum: et non timet quicquam: diximus quod dixit a Domino factum est istud · quod hoc est caput anguli. Adam traxit preputium:⁸⁶⁸ orla idest decimam occlusam: ideo scindimus: ad aperiendum ingressum · Adam hanc tantum volebat · et nolebat dare partem Iesod: ut esset par: dixit · non potest una corona duo Regna regere: ideo oportet priam idest aperturam fieri. In Eliscia: dixit · qui factus est Min: dixit · quod⁸⁶⁹ quidam libri heretici excidere e sinu: dixit · quod in dor apalaga posuit sibi Idolum cum ense in manu: sic pahad · et Din⁸⁷⁰ hores: parum: et multum: destructor: scilicet superiorum: per mala opera inferiora: cum similitudo forte non respondet superiori: et parva opera lenta potest dici aliquid quo rebellat in principem decime: et	Adam ereticus: Min Ad non factum est istud: caput anguli · preputium decima: pria: aditus in decimam: Min · pelasgi hores destructor: Similitudo

⁸⁶⁸ The word “hec” is erased.

⁸⁶⁹ The word “solvebantur” is erased.

⁸⁷⁰ The word “heser” is erased.

est ut Idolatria quedam. Custodire ergo oportet non plus querere quam oportet: Ne unam quidem dictionem significantem illum: nec respicere dictiones significantes illum · ibi enim surget Din: contra considerantem: ut contrarium non merentem intrare. Non discet is cuius cor timet et dubitat in corde suo ne deus noceat: bonus ergo est Doeg: dubitans et timens: sic is bene discit. Discitur et qui per unum aliud intelligit: bono discensu: qui rem ignotam per notam intelligit: rem per rem: ne egeat longis interpretationibus: sed brevi capit: quod Satan Metatrec: accusator suspectus est: ideo brevi oportet uti: non prolongare: et dicam quidam: vetitum enim est comprehendere omnino: possumus tamen modo quodam: oportet fortificare vim dextre et minuere sinistram: Din non oportet multum comprehendere: ob periculum. In ea enim comprehenditur: quod instar in ea: obices et vectes: ut in sanctuario: quod per intus aperiabatur: non ex externa: clavis enim cito foris aperiabat et per foramen brachium immettebat. Prius brachio: inde clavi aperiabant: accelerate fiebat: quia intrare volens oportet parum intus et lente aperire: dicitur omnis gloria eius filie regis ab intus: prius ergo intus quasi potestas intrandi fit: hostium erat in zaphon: sic primo non clavi: aperiabat:⁸⁷¹ sic Din non bene et recte intratur quia in zaphon: sed quasi comparatione aliarum consideranda est · cum vertis te in dextram verte te idest in racmim: leva enim mala omnia ·	Ne queras supra quam oportet · Timidus bene agit bina intelligit rem per rem Satan: Metettrec: propalare: Dextra: Sinistra: clavi brachio aperire intus: ab intus: In dextram semper:
[117r] ve amru: et dixerunt: quod in benedictionibus non temperabat vinum cum aqua: ne misceretur ghevura cum aliis midon: et dixit quod homo non debet maladicere sibi: et facere⁸⁷² omen sibi malum: aperitur enim os satan: nec esse in loco periculoso: quia satan iuvat ut veniat malum: et circumcisio non nocte. Et pria fit: sine qua non valet circumcisio. Semper in dextra se ponere · oportet: quia venit	Carta · 249 · Satan faciens pria

⁸⁷¹ The word “sed” is erased.

⁸⁷² The word “hores” is erased.

malum: et pria · valpe non oportet scribi: quia est filia penim idest intus · In hester dixit in atrio penetralium: valpe est archana sic non scribitur: sic decima: omnis gloria eius ab intus: idest femina sit domi et non foras: psalmum: 44 · ubi penima: dixi quod generatio non meretur et reoli: quia mala: dixi quod fides dicitur decima: que est magum uman: a superiori scilicet dixere etiam quod habemus orationes certas: quasi confessiones: quia peccavi et c.: ille non fiunt nocte: quia luna dominatur et est decima. Nox enim decima et Iustitia: nimia: Nec bonum est excitare partem noctis dum Imperat. Iura etiam nocte non damus: quia misericordia sit in iustitia querimus: nocte vero: hadin: Oratio est etiam Deus graciosus clemens peccavi coram te: dicitur tahina: oratio cum confessione peccati: et fatetur peccasse: et petit veniam: oclusis oculis: ut intentione intenta cogitet bonum et non malum. Non potest gratiam obtinere: nisi cum respondetur: ut iehusciuha. Quidam confitebatur: et punitus est: quia⁸⁷³ oportet habere oculos deorsum: cor supra ac si esset ante deum et scehina: nec flectat oculos: nec aliud cogitet. Arcum etiam et Irim: non oportet aspicere et oscena non oportet intueri: arcus decima dicitur: ubi deus punit: idest non oportet multum occupari in decima: cavendum ergo ne nimium occupemus: quia non excitanda potentia a Din ghevura: cum mala est generatio. Tempus zizit: non fit nocte: quia dixit cum videbitis: et filum celeste ostenditur: et nox non ostendit: quia non apparet: sin secus: ruina venit. Cor vestrum: corda vestra: cogitabitis: intelligit hereticas cogitationes: et oculos idest concupiscentias: sunt res harisa: ruine ·	penim: intus: penetralia penima: Fides dicitur decima: a Deo magion Confessio non Nocte Luna nox: Nocte non: Ius: Tahina: Cogitatio Iosue: veniam cum petimus oculi: cor · Cave nimium: cum mali sunt populi: zizit: non nocte cor: corda
[117v] Nocte:	

⁸⁷³ The letters “nimi” are erased.

chad bignam: una res est quia hoc dicitur diruere · ubi est scriptum ascada: diruere: inter obescenitas: et zenuth: dicitur in honesti: in duobus malis his unum nomen equalem equivocum scilicet zenut: zizit indicant unitatem: si quis nocte posuerit tallet ubi zizot non oportet tollere: totum significat unitatem. Semper enim deus est solus plusquam malus casus hadin. Scior dicitur Din: chamum non ponitur tauro aranti: nec obturatur os: Din nocte habet potentiam: et periculum est magnum · ideo nocte quasi bos Din agit: sic tunc non obturabis tunc omnes eius. Nocte non confitendum: sed orandum laudandum: ideo media nocte surgebam⁸⁷⁴ ad confitendum non sed laudandum: et Corban non nocte sed die. Membra quedam nocte exercebantur: et edebantur: nec erat e corban. Ius etiam incivili potest⁸⁷⁵ nocte dici: quia non est Iustitia naturalis. Dicimus et deum pallio indui: et decem orant: et unus missus et nuncius publicus convitatis dicitur: et Deus docuit Mosen 13 · tributa: clementem: fortem: et c. dixit eum in · 3a · Bina ubi omnes · 10 · concluduntur · pallium deum vestit: in pallio illo 4r fines: 4r pedes mercava: 4r ziziot: contra filios patrum:⁸⁷⁶ nezec hodem filii: patres superiores. Item 4r fila in uno zizit: 4r in fila duplicia: et sunt octo: omnia sunt duplata: quia · 4r · facit uno zizit: quia patres concluduntur cum filiis: ideo deus precepit filum celeste in omni fine: et zizit quia similatur fini omnium: finis omnium est mundus alius sic est taclit finis dicitur sic fahetlet celeste: quia significat deum:⁸⁷⁷ celi: qui est finis omnium: dicitur celeste similatur Mari: ut turchinum et Mare assimilatur celo: celum sedi dei. Et pactum dicitur Iesod: Decima vero indicat preputium et circumcisionem: et precepit et dixit erit vobis	zenuth: zizit · unitatem: bovi trituranti os: non: idest nocte ne ores: corban · unus e decem orat: 13 · midot in bina ziziot 4r · octo zizit · celeste: Turchinum Mundus alius finis omnium deus: Mare celum: sedes dei: Edroc:

⁸⁷⁴ The words “ad se” are erased.

⁸⁷⁵ The letter “h” is erased.

⁸⁷⁶ The letters “ze” are erased.

⁸⁷⁷ The words “qui est” are erased.

zizit: ut octavo die: post festum: dicitur et edroc decima: ut dicitur inde de octo: dixit · et recordari precepta dei:	
[118r] Col mizvot adonai: omnia precepta: et facietis deus recordatus est: col: mila: significat decimam: dixit · in berahot: cum dicitur leman zecherot oportet longare · 4 · Z · que indicat septimam: idest decimam · leman tizcheru: quare recordabimini col: sic · Z · et col significat septimam idest decimam · ubi producitur · Z · aliter non bene nisi sic facias: ruet terra: movebitur: mot. Non sequari: cor vestrum nec oculos: idest concupiscentias: et desideria: ne sequi: zenut enim facit hereticos: si assuetudo concupiscentium⁸⁷⁸ ne scilicet unitatem frangas. Edificium est ex 7m infra bina: semper 7ma ponitur particulariter et seiuncta ab aliis: licet simul copuletur cum aliis: que sunt 7m cum eo: causa quia est ob firmitatem mundi ad regimen mundi ut dicitur in sciabat: 6x diebus mundus creatus: 7o⁸⁷⁹: quievit. In brescit: creavit vehe baream: ubi ה · que significat decimam: ab aliis · 6 · separata: vehi baream: ubi ה · decima: manus dei omnia creavit ה · parva lux parva: videbitur de candelabro: ubi 7m candele: ob edificium quod lucet omnibus: unde una erat candela media: 7ma pro decima: et dicitur ner: lucerna: in medio una e · 7m · tamen extra ordinem aliarum. Lucerna maarab dicitur occidens Mensa etiam significat decimam: versum candelabrum:⁸⁸⁰ et Menora est ad Meridiem Tipheret: et Mensa ad zaphon: sulhan: ubi panes proponis · Finis Maṣrehet: 1513 · 10 · Maii ·⁸⁸¹	250 · Carta: Mot: movebitur cor et oculosve 7m simul: 7ma seorsum: 7ma seorsum ה · decima: Manus: ה · parva: Candelabrum In occidente
[118v] De Homine	Carta 250

⁸⁷⁸ The lines “Non oportet altius querere ut diximus: non sunt cogitande ille · 7m · simul: nec 7ma idest decima particulariter et seorsum cogitanda est:” are erased.

⁸⁷⁹ The word “creavit” is erased.

⁸⁸⁰ The words “acensa erat in meridie” are erased.

⁸⁸¹ In spite of this declaration, the text of מערכת האלהות continues until fol. 141v of MS Paris, BNF, lat. 598.

Sciaar: haAdam: Porta de homine: capitulum In eo declaratur for hominis et secretum circum eius: voti: Iuris iurandi: cur eligit ierusalem templum:⁸⁸² philateriae · Tephilin: benedictiones: Scito quod homo est factus in forma corporis sui: in similitudine superiori: et id est edificium cuius substantia est Tipheret: qui dicitur Adam in mercava: substantia tipheret: et hominis caput dicitur in edificio hoc: lingua etiam dicitur quia in homine perfecto est lingua: unde trahit homo cogitationem mentis sue: et quod habet in cerebro: trahit de potentia in actum: de moac: de memoria: cerebri Corone edificii chesed et pachad sunt supra caput: ut qui attollit manus: in gradu suo dicuntur brachia. Madrega gradus: dicitur in Bair: quod Adam homo qui brachiis elatis supra caput et manibus ibi apertis recipit Tipheret per canalia. Iese est caput: et Manus sunt extense supra caput: pursim: ut cherubim: ad recipiendum a fortibus superioribus hocma: et bina · volam mundus dicitur Tipheret: sic dicuntur hec duo hesed et pachad dicuntur brachia mundi. Nezec vero et hod sunt porrigentes sub abundantiam quam supra accidit a coronis: dicuntur Crura: dicuntur victores mundi: colonne mundi: coxe Terre et mundi contra Iesod: est Macria: concilium duorum: contrariorum ostendit · a maor⁸⁸³: idest complexa ut ova in matrice · quod est fundamentum hominis: et potentia: et radix et filum Renum quo omnia concurrant: ut Iustus qui est fundus mundi: dicitur veritas. Medius inter Tipheret et decimam: que est finis edifici. Atera corona membrum: quod est finis hominis mentula · ut omnes errores in harisa: sunt in decima: quia bona est arbor esu et delectabilis visu: et homo potest mundari et sanctificari in eo: et etiam turpari errando in eo:	Adam Tipheret: caput Lingua corone Brachia porrigo Mundus · brachia mundi · coxe: colonne: victores fundamentum Medium · Mentula atera: Decima

⁸⁸² The letters “philate” are erased.

⁸⁸³ Superscriptum: initially “Meuvar”, then erased.

ut in membro hominis: omnia desideria hominis: ut in membro fit sanctificatio: abstinendo contra agendo · perfectio edifici in principio cogitationis: sic est in aperiendo decimam: ut sit caput Anguli: ut Iad pax in⁸⁸⁴ mundo · et dixit quod homo est similitudo superioris: non nisi circumcisionis: quia inde ut cannilla exit totum: si tectum nihil exit: occluso fine ut canilla ·	Circumcisio:
[119r] dixit · 18: siquis circumcidit: et non aperit: est ac si non faceret: quia sic aperitur et retegitur decima: ut agi possit in mundo · ideo · dixit ambula ante me ut sis perfectus: Idbonen: comprehendetur: Trahere preputium ab adam. Secretum etiam Sabati est in decima: ut dicitur in septimis: Scito et intellige: quod Secretum Sabati: est in milla eadem circumcisionis: quia Septima est Sabatum: et circumcisio est decima: ideo circumcisio fit etiam sabato: decima enim et decima sunt idem: et in ea est pactum: supra circumcisionem et sabatum dixit signum vel pactum: Tipheret: et Iesod · is caput: hic finis: principium autem finis simul in hoc edificio: verum est: forma autem hominis ostendit totum edificium supra. In principio ascendit in cogitationem dei: hesed et pachad: ut esset ad firmitatem mundi et sapientia dei voluit aperire potentiam decima(m) · ut esset auxilium Tipheret et in extensione eius mundus creatus est: hesed et pahad: dicitur facies: panim: retro et ante me creasti: creavi utrumque idest pahad est hesed: ut sint homini auxilium · ut sit sapiens in servitium creatoris sui · dicitur homo non est perfectus donec uxorem ducit: idest decimam Tipheret iungitur · dicitur et qui celebs: sterilis est: hec est significatio Tipheret et decime: viri et uxoris: que est auxilium viri: et regit eam tipheret: ideo femina est obediens viro: omni tempore.⁸⁸⁵ precepta quedam sunt tole tempori obnoxia:	Carta · 251 · Sabato Circumcisio Septima: et decima Signum et pactum Decime potentia utrumque Creat In servitium creatoris uxor: perfectio uxor obedit

⁸⁸⁴ This word is repeated twice.

⁸⁸⁵ The words “ideo omnia precepta” are erased.

femine non sunt obligate preceptis sed a viro pendet: qui est supra tempus: precepta tole tempori obnoxia tempori: non obligant feminas: quia Iesod est vir: et decima paret: supra Iesod · significat tempora et dies ebdomade: decima non curat: sed viro relinquit et ab eo recipit tantum de preceptis faciendi dico: non autem de non faciendi: celebs etiam est sine benedictione: ut dicitur ut ros in chermel: decima dicitur beraha: et est uxor: qui reliquit primam uxorem: altare lacrimarum descendit super eum:⁸⁸⁶ Tipheret et Iesod et decima ·	femine non tenentur tempore: precepta faciendi Sine uxore: benedictione Repudium divortium uxor prima si reliquitur lacrime:
[119v] Ama: decima est lactans nutrix: a Serpente quandoque accipit spumas: ideo turpitudine in femina invenitur plusquam in viro: et ruffa turpitudine · quia Din · Deturpatio alba seminis est viro alba:⁸⁸⁷ rubra Tipheret est plus in hesed inclinatum: et est filum album ·⁸⁸⁸ iungitur potius pahad · rubra: Mala non a celo. Sex sunt turpitudines a pahad deorsum miscentur bonum et malum simul turpitudine fit a sinistra: sic veniebat ad aquam ut mundaretur: quia aqua mundat spumam serpentis ideo dicitur dabis aquam vivam de vitula scilicet Aque sunt arbor vite · ideo · dixit · vacca rufa: est din facta foris: cinorem supra: aqua viva: que est arbor vite: contaminatus per mortuum: purificatur aqua mersus: et femine 4a ebdomada post tempus suum turpitudinis aqua mergitur · qui novit mysteria aque cum cinere: intelligit quid sit 7ma et tertia: ubi declaratur sapientia et Iesod. Tertia lotio significat hesed⁸⁸⁹ vel Iesod: Aqua est hesed: In hesed non omnino quietatur Din · ideo lavabatur 3o die: et inde · 7ma · sic in 3bus benedictionibus ultimis. Iesod est septima: sex turpitudines sunt: sic 6x dies: et · 6x · midot. Mundificatio a sex turpitudinibus: sanguis: semen: mortui et procedunt a Tuma turpitudine: idest a	Turpitudine femine rubra · filum album rubra Aqua viva: mundat: Arbor vite: vacca ruffa ubi: Aqua mergitur femina lavatur: Aqua Aqua hesed Turpitudines 6x · a Pahat:

⁸⁸⁶ The letters “Ies” are erased.

⁸⁸⁷ The word “femine” is erased.

⁸⁸⁸ The words “Scientia provenit” are erased.

⁸⁸⁹ The words “quia Et” are erased.

pahat: omnes enim sephirot habent chelipot cortices: et omne malum venit a celo: et a sephirot idest a corticibus eorum: sed cur dixit sex? Quia decima est ut centrum: sex esse · sex non possunt agere: nisi transeant · 3s · superiores Sic non exit malum a potentia ad actum: nisi a sex midot confinibus Tres enim superiores nihil per se agunt: ideo nec corticibus: sed 6x agentes cum agere non possunt medulla et vi superiori: agit corticibus · ultima est centrum et instrumentum omnium. Tipheret dominica: lune Malcut: quia adonai in medio eorum: 3a hesed · martis: 4 pahad mercuri: 5 nezec Iovis: · 6 · hod veneris: Iesod Sabatum. In 7ma mundificatio: aqua: ad ostendendum plenam terram sapientia dei: ut mare aquis · mundificatio · 7e · et · 3e · hesed et Iesod: que sunt Aque. Mundificatio perfecta est a hesed: A pahat exit turpitudine in hesed non quietatur omnino Din. In 7ma Iesod quiescit: in 6x diebus est turpitudine: in 7ma · mundificatio. Mendacium dicitur pacis gratia: Iesod est pacis gratia: inter midot: et facit mundare hominem et pacificari cum deo: ipse est conciliator. Si non mundificatur · 3o · hesed: non mundabitur · 7ma · quia Iesod accipit a hesed: que sunt aque: si hesed non dat: aret. In prima non potest Tipheret: quia habet etiam Din · dum est in cursu: non oportet opilare: ut os bovis trituranis: Diebus aliis non fit Mundificatio. Non ergo nisi in Iesod mundificatio: para vitula: turpes mundat: mundos turpat: sic 6x · primum idest mortuus:	Sex: centrum Sex cur: non decem Tipheret Dominica Dies sex: sex midot Aqua spargere Mundificatio Sapientia: 7ma mundificatio: Pax Iesod: conciliator · Aque os bovis trituranis
[120r] Aeiavot: pater patrum: idest principium turpitudinis radix mortis. Mortuus est primum caput turpitudinis: tegens mortuum: 2o · 3o tactus pater patri: idest pater: et riscion idest · 4 · sceni: 5e scelisci: 6x · 4s · sacrificia 2cia cadescim: et Truma: que est 2o loco sancto: 3o hulin⁸⁹⁰ sunt cibi prophani: hullin significat prophanum: idest non sacrum: hol	Carta: 252 · Sex turpitudines ·

⁸⁹⁰ Initially “hulim” then corrected.

dicitur ebdomada a citra sabatum. Riscion etiam turpare potest hulin⁸⁹¹ idest carnes prophanas: et caro est sceni: 2a · et tunc non procedebat tuma. Sed Truma que sacra est si tangeretur a tuma: fuisset scelisci. Nunc scito edificium forme hominis: ideo posita turpatio hominis: chibalta: recepisti: aspectum profetie: prophete voca(ve)runt illum aspectum: prophetie: et profetiam: vocant Sciטור idest mensuram: vel quantitatem: cuma: altitudinis adam hominis · qui factus est in forma edifici superioris idest sephirot: que est figura hominis superioris · ideo ad Imaginem nostram faciemus hominem: et super visum prophete: et assimilabo me in manibus prophete: dicitur Themuna similitudinem dei videbit propheta parzuf adam: dicitur adam: idest aspectus anterior: hominis: hinc persona תמונה sunt 501 · פרצופ · 370 · 450 · cum vau: 456 · · אדם · sunt 501 · par zuf: adam: 80 · 450 et Themuna: forma omnis: ideo dicitur non vidistis omnem themuna: sed vocem tantum: sic ubi partes hominis ponuntur in significando partes dei idest has midot: sic cum dixit deum transire: stare: moveri sic intelligitur. Intellige tamen semper unitatem dei. Iustus et perfectus meretur: prophetiam secundum generis meriti: Et neder: cum votum facit: dicitur ואל supra me: quia homo factus ad Imaginem sephirot: votum est bina: homo Tipheret: ideo supra adam. Edificium enim a Tipheret incipit · ex 7m scilicet ideo dicitur supra me: et anima que est substantia hominis procedit a 3a Bina: per edificium · sic homo clauditur in edificio: anima qua vivit: et votum est in 3a supra edificium: et est firmitas omnium: et dicitur anima hominis superioris · qui est edificium 7m · ideo oportet in voto dixit sit supra me: quia inde homo superior regitur: homo superior: ideo dictur וולאי supra me: votum fit anime sue: idest a Bina unde anima insufflatur.	hol: hullin profanum Sex sunt gradus tumot · chibel Mosce: cuma: altitudo pelasgi Homo superior Assimilabo: in manibus prophetarum persona unde: similitudinem: non: sed vocem · Dei membra et motus: Prophetia que cui votum · Bina · Edificium ex · 7m · ultimis Anima Non superior: ex 7m · וולאי: supra me · cur? Bina insufflat animam

⁸⁹¹ See *supra*.

Bina enim et ipsa nephes dicitur · qui ergo Vovet: Deo vovet: qui extra est: extra edificium: 3a Bina equitat supra binian edificium: votum cadit super omnia etiam contra Iustitiam: si voveret contra legem: quia lex est in edificio: una in Tipheret: una in decima votum est superius et superequitat: omnem Iustitiam: sed⁸⁹² dicitur muttar lac · vel sciar lac: idest solvaris tu. Inde Nasir intelligitur: nazareus: a vino abit a tuma turpitudine: quod novacula non ascendit. Sed Iuramentum est aliud: Iuramentum est in edificio significat · 7m · 7m sephirot:	vota deo Bina equitat omnia votum superequitat omnia Nasir Iusiurandum 7m ·
[120v] Votum et Iuramentum More: demonstrat: dictionem 7m · et significatum in dictione eadem: est in agentibus idest in 7m. Sceva · 7m: scevua: additur vau: ה · quia in medio scevua: significat tipheret: que est obex inter heset et pacad · ideo ה · vau: vero: est in medio ut Tipheret. Ticon: vectis in medio: et vau est in medio nominis sancti: ia: est nomen: ה · est aliud: vau in medio: et vau sex: sic significat 6x chezavot fines. ⁸⁹³ה addita significat decimam · sic totum⁸⁹⁴ Edificium est in⁸⁹⁵ Scevua: primo sceva dixit 7m · vau est in medio: et sunt 6x fines: ה · vero que est decima et est ultima ut est decima: vau vero est media ut Tipheret: et ut in nomine magno in Scevua ergo idest Iuramento: omnia edifici constitit. Nisua: cum per nun: nisbaו: scevaו · 7m · ipsum edificium dicitur nisua: idest Septinatum: et factum ex 7m partibus. Assur: asserar ligare qui iurat se ligat: ideo Nisbaו idest se liganda asseriut se ligat se obligat: ideo per enim Et dixit cum deo: quia in iuramento: ipse septimatur: prius est natura septimatus: similitudine sed septimatur iterum idest 7m illis se ligat 7m vinculis sacris: et obligat se illis: et dixit non Deo: sed in deo: quia Homo est in edificio: et in eodem est nomen dei:	Agentes ה tipheret: vahu: quid · ה · decima: Scevua: iusiurandum omnia continet: Asserere hinc Nisbaו cuur

⁸⁹² The letters “so” are erased.

⁸⁹³ This letter is repeated twice.

⁸⁹⁴ The letters “bi” are erased.

⁸⁹⁵ The letters “Tes” are erased.

votum autem est supra: ideo la adonai et si dicitur la adonai: iurare: intelligitur propter deum. Iurat badonai: quia in eo: ladonai vovemus · quia bina: Neder votum. Assero supra me · in voto ergo dixit supra me sit ligatio huius. In⁸⁹⁶ Iurando fit opertum · dicitur in scevuoth: ego me ligo supra hoc · pono meam septimationem super hac re: ligo me per 7m ligamenta quod hoc non faciam vel faciam. In siffri dicitur: de differentia Iuramenti: et voti: votum ut qui iurat per vitam regis bina vita est: sed iuramentum est per regem met: dicitur vivit dominus et vivit anima · demonstrat regem Tipheret: in quo Ius iurandum: vita vero rex est a Bina in edificium ad Tipheret: hai adonai: et vivat anima tua: per zere: vita anime: idest vita Bina: unde anima provenit: aramban dixit hec etiam. Ius iurandum scribere per vau he: et Ius iurandum est minus voto: quia est in edificio: vota enim etiam contra legem: et rumpunt precepta: et non sic in ius iurando: fructus eius est plantarum · Dominus omnium doceat additam sapientiam	votum deo: ladonai: cur: differentia Iusiurandum: non la Assero: votum supra me: Iuramentum: me supra hoc: Differentia voti et iuramenti vivit dominus: adonai vivat anima · votum maius Iuramento:
[121r] Scevuoth: dictio iurandi est · 7m · et in eadem dictione ostenduntur 7m poalim agentes cause: scilicet⁸⁹⁷ · 7m sephirot · in scevuua in 7m que dicitur sceva: et additur · ה · et vau: vscevuoth: declaratur quod est ex 6x sephirot: et minorem scevua quam nedarim et votum: minus est Iusiurandum: intelligitur: quod ponitur vau: que significat 6x sephirot: cum milla scevua · indicat 7m · vau et he significat precepta: et legem: vau · 6x · et he nomen: lex vero tota et precepta sunt in edificio sephirot: votum etiam contra iustitiam: habet locum: quia in altius legis loco lex est inferior voto: quod est in bnai. Iusiurandum vero non tantum contra Iustitiam: quia	253 ה · et vau vau: he · lex in sephirot votum contra Iustitiam ·

⁸⁹⁶ The letters “liga” are erased.

⁸⁹⁷ The letters “hes” are erased.

homo concluditur in binian in edificio 7m · et est septimatus: et factus ex illis 7m · sic dicitur coinjuratus: ideo dicitur nisua: non sceva: ideo homo est ex · 7m · et lex est in Tipheret ideo homo iuratus non est superior lege: nec Ius iurandum est superior ea: que est in Tipheret: quod est caput septem unde iuratur: sic iusiurandum non est supra legem: quia idem se non frangit: sed quod est extra ipsam potest rem factam gerere: si altius⁸⁹⁸ est Imperium: lo sisa: ne at(t)ollas nomen: quod ne iures nomen dei invanum: cur sisa? Ad attollendum he in vav: ut fiant · 7m · 6x sunt superiores: ה · est ultima sic nihil est iurare: nisi attollere ה · 7mam: in 6x: sic est coniunctio · 7m · ideo dicitur nunc attollam: atay enase: attollam: et cum homo attollit ipsam sine domino: meretur: quod · ה · obviet ei: et quod non poterit amplius habere abundantiam a sex: in ה · et a Tipheret: qui est vir ה · et non amplius lactet a vau · iccirco dicitur beraha vana: et frustra: sic iusiurandum falsum vel in vanum: et Omnis benedictio trahit vau in ה · et Tipheret in ה · uxorem: vovens non potest rumpere votum: sed Sapiens potest: quia haham: dicitur a hocma: dictur in proverbio: sapientia unde procedit? Scilicet ad ensoph: et quis est locus⁸⁹⁹ sapientie: sic hocma est superior quam bina: quam ob rem potest votum solvere. Vir etiam potest vota frangere uxoris in his que inter eos sunt: ideo dicitur ipse dominabitur tui: sic potest omnia tipheret in he · eo tamen die potest: aliis diebus non: quia postquam sentit et tulit: confirmasse vere: homo ergo concludit omnia: et in eo firmitas mundi et numerus · 613 · precepta in membris hominis: sunt enim mebra · 248 · precepta faciendi: procedentia a tipheret cum amore: et 365 · non faciendi: que extenduntur a pahad ·	homo coniuratus Nisua · cur ne Iures: quomodo? lo Sisa: atollo: Iurare quid: periuratus: ה non sugit ה · a vau sapiens vota frangit · vir vota potest
[121v] vides etiam quod forma hominis honorata est: et concluditur in decem sephirot: licet factus est · 7m. In capite:	

⁸⁹⁸ Initially “altioris” then corrected.

⁸⁹⁹ The word “bina” is erased.

enim sapientia et intelligentia · hocma ve tebuna: in cerebro enim sapientia et intelligentia: 2a et tertia: et per brachia supra extensa sunt alia: sic ideo sephirot: et decem digiti manus et pedum in monumentum. Dicitur non relinquere cadaver supra arborem in nocte: quam iniuria est deo suspensus: listis latro fur: In senhedrin: si unus est frater Rex: alter latro: qui videt suspensum fratrem: est idem obrobrium Regis: ideo suspensus non relinquitur nocte · et fedatur terra israel: in homicidio: vitulum necabatur: et cum irridetur deus peccando: irridetur sephirot: et aer et terra he · perditur: a fedatione · similitudinis superioris Rex enim superior potestatem habet in omnibus que sub celo: sic homo Rex veritatis est in⁹⁰⁰ omnibus. Similatur enim Creatori suo: sic omnia timebant ante ipsum. Nomen dei vocatur super nos: quia vocamur filii adonai: cum bene agimus: et cum homo eligit malum elongatur a nomine dei: dominabuntur ei bestie: ursi et lupi: sic assimilantur Iumentis: assimilatur cono creatori aquisitori: et dixit ut Cum mutis: et vos: sitis tales: sic in aliis virtutibus iubet assimilari: meretur assimilare corpus totum verba vias et omnia: ad honorandum similitudinem superiorem · sollicitus in uno bono inde accedit ad alios gradus: et post cavet ab omni malo: inde parus: fit: idest separatus: inde mundificatus: inde sanctificatio: inde ad ruah acodes: inde ad prophetiam: inde ad viam helia prophete: qui ut angelus: inde suscitatur mortuos: sic comprehenditur dominus: sic descenditur in preceps per gradus: declinando a via acquirendi: turpando animam: sic elongatur: a Deo: et Iudicabitur in inferno: in flumine Dinur: Iustitie ignis: scilicet flegeton:	10 · zephirot: maledictus qui suspensus: Listis latro:⁹⁰¹ Homo Rex: similitudine: fili adonai: bestiis similis: Similitudo: parus: separatus: gradus ascendens de vitute in virtutem: Malus in inferno: flegeton:

⁹⁰⁰ The word “hominibus” is erased.

⁹⁰¹ The drawing of a cross is traced below this marginal note.

Scito quod homo creatus est cum uxore: ut sit caro una: in firmitate mundi. Sic in anima fit cum tertia: anima enim a bina: et a hocma: que est in cerebro: et corpus a septem sephiroth: et dicitur mercavae similis homo: a potentia ad actum: et a cerebro: de vera sapientia.	Anima a bina: Currus marcheva:
[122r] hahocma: et intelligentia in corde: et renibus: inde malum et trahit conceptum ad actum: anima enim non potest comprehendere sine corpore: et hereditas bona futura: erit anime: si meretur dum est cum corpore: post non: cum trahitur post rationem: sic desiderabit sapiens amorem convictionis: sic dolor est in separando: ea: non potest mereri sine ea: merebuntur utrumque firmari in alio mundo: sic corpus etiam remanet: et vere mortuum et non est: factum est proverbium cecum comparant corpori: animam mutilatam ⁹⁰² : sic excusant se quod alterum sine altero peccare non potuerit: et utrumque iure punitur · Intellectus est simplex non compartitus: sic non rumpitur: et tamdiu vertitur dum inveniatur locum: ⁹⁰³ in mundo alio: semper purgando se: nisi sit aliqua ita immunda ut numquam mundetur: sed semper punitur · vel habebit locum pro meritis וְאֵד עֲבִי תִּהְיֶה: revivificantur: hamedim: mortui: anima meretur semper: anime israel procedunt a vita a Bina: sed alio non: ille attollentur cum honore: licet aliqui puniuntur cum malis: accusatoribus: melchiam: puniuntur mali semper: sine fine: et in flumine ubi fundus principum: anime enim redeunt ad fundamentum earum: amisso fundamento: anima fit: sancti populorum qui firmaverunt 7m precepta filiorum Noac: non retinet deus mercedem eorum: scilicet Idola: luxuria: necare: mutilare: furari: parentes	254 · corpus et anima simul corpus etiam remanet: anima corpusque punitur · anime in alia corpora: Resurrectio · Anime israel pena semper Noa filii: 7m precepta
[122v] israel elegit · cur?	

⁹⁰² In the MS “mutilato”.

⁹⁰³ The words “in corpore: ubi” are erased.

chevar: qui non receperant: supra se filii nove: 7m precepta sed ut iniussi faciebant: at quia a bina anima procedit ideo dicuntur filii israel: quia venere a Bina: et a via veritatis idest tipheret: et filii Machom idest loci Dei adonai · et dicitur filii estis dei: in fidem et semen pacis: quia exiere ex iesod · viro decime que dicitur dozus: et est que lactat: lac dat pueris: et nutrit: et quia ipsa dicitur israel: et filii sui: ut dicunt · vel est unum: av: in celo berachia: quod dicitur israel: sic in decima que dicitur domus: et hec est causa cur eligit israel: deus: caritate sua: et pars dei ex gentibus: et dictum Iacob: pars domini populus dei: hereditas sua: et dicitur Iacob elegit deus: decima deus eloe israel: quia sunt filii dei · et pars eorum iure facit hereditatem thesaurum domus idest decime: idest benedictionis eius: ipsa est 2a sapientia conclusa ex · 32 · viis sapientie: ideo dicitur: hereditas eius sinagoga Iacob. Item dicitur ad faciendum hareditare eos: et thesauros eorum implebo: idest decimam: ubi lex et precepta. Sed alie gentes sunt sub principibus: qui regnant in eis: vel intellectus agens in intellectibus particularibus. Habent tamen principem aliquem procurantem: et defendentem: fatum: queque gens habet suum fatum et suum principem: et illi dicuntur principes gentium quos divisit eis: (fatum cuiquam nisi israel dicitur: in Avodezara:) decima dicitur deus deorum princeps principum: eloe eloim: idest principum sarim: et stellarum sic insignarum. Elegit israel super omnes gentes. Elegit ut gentem ita: et locum meiucaat solum · elegit et domum⁹⁰⁴: et elegit in decima sehina: idest quietem quiescentem in eo loco: et erat edificium omne ibi et mensura: erat spirituale: et merebatur servire scehina: et inde ascendunt sacra et orationes:	a Bina israel filii dei · decima Rachia filii dei israel Thesaurus: Domus decima: Intellectus agens princeps: Angelus genti omni: Fatumque: deus deorum: et princeps: principum Locum elegit Scehina ibi ·
[123r] Elegit⁹⁰⁵ israel	255

⁹⁰⁴ Initially “domus” then corrected.

⁹⁰⁵ The word “Ioseph” is erased.

Haetec: transcriptum de Ioseph hominis: idest sedens et habitans hominem medium habitationis: in filo medio: ibi est radix honoris dei. Talpi iot dicitur regio hierusalem: et propugnacula: tal piiot: tel dicitur acervus quo omnes volvuntur se respicientes piiot: volventes eo respicientesque. Daniel vertit intentionem versus hierusalem: dicitur versus terram quam elegisti scilicet ad scehina: est enim cav emzae idest in medio mundo · licet omnia dei sint: dedit tamen portarios et principes: et stellas: et ibi elegit locum: et dicitur deus israel: et bethel: quia elegit: israel in populum: locum: et habitationem et locum inferiorem vocant domum dei: quia elegit et desideravit habitationem: sibi: sed principes non sic vocantur: sed dii nehar: alieni et externi: non enim sunt⁹⁰⁶ potentia eorum nisi illis principibus alie nationes: (sic regit alias regiones ubi obtutu) per decimam regit principes divisas in regiones col haarazot: bibunt: stillantia ex israel: vitam eternam: et principes vocantur qui serviunt: diis alienis: et sunt ex pellicibus populi alii: non ex uxore legitima: non merentur hereditare ut filii: et uti corona regis: in perfectione: israel est in mensa patris in loco tamen suo: ubi servabit legem totam: et erit sanctificata: et merebunt scehina habitare in inferioribus. Qui sunt exteri: sunt ut qui deum non habent · sed principes qui dicuntur dii alieni presunt eis. Alii se pellunt de rescuit dei: aer alius⁹⁰⁷ erat contaminatus metame: ut sub tentorio omnia contaminata: sic aer alius contaminatus: egent omnia perfecte: cognosces quod israel et omnia egent venire ad perfectionem: scilicet Messie: sic una coniunctio:	daniel versus hierusalem hierusalem in medio hierusalem in medio quo respiciendum Taza: Tamzi populi alii spurii principes alii dii contaminata Messias
[123v] chi sciam: ibi substantia firmitatis: quedam precepta sunt corporis: ut tehilim: que sunt corporis et non pendent	

⁹⁰⁶ The word “sunt” is repeated and erased.

⁹⁰⁷ In the MS “aluis”.

a⁹⁰⁸ israel: loco: et fecere zizit et est dictum a signo quasi signatum: et precepta non erunt nova in reditu: et intentio etiam in galut facit: et firmat omnia in terra israel et nisi essent signati: essent ut gentes et essent novi: oportetque iterum recipere: sic Filius Regis intrans domum servi: et iuvat rebellare in regno: esset error sine mensura: si israeliticus rebellat: et sequitur gentes: servi sunt qui avodazara. Decima nutrix punitur: et abundantia aufertur: et Din venit in eos: homo solus si sit qui non facit precepta in peregrinatione: punietur ut qui avoda zara: ulciscetur deus: ut vir in meham: numquam deus dixit ulciscar: nisi in avodazara: et prophete comparant meretrici avoda zara: et sequemini oculos vestros: intelligit hereses et idolatria: qui agit contra precepta: diruatur: qui hieret femine aliene: fons miscebitur: aquis immundis: et qui miscetur nipte dirimit pars superius: si queris quare deus creat animas mechorum? Deus non mutat naturam ob peccatum: serie disposito: sacra trahent in prophanum: sic Balaam: dixit · deus israel est inimicus turpitudinis: et israel peccabit: et ruet. In his omnibus vel luxuria: vel idolatria: ubi scribit quisquam vias suas diruerunt · intelligitur in his duobus: et irritant.	filius regis: Servi qui Meretrix hereses: 909 Balaam:
[124r] faciam meam dixit ulciscitur: et aperit turpia in regione electa: ubi domus eius: et in hester coegit reginam: israel non ut alia terra: quia non tolerat ibi deus idola: et luxuriam expuit turpiat: et ibi scehina: sed alie regiones: fedate semper: principes enim earum tolerant turpia: et israel proiicit eis · non est perfectio servitii dei nisi in ea domo electa que est e regione domus et terre vite: quia inde genita est: et cum unus habebit intentionem serviendi extra domum sanctam: erat passul: dirutum est: idest ineptum: sacro: sola ergo intentio nocet: ut videbant gentes appetitum et Sathan:	256 israel mundum gens alia a principe feda intentio etiam perdit: passul:

⁹⁰⁸ The word “domo” is erased.

⁹⁰⁹ The marginal note “deus cur creat spurios:” is erased.

in sacris extra: ut capere⁹¹⁰ erectus et vacuus<ta> extra castra: gentes irrident: quod alia non extra: et hoc extra sed nesciunt intentionem avertendi spiritum fedatum qui extra est ne accusent: et ipsi principes extra: recipit partem eorum: et intentio non est principibus: sed deo oppilanti os ut bene loquantur: et ad recipiendum bene: intentio ergo munda: deus elegit hanc domum: et hoc est profundum multum. Decima ergo dicitur israel: et Tipheret in eam que est ierusalem: domus sancta: ideo dicitur non veniam in hierusalem inferiorem idest⁹¹¹ in decimam: et Altare est: Sepulti in israel: ac si sub altari sepulti. Domus dei dicitur: idest ipsius tipheret: domus fundamenti: quia ab ea:	Gentes irrident · principibus ergo malis sacrificia Israel decima Altare Sepulti
[124v] Messias · Niscetet: fundata est israel in eternum: altare et domus et cau emzae dat abundantiam ut paradus: peccatores autem dicuntur errantes: dicitur sciebant funda uti et non errabant hostium: sic error contrarium. Est et Nutrix in quam filum misericordie: cum bene agit: cum errabit: castigabitur nutrix et filii: venit Serpens iacens spumam in Evam decimam: et hec est causa ruine ierusalem · et galut et serviunt inter populos diis et irascitur terra: et pro servo Regnat: et pro ancilla heres fit: scilicet alienigena: quia nomen dei non sanus: et sedes dei non plena: ac si Rex eiectus sit e Regno: hier: proiecit celum pulchritudinem israel: (quid dicerent si Roma fuisset) Quid facies nomini tuo magno: Quis uniet sephiroth simul: Tempore perfectionis unientur omnia: et domus sanctuarii: et habebunt Messiam cui est intellectus et sapientia: et fortitudo: deus unus et nomen unum: pax⁹¹² erit et bona omnia · et amalec evertetur: et appetitus: malus: et sedes est perfecta. Et sic israel est radix mundi et firmitatis	cau · Nutrix castigatur Spuma serpentis In Evam: 10⁹¹³ Galut cur: ruit israel Servitus semper hebreus nomen non sanum: Sedes non plena Rex · ut eiecto: proiecit celum⁹¹⁴: terram pulchritudo uniet viro: unientur omnia: Messias: Tempus perfectionis Sapientia et intellectus: ei fortitudo: Deus unus: nomen unum: pax: bona omnia: Amalec

⁹¹⁰ The words “ex te” are erased.

⁹¹¹ The word “alto” is erased.

⁹¹² The word “Pax” is repeated twice.

⁹¹³ This number is covered by the drawing of cross that reaches the space between “Spuma” and “serpentis”.

⁹¹⁴ The drawing of a cross is traced in the middle of this annotation.

etiam: deberet dici deus et nomen unum: tamen dixit deus unus: nomen unum. Intelligitur quod dum ille mundi superius non movetur: cum inferior stat: superior enim est vel misericordia vel Iustitia. Tempore perfectionis non est divisio sed omnes perfectiones et principes iungentur: sic est unitas perfecta eo tempore: dicitur deus unus: et nomen unum: quia: non dividuntur in midot decem in misericordiam et Iustitiam: sed misericordia racmim tantum · que operantur in hoc mundo in tempore iam amisso: Miliario septimo scilicet fine mundi.	evertit: appetitus: Sedes perfecta: Israel radix mundi et firmitatis: Deus unus: nomen unum · Mundus supra misericordia: Iustitia · Tempore Messie · non divisio: omnes perfectiones et principes iungentur: unitas perfecta tunc: deus unus: misericordia tantum tunc ideo nomen unum 7mo miliario Nutrix in Galut: ruina ob spumam serpentis · Messie tempore unientur omnia
[125r] Iom saeculo sabat · dies qui totus est sabatum: et agentes removebuntur ab opere eorum · et Iovel reget omnia: et omnia ascendent ad originem unde fluxit: postquam declaravimus hominem ad similitudinem dei: Nunc tephilim Quomodo fiunt. In 2a hocma designantur 32 · semite: ubi clauduntur omnia huius mundi prima est misericordia perfecta et nihil din intus nec licet ibi occupari in en soph: sed dicitur rescit principium:⁹¹⁵ secunda hocma: et dicitur principium quia est principium capitum: et primogenitus omnium potentiarum: et Tertia bina: creat omnia per rescit: unde comprehenditur Rex superior creans omnia ex nihilo: facit trahere operantes: et potest mutare tempora: et ab ea trahunt 7m operantes. Eloim ideo dicitur potentia eorum: in 4r midot concluduntur omnia: hocma bina:⁹¹⁶ hesed: pahad · vel melius. Bina racmim pacad Tipheret · Rex superior agit per mores suas scilicet in dextra et sinistra. Ideo	257 · cessabant omnia omnis feret omnia tellus Hocma 32 En soph: non din hocma primogenitus⁹¹⁷ · Bina · 3a · unde creatio Ex nihilo eloim cur

⁹¹⁵ The words “et est” are erased.

⁹¹⁶ The letters “pa” are erased.

⁹¹⁷ Below this marginal note, there is the drawing of a cross.

venit Cabala sinai be sina: idest a monte in prophetas per manus: ideo dicitur ibi in 4r Casulis: et sanctifica primogenita idest hocma: facta sine factorum ordine: Goel redemptor magnus. Tipheret habet mutationem nature miraculis: ut per mosem: et movit ibi ordinem factorum. Nisan martio quo ascendit aries in celo: (quem adorabant egyptii) tunc erat potestas agni et non salvavit egyptum. Tertia parascia: que dixit audi israel: ubi misericordia et amor: ubi scribitur amabis deum: · 4a · scribitur si amabis bene: sin non male ubi din ·	Cabala per manus Sine fato Nisan martius Agni secreta Agni potestas: non salvat egyptum 4r parasciot ·
[125v] hacadot sanctus benedictus recipit a 4r midot: idest Tipheret de potentia ad actum dicitur: Tipheret: faciens hoc et id: sic intelligitur ponere Tephilim: idest 4r parascioth: et deus ponit: idest caput a · 4r · et haurit: a hocma harum bina: hesed pacad: ideo ponitur in capite ubi Tipheret versus macsceva: ubi radix cerebri: sic intelligitur Quomodo Tipheret ponit tephilim in capite: idest in se qui est caput: et abundantia venit a · 4r · midot in caput tipheret: ut dicitur aliis: usque in decimam quam significat nodum in occipite in formam dalet: quia est porta ad deum: vel dalet pauper: quia eget elemosinam recipere: a viro nodus posterior ostendit decimam: ideo dicitur videbis posteriora mea: faciem non idest decimam videbis non alia 4r parasciot: sic: ros tipheret: et chesed nodus post respicit memoriam concludentem omnia: recordari: et servare significat omnia: et facimus scin de · 4r: in fronte: sic faciamus nomen a manu sinistra sic erunt 7m capita indicantia edificium: 4r dextra et Tria sinistra: sinistra pacad hod decima alia dextra: a dextra est scin: quia intentio est ut homo vestiatur eo: ac si staret erectus ante deum: dextra ad sinistram dei · oransque non vagetur mente · nec alia cogitet: liguleque a nodo descendentes hinc una hinc alia: ostendunt: divinam cogitationem a capite procedentem. Hec tephile capitis. Manuum vero: quod ibi uniuntur omnia: superiora in uno	4r Tephilim Cur Decima daled porta: vel pauper posteriora que nodum decimam: Scin · in fronte: 7m · 4r · 3a · Tephila capitis: Manus nunc:

canali descendenti: in malcut · ideo calla dicitur sponsa quasi culla: tota: et omnia: quia ibi concluduntur 32 · semite hocma: et filia sapientie dicitur: et scribitur in manu una tantum: quia ibi omnia concluduntur: in decima · quia in particulari nihil est quod non sit in universali: et contrarium ubi et unitas. Manus leva cordis ibi intelligitur decima manus et cor lev: לב · 32: ut hocma · de tephilim manus dicitur erit signum super manum tuam in signum signum dicitur Iesod: er super manum idest decimam · ideo additur · ה · et dicitur sinistra quia est Din · semol ·	sponsa: omnia: Manus לב Manus
[126r] chi en: non est aliud in particulari: quod non sit in universali: et contrarium super manum et cor: decima: 32 · nodus significat iod decimam ut hocma: ubi super manum signum Iesod: manus decima: unde iadha: cum · ה · manus sinistra: iad cheha: sinistra: et Din. Pacis etiam signum est: cingula etiam nigra a Mose in Sinai Nigra abdita et secreta: Tephila manus non impedit: idest una sufficit sine alia: sed siquis utramque posuerit: capitalem primo deponat. Societas mecubalim: cum his omnibus perfecta est · et hoc · significat deus ponit tephilim super caput Iuravit deus dextra: quia dextra tipheret brachium: decima: manus fortis: et leva: et brachium fortitudinis: et hoc tephilim manus. Capitis sunt maiores quam manus: quia ille sunt dextre super levam: ideo de tephilim capitis non potest fieri: tephila manus: ne cadat ibi peius: sed contrarium: que manus est: potest esse capitis: non ponetur prius que capitis est: sed oportet per decimam: intrare prius: ideo a leva incipiendum. Radix enim unitatis est: claudit enim omnia · potentia decime unit et eligitur a nocte: quia dicitur nox: et lumen Minus ut dominantur nocti · ideo non ponitur nocte. Sabato non ponuntur thephilim: et est ut quies viva mundi quia Iesod est signum. Synagoga est decima: et dictum est quod est anima una	258 · ioth Manus pacis · Nigra capitis positio · zal: benedicit: brachium · 10 · Quare? Manipulum leve prius Nocte non

[126v]⁹¹⁸ sedera: superflua: et non sunt precepta tephilim similia zizit: filis: zizit enim etiam sabato ponuntur zizit enim⁹¹⁹ significat · decimam: et omnia concludunt: sed Tephilim significat signum super manum: et illa est Iesod et Sabatum etiam est signum: ergo non oportet ponere signum quia sabatum est signum trahens illud · tephilim non similia⁹²⁰ circumcisioni: quia tephilim sunt extra corpus: circumcisio non: in ebdomada obligationis potest esse patur idest Liber si eget et c. sed circumcisio: nullo casu relinquitur et ibi non est patur Recordatio est Iesod: et custodia: est decima: et id est signum: completur sic similitudo dei: cum he duo iunguntur: recordatio Iesod: observatio decime recordatio zacor: est etiam mas: et vir: sabato qui non circumciditur: ruet: qui Sabato circumcisio complet edificium in se ipso et bene habet omnia. Sabatum est signum inter vos et inde non custodit nisi israel: quia meretur habere illum diem qui est totum Sabatum · et non meretur: nisi servet sabatum: non meretur Sabatissimum: scribitur in Agada:⁹²¹ super Sarapanim: dixit · quod thephilim significat sarapanum: quod dicitur nomine domini sui: quia venit a causa superiori: ostensa mosi et zachieli: et prophetis. Moses autem usque hesed: sed ensof nulli visum nec facie: nisi posteriora: ideo dicitur ad Imaginem: videbantur hii contrarius: sed non est: de prophetia	Iesod · Signum Sabatum pahir: Liber paturia circumcisio Circumcisio Sabati Sabatum solus israel: Sabatum totum ultimum Sarapanim
[127r] ba ignanim mare: in re prophetie: Tephilim: et tephila idem: quasi sociatum · et coniungens: sic domus orationis: ego sum oratio: tephila: quia dat abundantiam domi: dixit · aperientur misericordie mee super mores tuos: omnia pendent: ex israel: si bene egerunt: bona omnia trahentur in decimam: dixit · domino beneplacitum est in sacris super	259 · oratione fit

⁹¹⁸ The letters “uni” are erased.

⁹¹⁹ The word “sabatum” is erased.

⁹²⁰ The letters “Sa” are erased.

⁹²¹ The word “quod” is erased.

omnia sacrificia: excitat enim morem: et intentionem · trahet ipse in veritatem Tipheret: et fidem idest decimam prope est dominus omnibus invocantibus eum: in veritate: sic dicitur invocabunt me: et ego respondebo eis: ergo omnia hinc pendent ut inferiora bene invocent: aliter nihil fit. Mosi dixit deus⁹²² non est pax in terra tua? Idest cur cessas in vota precesque: non est unus servus salutans dominum? Debes iuvare me. Tunc Moses cepit dicere: Magnificabitur dominus: et est oratio Mosis et virginis. Milla de Gidal: significat ghedula hesed misericordiam: la adonai: significat Thiferet: intentio est ut adonai ultimum trahat misericordia a domino: Mosis. Ego nos infra sumus aptamus divina superiora. Deus vult Iuvare a mose: quia vult ut pax decima trahat superiora. Hoc in robi ismael: cum intraret penetralia: vidit saragadol et dixit ille o ismael benedicit mihi: sic ille benedixit: transibunt misericordie tue super mores tuos. Superiora excitantur ab inferiori: et Iusti orantes vite: et intentione optata: bene omnia · dicitur qui habitat: et equitat celum: adiutum tuum:	Amor veritas que Fides oratio quid cessas in vota unde Magnificat · virginis Magnitudo quid .⁹²³ Nos Regnum nos iuvaret⁹²⁴ oratio vite Equitans celum
[127v] Sceisrael: dicam: superior equitat: ita scribitur: quod dicitur⁹²⁵ celum · vel nomen dei equitat: ob mercava ezechiel: et illi sunt celi. Decima etiam dicitur auxilium: et celum equitat: quia est sedes: mittet auxilium de sancto: oportet inferiores gentes excitare · non est benedictio: veniet nisi sic: et sic benedictio panim: et helyas cepit farinam · et dixit qui non ponit panem in mensa: non habebit benedictionem. Superioribus nihil deest: sed⁹²⁶ unitas perfecta illic non compartita: nec mutabilia. Tipheret est radix mundi et est similitudo faciei hominis in mercave:	auxilium de sancto: Neque enim ante deiiscent: Superiora perfecta: Tipheret

⁹²² The word “quare” is erased.

⁹²³ A *manicula* points at the word “Magnificat”.

⁹²⁴ The drawing of a *manicula* points at the marginal note above.

⁹²⁵ The letters “oe” are erased.

⁹²⁶ Corrected from an initial “nisi”.

Sciaar hamercave superioris Concluditur mercava ezechiel: Mercava superior princeps omnium est qui equitat omnia: et dicitur Melech: 3a Bina equitans totum edificium non vocat nisi · 4r · Tipheret hesed: pahad: contrario etiam: et Tres prime non nisi particularia habent: hesed pene arie: facies leonis: pacad leva scior: Bos: Taurus: Tipheret homo: Decima aquile facies: Tipheret ghever homo vir dicitur in dextram pronum · dextra enim omnia mares sunt: decima contra in levam · Din: quam vero dextrum imperat leve: ideo Tipheret dicitur facies: decima dicitur retro et posteriora.	4r in mercava Leo: Bos: homo: Aquila facies: posteriora:
[128r] · 4r · pedes Mercheva veſerit: decima leva dicitur posteriora: ut dixit zal zacarona liberaha: memoria sit benedictio: ultima non ita lucet ut superior: hii sunt pedes mercava: dextrum sinistrum: facies: posteriora: facies hominis et aquile: non dixit sed in leone tantum · et in scior: est facies · locus enim eorum scitur: quod scilicet hesed et pacat scitur: quod facies precipue est: hesed et pacad plus scitur: facies idest claritas quod hec misericordia clara: illa pacad din: unus pes hesed nezec: unus pacad ōd: 3s Tipheret Iesod: 4s (Psalmus 119 habitavi quievi in tentorii chedar idest Tartarorum) Tipheret plus habet misericordie quia inclinatus: et plus aque quam aliud: quia maim dicitur. Scemaim: scin: servit et dicitur ut de aqua: vel aque: celum sic dicitur quasi dixit misericordia: idest componitur de misericordia: ideo dicitur equitat celum. Mercava dicitur equitas et superior gradus: Tipheret est maim: ex misericordia: sic dicitur celum in sce maim de aqua: hoc celum equitat Bina. Tipheret est substantia edificii et sedes dei eloim idest tertie: ideo dicitur qui sedes super sedem pietatis: celum dicitur quelibet mida superiori sue inferiori: et sedes sue superiori. Tertia est Celum celorum super omnia: et Tipheret sedes pietatis. Decima sedes din: Tipheret est racmim: sunt due	260 zal 4r pedes: MERCAVA Scehina: chedar: Tartari Thipheret Quomodo Bina equitat celum · celum et sedes: celum quidam celorum Sedes due

exeuntes in actum: diversum: (curse) sedes: intelliguntur due sedes: una equitatis: altera Din · misericordia est zedaca: elemosina tertia dicitur iosev habitans et sedens: in cherubim: scilicet hesed pacad · patres mercava sunt mercava · Abram hesed: Isac pacad: Iacob Tipheret: Decima est conclusa in Tipheret. Tres tantum dicuntur patres israel: decima enim concluditur: ideo dicitur tu dabis veritatem Iacob: et misericordiam abram: et sacrificatur pahad Isac. Decima pes 4r mida David · misericordie sunt elemosina: sic dicitur decima: quia abram volebat assimilari per mida hesed semper faciebat misericordiam cum hominibus sui temporis: et ea intentione: ducebat hominem pascebatque et traxit cor eorum ad servitium dei: et quia posuit cor ad hec opera: bona: pauperibus et divitibus: ideo tribuere ei mida hesed:	Cherubim qui: Tiphernum patriarche qui 4r David Abram: misericordia elemosina
[128v] hisc mipehisc: Lo hamida: ipsi: Ahava: amor dicitur Eva: et semen abrae amica mea: scilicet hesed: dicitur Abraam hec: ut dixit bahir: dixit misericordia Deo: Domino mundi⁹²⁷ Abram⁹²⁸ est in mundo: non oportet me facere opera mea: quia ipse facit opera mea: miseretur lassis: recipit: orat pro Sodoma a deo studiose.⁹²⁹ Isac dicitur sanctus: humanus: et mitis: et Timor peccandi · ideo oportebat ligari: ad attollendum patrem: quia Din vincta Iustitia obedit patri et cedit ipsi hesed. Decima est misveac: super quam Isac ligatur: et incidit tunc in tempore sacrificii: ut appareret ail: in crepusculo idest inter tipheret diem: et decimam noctem:⁹³⁰ in altari illo sacraverant veteres: a din: noac: manoac: et 10ma · recipit sacrificia nostra primo: ideo altare: inde precepit deus benedictiones vitamque eternam: ob corban: intentione ascendendi altare id fiunt sacrificia:	Eva: Amor: misericordia: Isac sanctus: Timor peccati: ligata Din: Isac: Altare ubi ligatur: Ail: ainellus: agnus: crepusculo: Antiqui:

⁹²⁷ The letters “da” are erased.

⁹²⁸ The word “esse” is erased.

⁹²⁹ The words “ideo dicitur” are erased.

⁹³⁰ The letter “u” is erased.

quia Isac sacrificatus est in altari: fit sacrificium perfectum: quia Terra israel respondet altari illi: idest decime: dixit · qui sepelitur in terra israel: ac si sub altari. Mida Iesod que est veritas est Iacob: habitantis inter duo tentoria: duas midot Avi et patris perficiturque omnia · paxque fit dixit in Talmut quoa figura Iacob est sculta in sede honoris dei: Iesod dicitur honoris dei: Sedes est totum edificium ipsi(us) Bina. Radix edificii est Bina: sic totum edificium est eius sedes. In hominis forma incavata sculpta: in figura hominis caput tipheret:⁹³¹ sic forma hominis et figura est sculpta: his midot: ideo dixit Iacob esse sculptum: sic Decima dicitur David et non dicitur pater ut alii: quia decima non habet lucem nisi a Sole luna decima a tipheret et recipit a superiori: sic non dicitur deus David sed maghen scutum david: et dixit decima est filia Abram · Deus benedixit abram ba col: Abram est brachium: et decima est ante brachium sic maghen scutum abrae	Israel qui sepelitur: Iacob in medio: Honoris dei · Sedes que · 4r · David non pater: deus david non dicitur
[129r] va aia: et erit scutum in brachio dextro: in david dicitur quod scutum eius in brachio levo: ubi bellum · ideo dedisti mihi scutum salutis tue: et scutum meum cornu salutis mee · quandoque non recensetur 4a · sed clauditur in 3bus dicitur Deus fortis grandis terribilis: sic midot ille 3s secretum non semper aperitur quia din obviat externis volentibus accedere: patres sunt mercava: et per eos comprehendetur gradus nominum dei: ut dicitur de abram ascendebat ab eo eloim · decima dicitur eloim: fortitudo eorum inferiorum: decima in nuncio esse nuncium meum: duorum mundorum 3a equitat super abram superiorem. Sic decima equitat in Abram inferiorem: idest vivuum: mortalem: ad hauriendum prophetam · et ad beneplacitum auriendum: ideo dicitur ascendit Eloim super abraam: et dicitur exaltatus est deus in Trua: sono.	261 · Scutum Midot 3s Eloim Abram · 2x · Truo ·

⁹³¹ The words “et c” are erased.

Ascendit ab abraam et Iacob: ascensio fit usque in celum · trahitur super faciem suam. Iusti sunt mercava: sciahina idest equus et sedes. Iesod est zadic: et scehina est et quiescit in eo. In nona dixit zion: et hierusalem: quod Iesod est radix deus eligit in zion inferiori: et est mercava decime: et dixit deus exit de loco suo: idest de mida racmim in Din: et contrarium. Deus odorat suavitatem odoris: et deus descendit ad cor suum dixit deus ad cor suum idest ad decimam: misericordia in Iustitia est benedictio: Mercava hec est in quam extenditur mercava ezechiel ·	zion · 2x · Deus exit cor ·
[129v] Angeli: 4r in Mercava Scehi mercava · que est mercava decima: et ut sunt 4r in Mercava Superiori. Ita infra decimam · sunt · 4r · pedes et facies 4r · facie leonis dextra: scior: et c · 4r aquile: et hominis Mihael: Gabriel: Raphael: Uriel: sunt potentia 4r Imperiorum: et dicitur erunt 4r capita: et dividitur:⁹³² Malcut Iavan: princeps est malcut Iavan: grecorum: et princeps persarum: et hic est mundus particularium: et Bahir appellat decimam sciam: illic: ubi latent omnia: sic 4r angeli in mensa: panim: et · 4r · facies superiores dicuntur celi: deus equitas dicitur super celum: quia decima equitat super · 4r · hos. Tipheret est cadosc varaho: sanctus benedictus. Item etiam decima inde procedens in 4r: quia mundus dividitur in · 4r · castra: et · 4r · angeli et hec sedes dicitur alba saphiri: scilicet 4r illi angeli: 4r capita animalium ·⁹³³ haia: animal quod vidit ezechiel: · הַיָּא · vivens et animal: idest 4r animalia in una sede: vidi sub deo eloim⁹³⁴ israel: animalia illa non intelliguntur: sed significat sedem que est sub elohe israel: idest sub decima que est sedes eloe israel. Aramban aptavit	Mercava 2x · supra et infra: 4r · 4r anguli · Angeli 4r Sciam: 10a: ubi omnia: Deus equitat supra Tipheret cadosc Decima equitat in 4r · Sedes alba Saphiri hAia ezechiel · 4r animalia in una Sede · Sedes eloe · decima:

⁹³² The letters “Imp” are erased.

⁹³³ The word “haia” is erased.

⁹³⁴ *Suprascriptum*.

hoc: et avenazara non sprexit cherubim alis: dixit david: quod extendit alas: et Scehina extensa: inter cherubim: similitudo avium · in penim idest pene tralibus⁹³⁵ visionis ezechielis: extenduntur ale usque ad domum sanctuarii: dixit david in similitudinem mercave: ad recipiendum cherubim superiores scilicet hesed pahad · et dicitur Ale et brachia: ut dixit bair est simile homini berachia attollenti super caput suum: extendit alas cherubim nostrorum: ad imitandas potentias superiores:	porsena: porsin: extensum: cherubim supra: brachia Ale brachia · Homo brachia attollens cherubim imitantur supra
[130r] ughevoim: est exaltatum: cherubim ostendunt alis superiorem unitatem: ideo uno integro frustrum: zaphon aurum rubeum: ideo aurei ob din: zaphon unde aurum. In arca est tabule decem preceptorum: due tabule ostendebant decem essentias. Thora significat Tipheret: significat quod deus perfectus ibi quiescit: dicitur igne equitabat super altare: ut leo: filum misericordie tractum tempore mosis: substantia⁹³⁶ Tabernaculi: ob pulchritudinem dei elegere unum de genere Iuda: est bezalel: et a Dan est aliav. Iuda enim maxima est: ubi nomen magnum: Tipheret Dan significat Din: Rex et Regina: et⁹³⁷ ingeniosus cum Dan: non dixit sapientem ut bezalel: ubi declaratur altitudo graduum in animalium differentia. A cherubim inferioribus superiores cognoscitur: Ezech: videbat in tipheret clausam decimam. Non tamen ut Moses: quare non dixit cherubim · sed dixit haia cur dixit cherubim multos: quia vidit primum idest decimum et novit 2m idest Tipheret. Sciaar: haolam: declarabitur quod potentie inferiores: et superiores: universaliter et particulariter declarabuntur · dixit: Tres potentias: ensof: hocma: bina concludunt omnia: sed ob altitudinem Laurum non comprehenduntur. Bina ob	262 cherubin altum decem precepta decem essentie Zaphon aurum Misericordia Leo super altare Iuda: Dan: Bezalel: nomen Tipheret scinde nomen magnum Animalium differentia altitudo 10 · clausa cherub non: sed haia Ezech non ut Messias cherubim multa · quia · 10m · in qua etiam Tipheret Tres potentie: omnia: in comprensione

⁹³⁵ The letters “aspec” are erased.

⁹³⁶ The word “non” is erased.

⁹³⁷ The word “Rex” is erased.

dicitur Ruac · spiritus Spiritus divini: et Aque superiores: sic dicitur maamar verbum dei: ideo dicitur vagiomer eloim:	Aque spiritus⁹³⁹
[131/132r]⁹⁴⁰ Brescit: dicitur in brescit: dixit · eloim: dicitur cum decem dictis creatus est mundus idest Decem sephirot. Aque in sepher izira · dictur spiritus domini quatiebat super aqua: ut avis volans super aquas: tangens et non tangens: nec quiescit donec venit ad aridam. Rachia extensio inter aquas: idest Tipheret: claudiens fines: erit inter hesed que dicitur maim: cum fit celum in medio: fit circumdatum aquis: superioribus et inferioribus .⁹⁴¹ conceperunt aque et generaverunt ignem: idest pacat idest Din · contra racmim. A tertia ergo processere omnia: elementa et alia omnia: omnia enim e pulvere: et pulvis convertitur cum omnibus: littere 𐤒𐤓𐤔 · aqua ex igne: et ignis ex aqua: Tipheret est concilium utriusque: ideo dicitur sciamaim: es: et maim: maxima pars hesed est aqua: decima de potentia pahad. Terra est aridior igne superiore: idest decima non ita mala ut superior. Pluvia celi idest aqua hesed humettat terram: aque superiores hee sunt: qui plantavit dexteram tuam: et Rachia celum dividit utrasque aquas scilicet Tipheret:⁹⁴² dixit esse celum dividens: disputantes nituntur alter alterum vincere: sed dixit omnis: esse omnia extensa. De aquis utrisque disputatur in Talmut: non possumus comprehendere nisi cogitatione decem sephirot: de potentia ad actum. Tipheret radix hominis est: veniens de potentia ad actum: unde incipit edificium humanum: unde opus de potentia ad actum · dicitur est mundo aqua ex aqua: crescetque cuique locus proprius. Olam: mundus est cum misericordia edificatus: quia omnia ab eo extensa sunt: aque superiores mares: col machebil:	263 · Aque decem: Spiritus domini Rachia Tipheret Aque due Que · Aque ignis Sciamaim unde: in rossana: Terra decima: pluvia in terram Rachia celum Tipheret: unde homo

⁹³⁹ Below this marginal note, there is the drawing of a cross; while in the blank space below the main text the word “Brescit” is written in the same calligraphy as the rest of the page.

⁹⁴⁰ The same page is identified with two different numbers.

⁹⁴¹ The letters “pri” are erased.

⁹⁴² The word “dividit” is erased.

faciens recipere: est mas et agens ve col mecabel omne recipiens est femina. Terra bibit sub celo idest decima: dicitur omnia e pulvere et in pulverem: quia ille est mundus animarum: omnia concludit omnia: sic decima ex omnibus: et quod licet est fundamentum unde venit Regimen mundi per decimam. Tertia est anima superior: unde vita: et est vita regis: et que sufflavit animam spiritum vite in faciem Regis Pedes mercava: 4r · et · 3s · hesed pahac Tipheret: 3s universales 4r particulares infra: Aer ventus: 3a · que sufflat sipritum suum: sic Patres Tres: et corone · 3s · et Tipheret radix fundamentorum: vertuntur omnia: ut figura impressa in sigillo: 3s superiores non videntur: sed az impressio in cera: sic in · 3bus · sequentibus forma az: hesed pacad Tipheret: sigillans ubi sigillarit redit: polet sunt hee tres: ut ampulle quas resudant vasa in bibita hinc bullit et ut contrarium ex contrario: sic e sigillo fit contrario motus: de aqua ignis et c. quod sigillum habet dextrum ibi levum: et contrarium · sic ab eis veniunt contraria: dicitur fecit rectum ut murum: quia elementa eunt deorsum ad erigendum edificium · contraria e contrariis. Edificium aver Tipheret fundamentum ad firmandum edificium. Mundus est in columna: una: in · 3bus · patribus: qui fundamenta sunt: et in decima: ubi omnia hesed est fundamentum aquarum: pacad fundamentum spiritus: a bina. Decima Terra arida est comparata pacad: donec aqua a celo idest ab aqua hesed: et misericordia trahitur in eam: filum misericordie ·	Mas femina Mecabel: e pulvere Bina: mundus animarum Vita: et Anima Sufflat pedes mercava: Aer 3a · BINA SPIRITUS Sigillum ut resudant: ampulla Bullit hinc · Sigillum contrarium
[131/132v] 4 omnia · Aleha: super eam decimam: est semen pacis: et ob bonitatem nubis ascendentis a terra fit pluvia super terram: idest ob fumum sacrificiorum: et thuris pedes ergo mercava: sunt fundamenta 4r elementorum: fluentiumque aurum: argentum: ferrum: arbum: rubrum: nigrum: es: sub	264 sacrificia: pluvia: 4r elementa: metalla 4r sephirot: 4r partes mundi Scehina decima:

ruffum.⁹⁴³ hesed mizrac: pacad maarab. Tipheret darom meridiem: decima zaphon: septentrio. Scehina habitat in maarab: occidente idest quod vergit in occidentem: sic decima est scehina versus pacad que est occidens · sic scehina partit pacad: ut decima: bella inde: et angustie: sic 4r · Orla non comeditur · 3bus · annis: sed sacerdoti datur: in Tribus patribus significantur omnes potentie: que sunt necessarie arbori: 4a est decima ubi fructus sanctus: et caput anguli: 4a enim est beraha: idest decima a 4r illa extenduntur 4r habitationes scehina: sic annus in 4r partes: in Terra: 4r arce fluminum ab horto gan: omnia vertitur ad fontem magnum superiorem. Tria illa sunt radices: omnium. Tres secunde: hesed pacad: dies nox: sol luna: Tipheret dicitur daron: versus meridiem · derec Iom: via diei⁹⁴⁴: quia sol iter habet in die: luna nocte: zaphon dicitur quia⁹⁴⁵ a Sole repostus est locus: procul a via solis: ideo dicitur nos obscura quia lux inde solvitur: et remanent tenebre: Adam primus dicitur in Avodazara proveniebat a celo in terram: a meridie in septentrionem: intelligit plenam intelligentiam omnium: usque ad Tipheret: et 4r midot 4r partium Amassa: mattan: dicitur de homine inferiori: creato in similitudinem superioris Tipheret concludit totum edificium: sed peccatum obstitit: de die et nocte addan: Dies ambulat in noctem dicunt: in berahoth: 4r custodie · vigilie noctis: alii dicunt horas · 3s · alii · 4r · prima hesed: 2a pahad: 3a Tipheret 4a decima: alius aliter raben adan non: dixit 4tam particulariam: decima: custodie diei: prima nezec: 2a hod: 3a iesod: sic dies sequitur nocte. Quarta ergo est decima: Decima est conclusa ideo adam non numerat: unus capit universale: alius particulare: ideo decimam alius numerat alius non: quia est particulare⁹⁴⁶:	Anni 4r partes: Midot quibus partibus: Tipheret: Daron: derec iom: sol: luna zaphon a sole: Adam usque celum 4r partes mundi Dies 4r vigilie que Matutinum ·

⁹⁴³ The words “versus · za” are erased.

⁹⁴⁴ Initially “dies”, then corrected.

⁹⁴⁵ The word “sol” is erased.

⁹⁴⁶ This word is repeated twice.

surgere mane: subito post mediam noctem tempus beneplaciti orandi deum · non bene robi Adan · qui dixit Tres: tantum: sic mane post nocte est Tipheret que est Thora: bene ergo tunc orandum: et decima est penes Tipheret inter tauros: et est tempus beneplaciti: non bene roben Adan: unitas dei: bene mane tempus scehina:	Mane bonum ·
[133r] ve chi ioma: firmitas eius: Tephilot orationes matutinas 4r per horas primas abram fecit: quando veniunt prime 4r hore: 2e isac: 3e Iacob: vespertine in noctem: statuit Iacob placet vespertina deo: ubi misericordie magne: ut vigilie noctis prima: asinus rugit: 2a canes clamant: 3a uxor fabulator cum viro: infantesque lactant: prima hesed: abram ille est Asinus Abrae: et partus: Mosi: et Mesie: et mezuman le mesciac: excitat abram filum misericordie per decimam: bos pachad: evadet hesed tempore Messiae · Secunda canes⁹⁴⁷ latrant: pacad: ubi anime clamant et dixit hau hau: ut alvea sansuga semper dixit hau hau da da: sic Inferi gheenam semper dixit da da: et canes non saturantur: in bava⁹⁴⁸ caina: canes ululant: ubi angelus necans: plaga primogenitorum in media nocte: 2a vigilia dicuntur et omnibus filiis israel ne canis quidem latravit: deus precepit iccirco abiicere morticinia: et vendere alieno et lyra david quam dicunt media · nocte sonuisse: media nocte surgebam: quomodo: media nocte: sonabat: quia ventus zaphon tunc venit: intelligitur a pahad quia a zaphon: venit ut trahat tipheret contra pacad: ut dixit de auxilio Ade: uxor Eva auxilium: uxor narrat viro idest opus Tipheret: infans lactat ab ubere: idest decima a Tipheret: vel mundus a decima: principes hii agentes tunc: tu tunc surge: et da predam familie tue: et annonam et cibum da	265 · orationes quando vespere Iacob vigilie super asinam⁹⁵⁰ Messias · Asinus Mosi canes: Din Inferi: Angelus malus Morticina Lyra david Media nocte Zaphon Eva Predam da: Mane Manna ·

⁹⁴⁷ The letters “clam” are erased.

⁹⁴⁸ The letters “hamma” are erased.

⁹⁵⁰ The brawling of a cross is between these words.

Le narodeha: puellis tuis: ghevura lactat Man tunc cecidit Mane (in avodazara) · 3bus · horis sedet deus gubernans: a monocerote magno usque ad lendes. Mundus superior Tipheret est principium et contrario edifici: et quelibet dicitur mundus quelibet midot. Dicitur deus respexit in lege: et Creavit mundum in hocma: 2a: que dicitur lex principalis. Tertia que producit edificium ex respectu dei. Item sapientia femina edificavit: quia facit bina Edificavit columnas septem: in respectu dei ob vim 2e condidit: deus consuluit cum⁹⁴⁹ animalibus mundi · sic creavit et cum dixit sanctus benedictus: intelligitur 3a · Bina unde anime: sic pla: pytha virginis anime: consuluit cum · 3a · vel Tipheret cum decima ubi locus quietis anime: et cum dixit omnia a pulvere: et eo veniunt mundo venturo: Iesod et col iesod: facio col: dicitur quod in eo quiescebat custodite sabatum quia in eo quiescit omnis anima: ubi dicitur animatur. Secunda dicitur Thora prima: ubi designantur omnia Scripta Tipheret: valpe: decima: 2000 · annis prius: quelibet sephira ostendit mille annos: secunda · et 3a ba ezilut: ideo 7000 annis mundi idest 7m sephiro: mille vero dicitur: quia decem sunt mille: etiam aleph significat mille: et unum: sic duo eleph idest duo: lex scripta in nigro intelligit decimam · que est valpe:	Lex prima respexit ideam Creavit: columnne 7m · Spiritus sanctus Anime virginis Mundus futurus leges · 3s Duo duo milia
[133v] La Scebaalpe: ignis albus indicat legem scriptam: cum dixit Thora 2000 annis prius · intelligit prius hesed et pahad ba ezilut in procedendo: unitas perfecta hic · ignis niger super album: super thora primam: ubi est designata omnia: 32 semitae: 3a est aliquid · misericordie intellectus: unde omnia extenduntur · in sedem seculum · finis porte volam: porte mundi	32 hocme

⁹⁴⁹ The abbreviated version of the word “animalibus” was written, erased and rewritten in its correct form.

Porta decem: ṽassiriot Dicimus decem sephiroth esse fundamentum omnium: et numerum omnem inde procedere: et omnis numerus numquam transcendet decem: ut dicunt: docti in mathematicis. Decem dicta in berescit: dixit deus: decies ostendunt decem sephiroth quibus mundus creatus: ideo dicitur cum decem verbis creatus est mundus unde opera superioris venit: creata enim sunt que sunt in mundo per decimam creata sunt: per decem verba dei: in prima parascia: sunt secreta: aperta: ibi sunt: et secreta: utrumque verum est: que sunt infra sunt supra: sunt fundamenta et potentia subditorum. Domem: immota et inanimata: alia animata ut plante: alia anima ut animalium: et nulla herba est que fatum sidusque non habeat: quod dicit ei cresce cresce: si ascenderis in celum tu illic es. Miscere nostra non possumus: ne et superiora misceamus: Abram dixit forte sunt 50 Iusti in hiis civitatibus: decem singulis civitatibus: quem numerum transilire non potuit: et tacuit. Isac etiam decem benedictionibus benedixit. Decem etiam verba preceptorum: sic est honoratus hic numerus: et Adam fecit decem palia idest pepla: lapillis preciosis: in mahiba dicunt decem vocibus datam legem dicunt idest Sephiroth. Ies mi: sunt qui dicunt · 7m · quia numerant parascia: cum ea dictione que dixit et omnis populus⁹⁵¹ viderunt voces: in danda lege: accolot: deest vau: voces: erant sex voces et hec est una: sic sunt · 7m · Tipheret clausit omnia: in Berahot disputatur: hoc: dixit ego sum deus ubi Tipheret · lex scripta: et nomen magnum datum est Mosi: et non omnium prophetarum: qui in Tipheret comprehendit: populus non comprehendit col id nec id ghevura: dixit ex ore ghevura intelleximus · de Igne: decima sciamor: Iesod zahor: sic hec	Decem tantum: pytha(goras) Decem dicta dei: dixit deus: 10 · decreta: herba habet fatum Deus ubique Abram decem Isac etiam sic 7m voces: ego adonai: col: recordare: mas:

⁹⁵¹ The letters “audi” are erased.

mas illa femina: custodi: et serva sabatum: quare dixit contraria: quia dicuntur de decima que est omnia: zehira Iesod et Tipheret. Serva: femina decima: que omnia superiora complectitur: Secunda lex ostendit decimam. Decem sanctificationes fecit Sacerdos in chippurim: Decies in chippurim decies nomen dei nominatur: unde et decem dies penitentie toto anno: et omnia sunt clausa in · 3a · que dicitur chippur: illa providet mundo: per midot · dicitur exaltatus est adonai zebaoth cum midot sanctis et Iudicis: bnia enim dicitur mispat · et hoc dixit Rex Iudicii: in penitentia: dixit etiam esse · 5 · contra · 5 · prime sunt late plusquam alie: non intelligit esse mutationem in illis: quam quia sunt apte ut agant plusquam prime que abdite sunt: precepta etiam · 5 · contra · 5 · licet enim pater et mater sint facta: tamen sunt coniuncti creando: deus: pater: mater: in Nida: sic sociantur honore: qui creando. Tres socii in creando: deus pater mater: deus dat animam: sic in morte redit partem parentibus corpus: et capit suam idest animam. Sic in sanctuario decem fontes lavandi: decem candelabra: decem cortine: sic quinque et quinque iungebantur: in decimis Que mensurantur per decem mensuras: significat decem essentias: et decima sancta est et significat mida	custodi: femina: decem sanctificationes Bina mispat · Precepta: 10
[134r] vaesserit: codes: decimam ostendit: benedictio ditat: decima vaser: et divitie: non est differentia nisi punctum in scin: sic aser tehasser decimam decimabis: idest ditaberis. Moses decem digitos attollebat: et uniebat in decima: potentia israel in bellis: et dicitur amuna fides: et vere manus eius fuere: ostenditur unitas dei in superioribus: ideo dixit iado: non iadav: manum et non manus attollendo vincebat: amalech: qui est lactans a serpente levaque a pahat et dicitur semol leva: positus manibus vincebat amalec quia serpens spumas inspirabat: nec mos mundi infringere: serpens iacit	267 · Decima ditaberis Fides: Unitas: manum Mosis manus: Amalec · Semol: leva: Serpens

spumam in Evam: sic vis amalec:⁹⁵² manus deponebat Moses: quia oportet et serpentem habere partem suam: et mundus morem perfici manibus iunctis: cohanim: decem digitis: in sephirot · 10 · ad trahendam scehina inferius: et benedictionem hauriendam: et ut scehina quiescat inter eos: sic pax in terra et benedictio: in Siffri: dixit incidit deus pactum inter decem digitos manum et pedum suorum. Edificium forme est 7m · tantum: sed cum spiritualibus sunt decem: in cerebro sunt spiritualia: ut compleantur · 10 · sic duo brachia: 2o crura: si sunt decem partes corporis: quid oportet habeat decem digitos? Ut corpus etiam conclusum sit decem: et ut racmim et Din: sint operta · ideo in manibus picta sunt: et pedibus ut supra et infra: in manibus ponitur decem: ut manus leva et dextra: din: et misericordia: sic Manus lotio: 10 · digiti: aqua lavantur: a mundandum: et intrandum in misericordiam. Decem essentiis percussi sunt egypti: et in Adam novem blasfeme: et mors est una sunt decem: non numerat quia est equalis omnibus. Ve · · · dorot: et decem generationes fuerunt ab Adam in Noa: et abram si transeunt decem generationes sine iusto: mundus redit ad mane: omnia enim firmat unus Iustus: nisi sit iustus in mundo mundus in quo firmabitur. Abram tentatus decies: et decem patres: et decem signa patribus: decem in sanctuario sanctificationes: et miracula 10: in sanctuario: non musce: non puntrendo: et sancta numquam pauciora decem: oratio a · 10 · nuptie cum · 10 · ad funus cum decem: in ghet: 10 · adibentur: 10 · pessuchim legimus: non minus: decem super calicem: idest vinum: bonum: attolli: scilicet 100 benedictiones: quotidie: sunt enim concludentes omnia decem ille singula habet omnis: sic 100 · dicitur Rahab eloim: equitabat deus et movet inimicos: equitabat sephiroth et quelibet dicitur mille eleph: dixit bis	Manus elate sacerdotum Decem digiti · for(ma): hominis: 7m · Spiritualia · 3a · Pythagoras: decem bona: decem mala Levare manus aqua Decem plage · Iusto uno firmantur omnia Si Sol evanet Decem omnia 10 · 100 · 1000 · 20 · 2000 ·

⁹⁵² The letter “h” is erased.

duo milia: duo mundi decem essentie: quelibet concludit sociam: ac si sint · 20 · dixere ergo duo milia: omnes alie erunt duplices: nisi prima macseva: que non numeratur ullo modo: decem acies angelorum: cherubim: Seraphim: cophanim: hasmalim: elolim: tiscim: sic decem in omni palatio: milia milium: et decem milia milium: non est numerus exercitus eorum: sunt intellectus particulare. Inde angeli misericordie: Din · pacis: qui facit pacem in superis: michael: racmim: pahac gabriel: ille aque principium dextrum misericordiam faciens super israel ·	Angelorum nomina
[134v]⁹⁵³ hamevaches: querens Misericordiam super israel: ut dixit passuc: sarhem principium creaturarum: et est primus intellectuum: Michael⁹⁵⁴ volat uno volatu: dixit venit homo: volans volabat: in Gabriel vero dixit semel volabat: In gabriel volans volabant: quia in duobus vicibus transit mundus in Michael semel terra: quia una vice perteant mundo. Aqua misericordia caput misericordie est Michael: Gabriel pahad · ignis · Iustitia · sub quo ruunt sub populis: Michael be ahad in una vice scilicet quia est in primo gradu: hesed: pahad: usque in duobus quia in pahad qui est 2s gradus: principium is aque:⁹⁵⁵ aquis: Tipheret facit pacem. Iacob: pax domus salom bait sabato vesperi · maior vis pacis super omnia: dixit non vidit umquam sol defectum lune idest Tipheret decime non videt defectum quia implet eam: hoc est dare pacem: si servabit israel: non deerit temptatio: idest aque et Tipheret: finis Sciavar Scibavit ·	268 Michael: volans volabat · Gabriel: Intentio seminis · Gabriel · Michael una vice: est in primo gradu: facit pacem Sol luna

⁹⁵³ The word “Sceza” is erased.

⁹⁵⁴ This word is underlined.

⁹⁵⁵ An extensive stain of ink has rendered the reading of this passage particularly difficult.

Diximus sepe edificium 7m sephiroth esse edificium mundi superioris: est: unde inferior hoc processit: et in 7m columnas mundi 7m celi firmamenta: villon cortina: 7m celi · vilon Tentorium: 2o rachia Extensio: Schehahim celum: · 4m · zemolt hospitatio: 5 · Maʿon: habitatio: 6 · Sciamaim: 7m ʿaravot planities: sunt hec preparationes intellectuum: et 7m stelle errantes ambulantes. Nomina 7m planetarum: primum scibadai:⁹⁵⁶ Saturnus: zedec: Iuppiter: Maʿdin: Mars. Sic in circulo terre 7m clamata: 7m nomina: habet terra:⁹⁵⁷ Erez: adama: arca: harava arida: Thebel: heled: iabascia: sic divisus est mundus in 7m. Mundus etiam firmitas est cum · 7m · Adam et Eva generavere: duos gemellos dicitur: ascendit duo descendit · 4r · scilicet adam tua: Abel Cain: dixit 4r sed in · 7m · aliqui non numerari: et Abel habuit duo⁹⁵⁸ paria gemellorum: sic eo mortuo · 7m · 7m: genera: in palmis: Tria myrtus frustra: unum et duo arbusta sic · 7m · sephiroth: est firmitas ut creatio nova: 7m⁹⁵⁹ Noac ipse et tres filii: et nurus · 3s · est · 7 · Noe uxor de semine chain: Scelo Raza: nolebat enim deus delere omnino nomen eorum: qui creati est: uxorem Noa: est de semine Cain: quam servavit dominus ad mundi firmitatem: noluit dominus perdere quicquam de dome Iusti Noe: nec ante diluvium nec post: chain erravit et maledictus fuit semen eius: substantia mundi ad educendum de potentia in actum: sunt octo. Decima in contrario omnium: et est beffrat divisa ab aliis: si numeras infra hocma: decima est · 8a · 7m mundus et quilibet sephira est Elef: significat edificium hoc. Ebdomade etiam Iobel: pasce dies: 7m septimane a pasca in leislationem · 7m · septimanis et · 7m · Illuminatis Iusti	7m celi: et nomina: 7m planete: Terre nomina · 7m · Adam Eva: filii: 7m homines 7m · Noac · Noe Iustus: · 7 · 8 · 7m milibus annorum: Sigilla · 7m · · 6 ·

⁹⁵⁶ The words “zedec: Maʿdin Mars: 2 · et · 3 ·” are erased.

⁹⁵⁷ An incorrect version of “erez” is erased.

⁹⁵⁸ Initially “duos”, then corrected.

⁹⁵⁹ The word “filii” is erased.

septies lucebis plus:⁹⁶⁰ est et sciabat · ubi quievit fratres · 6 · Sigilla etiam · 7m · nomen Iot⁹⁶¹: he vav: iehu: tres littere: sine ן decima sunt · 6e · sex in mundo Create: sex fines: in sepher izira sex sigille et sunt sigillata in iehu: altitudo et profunditas ubi Rom: sex fines sunt: altitudo profunditas: dextrum sinistrum: ante retro: littere emes ׁׂ׃: es maim: sciamaim: tabu⁹⁶². Enom sex fines habet: significatur: sex lata sex alta: et c. ubi due tabule faciunt: 72 · et est ziruf · 72 · nominis: et hec posita est arca: radix enim sunt hinc qui:	Rom: · 6 · differentie loci:
[135r] Nota rem pulcram hic dici in nomine magno tres esse radices nominis et dixit metatron dare · 60 · scintillas ignis: dixit 60⁹⁶³ milia sexu aguis decem milia formarum superiorum: in israel enim tot milia est. Scehaiu: que fuere: equales numero: qui in israel: et superiora · 60 · decem milia: numerus enim est mosis utrorumque: ut scehina in eis exacte quiesceret pleneque David etiam dixit illa sex:⁹⁶⁴ benedixit david deo coram omnibus et dixit Tibi domine magnitudo et fortificatio: pulcritudo: victoria et c. tibi imperium: in libro Regum: omnes sephirot: ideo fecit deus celum et terram: 6 · dies beriscit substantia edificii: est: ex · 6 · constans: in 7° Iesod quievit: primo die tipheret 2m · decima: din: ubi non dicitur chi tou: quia Din dura: in eo die mera idest maledictionis: meora ubi non est vau: maarot: et dixit maart · sine vau · que significat maledictum: maarot sine vau maart idest maledictio: pueri sunt apti recipere frigus et calorem unde ascara idest squinantia. Hec in · 4a · (paria enim mala) in quinta: dies placiti · et orationes creati piscuim: et benedicti: ubi Nezec: 6° hod⁹⁶⁵ · Iesod 7°: lumen servatum zedichim:	nomen · 3 ·⁹⁶⁶ 60 · Atracta quot · 268 · Sephirot omnes Dies · 6 · Secundus dies: non habet bonum

⁹⁶⁰ The word “et” is erased.

⁹⁶¹ The word “vau” is erased.

⁹⁶² The page was incorporated into the quire, resulting in the concealment of this word due to the manner in which the paper is folded.

⁹⁶³ The letters “mill” are erased.

⁹⁶⁴ The words “Tibi domine oratio” are erased.

⁹⁶⁵ Initially “ׁׂ׃”, then corrected.

⁹⁶⁶ The drawing of a cross is traced next to this marginal note.

ibi anime omnes quiescunt: et Sabato firmantur et volant omnes anime idest in Iesod: et Sabatum: est ut mundus alius et ideo non amplius haustus deorsum: sed recipit: non merebatur mundus regi a Iesod: luminoso admodum: ideo a Malcut decima regitur. Dixit sabatum deo coniugem consortemque dedisti omnibus non mihi: dixit Synagoga sit consors tua: est enim ultima procedendo: et recipit ab omnibus. Miculam ab omnibus: Mundus enim non merebatur regi tanto lumine: ob perfectionem macsceva hoc proverbium adducunt: decebat esse hic oratorem et nuncium in mundo: sed est ut prima macsceva: ideo non oportet: dixit sanctus benedictus · Tipheret: ille est consors: unde recipe: et age in mundo ecce decima: dicitur sabata mea custodite: idest duo sabata: Iesod et decima: et dicitur calla et col: quia omnia: scribitur serva: et custodi: et pax domus et mundus et sapientes cum uxore tantum sabato: ideo boni filii: dixit benedixit deus et sanctificavit: sabatum et est anima superflua: multitudo benedictionum: cheduscia sanctificatio: est ut cheduscim sponsare: decima sanctificatur cum Tipheret: oratio sabati: ubi dixit sanctificasti diem · 7m · idest Iesod: Synagoga femina: consors est sabatum: non facias ullam operam: inde non ignem: universaliter et particulariter. Decima: non est cesa: ut terra non floret eodem die quo seritur. Synagoga dicitur es decima ignis: sabatum est consors: ideo exit: quia est ignis · ideo eduxit ex universali: particularem ignem: sabato iungit: quia iunguntur: Artes alie non possunt fieri: quia manhit idest decima Synagoga quiescit cum viro Iesod · 7mo miliario quiescit mundus decima: et est cum viro Typheret	Regitur a decima non a Iesod · Sabatum synagoga Iesod non regit Sabatum · 2x · Sponsa: col · Sanctificare Sponsare Synagoga: Tipheret Ignis ne fiat · Mundus factus
[135v] Aba: mundus venturus: et ligamen vite: redibunt hesed pacad et omnia redibunt ut prius: et est sabatum magnum: quies omnium: sabatum ostendit · hoc dixit in midras: dies benedixit in 7° mundum venturum ubi incipit	Reditus omnium: 269 Sabatum magnum ·

7m miliarium · tunc erit: erit luna ut Sol: et Sol · 7m · et scialom bait sabato bene: accenditur tunc candela quia lux extracta est: et significat que reposita est Iustis · et mixtio decime et Iesod significat ligaturam et prohibitionem portandi sabato: quia omnis gloria filie regis ab intus: sic sabato regis non foras ferre quid oportet: foras intelligitur extra unitatem non tendere in multa: sed servare intus unitatem. Sic in mensa paranda ostenditur ostensio trium: ter edimus sabato calla · dixit eamus coram reginam sabato: nocte semel edimus: bis die: Iesod et Tipheret. Intentio quorundam est quod quater edunt sabato: quia sciamor quod est nocte zahor memoria Tipheret: vir decime noctis: sic duo viri die: una uxor nox sciamor est nox et femina: putant sciamor que est nocte dici etiam die: putant sic custodire oportet etiam in die: unde est 3s in die sed hoc non bene: quia nox clauditur in die: et hoc intendit: mensa paratur in exitu sabati: quando non licet edere nisi olivam: faciunt ad unitatem dei trahendam in decimam ad agendum et providendum: 7m dies pasce tempus redemptionis: ostendunt 7m sephirot: et primus dies est sanctus: quia factio prima die: et Tipheret est radix omnium unde omnia: fundamentum omnium creaturarum: fiat lux: ad vestiendum for: fiat firmamentum: deus non fecit celum: sed posuit tipheret mensuram illam: in medio aquarum hesed et pacad. Israel: edet 7m diebus ostendit primam noctem sanctam radix redentionis nocte fit et privatio et prohibitio fermenti: et non comprehendebant nisi Due: ne cederent plantas: quia non credebant nisi decimam: qui comedit fermentum evertatur: qui edit fermentum ut Idolatria: dixit ibo in mizraim nocte hac: angelus quis? Decima: quia ascendit angelus solus idest decima que est adonai nomen dei: et nuncius⁹⁶⁷ nuncium tulit: et super luminaria sanguis: in	7m miliarium · Sol · 7s · Lux sabato: reposita Iesod et 10e mixtio: foras ferre non: ab Intus gloria: unitas: dei: et c. cur? Ter edere sabato: Nox: dies: mas: femina Mensa: Tipheret causa omnium Firmamentum pasca sanguine Angelus · 10a ·

⁹⁶⁷ The word “fert” is erased.

redentione: et transit hostia Iudeorum: et non dabit inquit destructionem: idest non relinquet magna potentia vos dirimi: magna redemptione idest Bina: ubi mors primogenitorum: decima dicitur behor: et angelus quiescebat in illis: camez est decima auferendam in una domo edatur sacrificium: cum intestinis: pedibus et c. pro unitate significat editur non nisi nocte media: assus: decime potentia nocte: et vis magna nocte et assum est fortius elisso: er non timemus incurrere ignem: dies primus est Tipheret 2s Iesod:	primogenitorum mors: behor: decima: unitas: in agno edendo: Agni assi ratio⁹⁶⁸
[136r] ve Iom sceni: 2s decima est: quo die allate sunt mensura decimarum quia necima⁹⁶⁹ significabatur: 7s dies clausus: ubi ostenditur decima. Servabitur dies sabati deo: non dixit vocit: non est ita sabati ut sabatum: et non mutabitur res sua: sabatum in alio mundo erunt opera Sephirot sine actionibus his: non editur nec bibitur: sed iusti cum coronis suis:⁹⁷⁰ idest claritas scehina: corone luminis abditi zaphon. Tipheret corona est: dies vero libenter omnia faciendi: sunt dies primi sunt prophani: agentes sunt fundi rerum et fundamentum: non sunt omnia profana: sed sancta: et firmitas omnium: non perdetur in eis quicquam: dies pasche ostendit omnia esse sancta: nisi sunt differentes dies ille: nec oratione nec sacrificiis. Allel dicitur tertia: tunc: Septem dies ebdomade ostendunt 7m dies creationis: sed 7s annus quietis est quando non aratur amplius nec metitur: haris: ve en hazir: nec Arare: nec metere: ve cazir: et metere: et in fine generationis est quies: 6000 · anni est mundus et 7mo miliario ruet mundus dicebatur Rau chetina qui hoc dixit cause ille desinunt: tunc: illidit deus eos qui cadunt: res iussa est millesime generationi. Decima sperat renovari. Oculi omnium in te sperat domine et c. cum dixit destruetur:	270 · 7 · dies Sabatum Sce(hina) Dies 7m ebdomade dies 7s annus quietis requiescat aratrum Mundus 7000: annis Ruet mundi generationes 10: renovari:

⁹⁶⁸ A small cross was traced near these words.

⁹⁶⁹ Initially written as “negima”, then corrected.

⁹⁷⁰ The word “quibus” is erased.

generatio est · 50 · annorum: ideo 50 · anno Iobel: 6000 · anni ostenduntur sex: 7s ostenditur pax ultima: et quies ultima: quiescente terra: et celum ut fumus transibit: et terra sicut vestimentum veterascet. Artes alie in Iovel non vetantur: omnia redibunt ut prius sic philosophia. Dies berescit · 7m · sunt mundi revolutiones: in · 7m · sic 7m mundi: circumdantur: a 7m superioribus: sic · 49 · est Iobel magnus · 7s · 7s · Miliarium · 7m · est sabatum sanctum: quies est deo tunc illo miliario renovatio fiet celum novum	Iobel generatio: 50: annorum oculi omnium 70000: pax ultima Mundi finis celum quiescit celum a terra transit Iobel Omnia redibit: Milia · 7m · 7s · Iobel Sabatum sanctum: celum novum Quies deo: tunc
[136v] Ramazot: significat 7m in quibus mundus redit: et quotidie est una revolutio 7ma est sancta: et est dies: totum salutem: et quies seculi: et est tractum⁹⁷¹ Sol est · 7s · duo⁹⁷² reges angent una corona: in · 4° · luminaria magna: est ut dixit renovabitur decima in Tipheret: renovabitur ut aquila: reditum mundi docet Thora · 7s · 7s · 49 · anni: intelligitur: sic mundus Iobel: 49 mil anni: dicetur post cur dicitur Iovel: servus heticus exit 7° anno: servit · 6 · cum non vult exire: demonstratur mundus futurus · ideo dixit serviet semper si non vult exire aure subula confusa in · 50 · vero eat numeratio quisque ad sua: et non est servus: et quisque est tunc dominus: tunc omnia una hesed: fuerunt sibi causa exeundi ex quiete Mida decima Terra: ruit in Galut: et pellam eos: sic fit revolutio in midot: ipsi fecere sibi malum: non fecere scemitta idest quietem anni: ut nec mensuram in 7° die: et · 7 · septimas. Scehem zaim: que sunt · 7m · sunt ergo 49 · usque scevuot: dicunt bene esse numerare dies: et ebdomadas: ob · 7m · revolutiones sephirot: usque in finem: dies · 7 · pese: significat · 7 · sephirot: voluit ostendere deus essentias primas: primus dies pasche: non numeratur cum · 49.	271 Sabatum totum: quies Sol · 7s luminaria: 2° · Reges · 10a ut aquile renovabitur 7 · 7s · 49 49 · miliario · mundus Iobel post servus leolam subula: 50: Liber: nemo servus: Hesed erunt omnia 10 · Terra in Galut Periodus midot: Semittot non fecere 7 · sephirot revolutiones essentia prima dei · non primus: 2s dies pasce: 10: a Tipheret ut filius

⁹⁷¹ The words “in oct” are erased.

⁹⁷² The words “angeli agentes” are erased.

Secundus dies ostendit decimam a Tipheret ut filius: dicitur in sephira: numerare usque 50 · et dicitur Liber ut dicitur in octavis. Sephira et mensura ille: tunc dixit quod qui numerabat dixit tot dies sunt: ut dictum in lege de 7m mundis et septimanis · in succot. Decem diebus creatio: 4r dies succot 4r fundamenta Mercave pedes: extensio in mundum humilem · robesen dixit Nisan martio creatus est mundus. Robi Iahusua dixit septembri mense: 7s · circum sanctuarium ibat in mundo quiescenti: et redibat hec demonstrat contra edificium: cum 7m que in citrio · ibant circum sinagogam 7 · die succot: 7mo miliario est	50: Liber in octavis · Succot Creatio: quo mense: 7m circum Templum demonstrat · 7m · Edificii · Citrio 7 · dies milia
[137r] Romez: ostendit: remanet edificium: cuius caput Tipheret: et brachia mundi hesed et pacad: 7m particularia: radix et contrario · 4r · 7mo die succot circuibant · significans quod omnia completa erant. Ramos capiebant cum benedictione: fons stillit: in pase non oportet citrii semptem rebus: quia sat: in bahir dixit quod terra inanis et vacua: inde fit lux: vahahi fit lux idest prius erant · 10 · sephirot. Deus muravit mundum et evertit ipsum Quomodo: Ordo temporum prius idest ordo⁹⁷³ temporum · 10 · sephirot: ve Arez · que prius fit. Terra prius vacua: decima prius vacua: in potentia tertie: fortificabatur israel: et populorum potentie minuuntur: ideo Tauri 7m quottidie minuebantur: Sigilla: et principes aliarum gentium: 70 · ruent: ideo · 7 · tauri pro · 70 · principibus. Creaverat deus ad faciendum: ostendit Mosi omnia facta et faciendo: 50 porte Bina ostense Mosi nisi una: 49 · declarate sunt: 50ma non quia nemo scit viam suam: 50: Bina non aperuit ei · Sciaar · 8 · Diximus supra de · 7 · et hec sunt de edificio: et omnia hec dicuntur 7m dies ebdomade: 7m anni: 7m sephirot.	272 7 Sucot Ramoz Inanis et vacua prius inde fit lux idest 10 sephirot ante mundum ordo temporum Decima Terra inanis · 10a Tauri · 7 · 70 minuuntur: particulari sis sub israel 70 Tauri: principes 50 · porte: Mosi una non ostendit Bina non aperuit

⁹⁷³ The word “dicitur” is erased.

Scel sephiroth mundi 7000 annis: Iovel etiam · 7m · que sunt supra edificium capiunt etiam Bina: 10 · ros pina: caput anguli · Regnum omnium. Agens superius est Tertia Decima agens inferius. Tertia dat abundantiam decime sic sunt equivoca: octava est extra edificium: et formam figuramque: ideo id supra est. Bina supra. Tertia est porta 50. Amicscim: 50: non scita a Mose: precepta inde pendent homo non aspiciat supra se idest supra edificium: scebaot etiam post 7m septimanas: ostendit hoc: que est post · 7m · sic post edificium sic Iovel ergo significat Bina. Quisque habet locum suum et ideo dicitur penitentia Thesua: reditus in bina in pulverem Ioval etiam dicitur humidum: et Iovel est radix omnium: in locum humidum mittet radices suas: quia omnia fundamenta in Iovel et redibunt eo: est quies magna sine fine Sol · 7s · in luce. Lux lune ut solis: sol · 7s · omnia redibunt ad locum suum. Duo panes lehem hapanim: significat Tipheret: et decimam: cum fermento: sunt enim agentia: terra non potest regi omnino: sed redibunt sursum omnia: Liber erit terra et omnia: generatio venit: et vadit: quia venit in locum: super humidum ponit redices: ob Iovel magnum 50000: 49000: post est Iovel magnum: dixit	273 · Bina agens Decima Bina est supra · Moses non scit ne supra tectum edificii Spiritus Sanctus festum Iobel Bina: post · 7s · penitentia: Reditus reditus in penitentia reditus eo Sol · 7s · Reditus Panes 70000 Mundi anno magno panis Tipheret 10a: panim. 50 mundus Iobel magnum ·
[137v] bescimini in octava: est festum vazeret: retinendi idest non laborandi: ques est post 7m dies succot: una dies dies octava est vazeret retinendi et non laborandi: dixit est vobis: non dixit deo: in pese numeratur octava. Iovel est in mundo superiori corbanot ubi · 70. Tauri ob 70 populos: ad augendum potentiam israel: et filum misericordie in eum. Eritque Iom hadin · Tertia est mater filiorum: et omnia in eam redeunt: minazeret est din Substantia chippur: ros	274 · Ceres: · 8a · 70: Tauri populi Mater filiorum

sciana est · 3a · Din · sic din magna: flumina omnia in mare in decimam: Tipheret in Iesod: et decima clauditur in eo · Chi vaserit: quod decima: concluditur in eo: et redibit totum edificium in · 3am · et ibi omnia retinebuntur: · 7m · 7 · eo redit numerus: post scemot: post vazeret: et que sunt extra edificium: quod est Radix edificii · metere et videmini non eo anno. Mundus redibit in Iobel magno: quod significatur per aliud Iovel. Sic Circumcisio post 7m dies: 7° fit: et in aperiendo fit in corpore ad ingressum in decimam · et in Iesod. Dixit David Da partem · 7m · da partem octo: Porta Nominis · Scito primo quod Tria superiora concluduntur in sex litteris a ה · ה · vau ה : a ה ia: inde vau he: ob ensoph: demonstrandum: a ה · significat en soph ia · hocma: vau he bina: et 3s hee significantur⁹⁷⁴ Mosi: cum deus misit eum ad liberandum populum de israel · non aperuit tamen israeli: quod recepisset prima seorsum a ה · inde ia · inde vau ה. Sed recepimus quia aperuit hoc⁹⁷⁵ Senibus: dixit dominus dixerunt filii israel: hehie qui est misit me: ubi hee littere sunt: in exodo ehie scialahani: a ה · ensoph: ia hocma: vau he · 3a: Moses hoc non aperuit israel ut ipse receperat: has 6x litteras divisi in · 3s · sed nos accepimus quia aperuit senibus · accepimus nos non divisi: sed aheie: simul ut est scriptum: ubi prima: et · 2a · ia: senibus dixit ehie: iunctis populo dixit adonai: dixit qui dicitur ehie me misit	flumina in mare: Iobel magnum Annus: magnus circumcisio aperiendo Iesod in · 10m intret: partem · 7m · partem: 8 · nomen · sex litteris: En soph · אה: Hocma: ia bina: ה״ Tres in nomine⁹⁷⁶: Moses intelligit 3a in deo: et senibus dixit ideo nos accepimus ehie: ia: u ה ·
[138r] omniam: tamen: non mutabitur verbum dei: a ה · non aperuit ne senibus quidem sine ziruf idest coniunctione cum alio: duo illa nomina: ehie: et iot he vau · significat Iustitiam: et misericordiam: sunt tamen equalia: quia significat	· 275 · אח nec senibus

⁹⁷⁴ The word “etiam” is erased.

⁹⁷⁵ The word “Iustis” is erased.

⁹⁷⁶ Before these words, there is the drawing of a cross that reaches the marginal notes above.

essentiam · havaia · essentiam ⁹⁷⁷ in primo nomine a ה · significat sanctificationem unitatis: ה · secunda significat decem sephirot: · a · prima significat unitatem: ה · decem sephirot vau 3i nominis: sex fines · ה ultima cum omnibus iungitur quia est lac omnium: ioth ה · ultima significat decimam · iot vero ה · prima magni nominis significat hocma quia 2a et decima habent unum nomen · in bis est: primo in iot ה · ו ה · et quia est primo pro prima hocma: in ehie vero ponitur ultimo ideo pro ultimo scilicet pro decima. Secunda enim caput est capitum · hocma: ultima vero finis: dixit viam tuam in principio dedi. Tipheret ia · significat: vau fines: ה ultima decimam significat: in Ia: est Tipheret cum prima ה · que quia est ה · significat etiam ultimum sic Ia: significat idem quod principium et finis. Ecce in his nominibus: est principium cum fine: finis cum principio: vau ostendit sex fines tractos a · 3bus · primis: que concluduntur in · 3bus · litteris: ה ultima nominis significat decimam que miscetur cum prima. Secunda et · 3a · ut dixi: sex fines trahuntur a sex litteris: sic dividitur nomen magnum dividitur in 3a · nisi quod ה · reperitur: et 3s · littere · 6 · domus · nomen magnum sunt · 3s · littere: iot 2a · ה · 3a · vau Tipheret: vau sola significat Tipheret: iehu in 6x domos significat · 6 · fines: cum sem⁹⁷⁸ da vad implentur horrea: prima ensoph trahit · 32 · semite in hocma: · 3a · vero facit edificium: radix est Tipheret: quod est adonai sephirot: in siffrit: sunt · 22 · caphazeni idest pulcherrima et unum corpus: idest edificium · 10 · sephirot: unde dicitur cum 32 · litteris scul deus sculpit	essentia: ה ultima lac omnium 2a · 10 · iot he · dupliciter · ia bis · finis et principium 3a · 6 · · 32 ·
[138v] baṣilum: celatione prime: producta est hocma: sic 3a que demonstratur in nomine adonai: fecit edificium: sepher izira cur incipit be in 32 · semitis deberet dici 32 · semite: bet ut in berescit sic hic: bet enim significat superius ensoph: primum aillum: vocant mecubalim: celatum ut bet in	primum celatum א est ensoph: ailot

⁹⁷⁷ The letter “ה” is erased.

⁹⁷⁸ The word “ad” is erased.

berescit: 2a dicitur designata: 3a incavata: ipsa post exemplavit et fecit · Edificium: quod dicitur heziva sculpere: dicitur proverbium: sapientia feminam edificat domum: extruxit columnas septem · dixit in sepher izira: quod semite: et littere sunt agentes: in hocma: quedam sunt patres: quedam matres unde alie: אֵם Aver: Maira es: deberet dici ama: sed dicitur es: quia sonus ignis est es. Tres ille littere variantur in · 6 · partes: ex radicibus litterarum sex domus: septem duple: littere: Tres prime littere significant · 3s · sephirot superiores: que⁹⁷⁹ matres dicuntur: inde 7m duple: b g d c p r t: duple dicuntur: quia possunt dici cum raphe: et cum daes dicuntur duplices: alie dicuntur lascon: idest prone pesciutot dicuntur alie: extense: et simplices et nondum sculpta: decem sephirot concluduntur uno nomine 4r litterarum: valpe non potest scribi: 2a dicitur designatio: ideo non potest mente: quia est apertius quod mente tenetur: nomen 72 · venit a hesed et numerus eius venit a tribus pesuchim⁹⁸⁰ vaisa: vaiavo: vaiet: dixit in Bahir quod id nomen est mezurat a nomine 4r litterarum quod est mezurat ad · 12 · et · 70 · palme palme arbor: est hee: Rame · 70 · 7m · idest sephirot sunt: et quilibet · 10 · colel: totum habet · et provenit a hesed et pacad · que sunt 2e. Sic · 72 · unde · 70 · principes super 70 · gentes huius mundi · principes cum hesed et pacad 72 · populi 70 cum israel · 71 · cum Deo 72 · ideo 70 senes cum mose 71 · cum scehina: 72 · sic senedrim	Sapientia edificat domum 7m columnas: אֵם 6 · domus 10 sephirot in 4r litteris adonai · 70 · palme: Quomodo 72 ·
[139r] Eloim: zizav: deus stetit in synagoga deorum: nomen · 42 · venit a pahat: nomen 4r litterarum a Tipheret: in nomine vero ben daled: quod est · 4r · tres zerufin per puncta: iephaal iephoel: iphul: primo sub tribus litteris: tria: patac: 2^o⁹⁸¹ eoe: 3^o · iu · punctantur · 3s · littere: in nomine magno et mapic in ה ultima. In benedictione sacerdotum ter nomen	276 nominis 4r punta Senes hinc

⁹⁷⁹ The word “significat” is erased.

⁹⁸⁰ The letters “vasil” are erased.

⁹⁸¹ The letters “ie” are erased.

id scribitur: zenua prudentes ut sponse: nomenque sacerdotes glutiebant: 12 · littere sunt in · 3bus · illis nominibus: et · 12 · canalia ex · 6 · finibus: 72 · nomina dei sunt · 12 · Tribus ia: dei: nomen dalet: mida Iacob: multi exercitus inde exiere: et lapides impressi dui sunt. 12 fontes aquarum ut dixit Bahir: unde 12 signa: mazalot: et matres 12 · anni: sciana annus et significat mutare: et iterare: sic annus ab iterando dicitur: 12 hore sunt diei: sic noctis: sic in ghet: 12 linee scribuntur et resignat sigillum uno teste: 12m totiens: quia a deo omnia repudium facientem flet altare: nominis 4r · habent multa ziruf sine fine cum litteris: et cum punctis: in sapientia haziruf · scitur quod non est numerus zirufim: mutantur enim littere et puncta: et mutata puncta habent aliam operationem quam prius · horam et diem et mensem et annum habet⁹⁸² quodque ziruf suum: et partem anni: ratione ratiocinium tuum: ensoph: non habet finem operum suorum: ideo non auditur: quia nesciunt · scripta et puncta et tempus orationum: punctum quodam dominica facit pluviam: sequenti die facit serenum: vel ambulare in die plus iusto et solito: qui sciare: fecere pluvias et suscitare mortuos: ata gibur: tu fortis in eternum domine: sic suscitabant mortuos: filii⁹⁸³ robehigia qui sciebant hec rite: et omnia agebant: sic nomen unum uni facit: alii non: cor aptant hec: sciebat is orare deum intentione Hagaha: additum: quod pretermiserat: cum moyses dixit si petant nomen · quid dicam eis? Intelligit nomen 4r littere: ubi in fine dictionum 4r est nomen · li · iot ma 7 · et c · petebat mahud: quid est: quotiens demonstratum in hoc nomen a mose: et passuc ostendit in fine litterarum: ut scehina est supra: ita et sub his est. Hactenus inveni datum mosi in sinai: dixit Moses quidem nomen et quid dicam. Moses orabat	12 · 72 · nomina 12 lapides 12 signa mazalot Annus unde · virgo ratio unde · oratio tempore Tempus aliud: alia faciunt robehigia · nomen: in fine litterarum Quid est · roganti

⁹⁸² The word “quisquam” is erased.

⁹⁸³ The letters “behi” are erased.

nomen magnum tipheret: et Mittens legatarius: legatus est decima: mittens est Tipheret: decima est nuncius:	
[139v] idia Mosi in loco ubi est ostense sunt ille littere: ubi ter est nomen: ter est nomen: ubi · 12 · littere: ubi panim ahor: panim · panim ahor: in israel non est amplius responsio: orationibus eorum: orationes tamen fieri oportet in galut tamen sunt: excitat amorem et scehina est cum eis: amorem excitare: noluit excitare finem idest Messiam · non Merentur ullum prophetie gentes: cum ipsis sum in Tribulatione: ideo non sunt responsiones deus fecit pactum hiis · 13 · midot: que dicuntur in orationibus: deus graciosus: misericors mitis et c hec numquam vacue redeunt: Bachia: venit bat col: cur non nunc: quot tunc sancti erant: et soli illi accidunt: nemo est qui non habet horam unam: intentio dei in orationibus precibus: intentionibus: tempore risus: cum deus risit idest tempore perfecto: tempore sanctuarii: fit: nunc non: facies dei idest lux latet et Nutrix cum filiis punitur · ideo dicitur alleluia · dicitur ia · quia sat · dicitur omnis anima laudet dominum · multe non merentur nisi ia: quia non merentur perfectionem: et totum nomen · sic non merentur⁹⁸⁴ meminisci deum cum 4r litteris: sed legitur per adonai a · donai · cum a · dicitur sic legitur nunc: non per litteras suas. Questio si dixit lego adonai ultimum: ego non debeo cogitare nisi decimam: non sed oportet habere intentionem ad litteras 4r · et puncta spina sursum: iot hocma: ה · bina: vau Tipheret: ה · decima · sic intentio orando Iehaven: intentio etiam punctis: suis: sic intentio: cum scriptura cum litteris: et punctis: quoties dixit adonai. Intentio non est mutatus ullo tempore: sed omnis mecubal sic habet intentionem orando. Si dixit etiam zerufim oportet habere: que habent aliam operationem: ergo non semper	277⁹⁸⁶ Messias⁹⁸⁷ cum ipsis sum in Tribulatione: orationem cum 13 midot bat col uni soli: Alleluia ia: tantum: in perfectione omnis spiritus laudet · Ia · Nomen legitur per adonai: non per 4r litteras 4r littere: quomodo Ziruf

⁹⁸⁴ The letters “recor” are erased.

⁹⁸⁶ Initially “297”, then corrected.

⁹⁸⁷ Egidio traced a small cross next to this word.

eodem modo scriptura: cum dixit Baruc intentio in prima que est fons benedictionem: et vinarium: cum dixit ata: est 2a · atta tu: ata venit significat quia procedit a prima et adonai Ata dividitur in et: א · et significat adonai: et א · decimam: et dixit additum: inter · 3m · additam per et: et significatur · 3a · procedens a 2a. Et tunc oportet illa cogitare sed oportet cogitare omnia simul: principium finem: finem principium: dicitur elohenu: intelligit · 3am · ubi din et racmim: melec adam Intelligit etiam tertiam Regem mundi idest Tipheret: qui dicitur mundus qui per decimam exit: per benedictionem dictum est. Ata · alii dicuntur recte: sistu:⁹⁸⁵ 2a prima cum · 3a · benedictiones fiunt tota intentione ut trahamus · 3s · potentias: in brachia: et tipheret: et decimam dixit omnem benedictionem sine deo: nihil: in nomine enim ut diximus cum intentione exit potentia in actum: in mundo idest tipheret · in Regem idest 3m · que omnia habet: et nutrit 7m puellas que sedent in Regno: 7m scilicet inferiores midot	2a procedit a prima baruc atta: et per sonum⁹⁸⁸ processio · eloenu orationis finis:⁹⁸⁹ 3s persone 7m puelle ·
[140r] De orationibus: quibus midot haberaha: benedictio vite venit semper: cum non dixit melec: nihil est: sed est ac si furaretur patrem et matrem: quia 3a est omnia: sine rege non demonstrat potentiam: significat sic potentiam providentie et gubernationis: sine hoc non est benedictio. Intelligit de decima: que dicitur malcut et beraha: cum dixit duo illa reges · benedictio significatur decima sic cum dixit bauc ata: intelligit haustus: primarum in decimam: sic regem · 2x · superiorem: et inferiorem: ideo dicitur constitui regem meum: psalmus · 2° · idest David. Mutanda tamen est intentio secundum tempus: et rem. Cum dicunt Tephilot orationes: intellectus: per	278 Rex baruc ·⁹⁹⁰ ata constitui Regem · Tempore et re:

⁹⁸⁵ The word “in” is erased.

⁹⁸⁸ The drawing of a cross divides this marginal note in the middle.

⁹⁸⁹ The drawing of a cross divides this marginal note in the middle.

⁹⁹⁰ The drawing of a cross divides this marginal note in the middle.

nuncium mitti: in · 3m · que est conditor: et gubernatur: in confessione: cum · a · parce quia peccavi: significat decimam: que dicitur: tehina idest confessio peccati: ideo non nocte dicitur: quia tunc Din: mane surgimus in 10 diebus penitentia: ante caput anni: et confitemur ante albam: et dictum confiteri tertie: dixit. Scesare: quod oportet intentione in mida propria: non intentio in una sola sed esset heresis: sed oportet esse substantiam mida: ut pro filiis cogitare tertiam plus quam alias non solam: et deus non cupiet viam Iustitie tantum: sed plus: in misericordiam: oratio pro peccatis in decima cogitanda · et intentio benedictionem oportet esse cum nuncio · quandoque tipheret: quandoque cum · 3a · ideo dixit noli facere orationem firmam: sed muta: et non semper uni mida: quandoque ergo Tipheret: quandoque: Tertie: non uni semper harum · si velles facere unam harum tantum: oportet pro misericordia et pro mida: convenientem: ideo ad primum redeo. Item intelligitur noli orationem facere firmate: idest noli finire ut incipit: quia facis orationem ad · 3m · sed oportet habere intentionem etiam ad medias: pietas est Tipheret per manus decime: intentio non nisi in Tipheret: quod quo eti[am] die habet operationem: sed nocte in Tertia habenda est ergo etiam in decima: que nox est et non bona. Die autem duplicatur oratio: semper in · 3a · ubi omnis benedictio.	Nuncius orationis confessio non nocte: 3a · confitemur intentio mida plus non solum Nuncius oratio mutat mida
[140v] Benedictiones behuz: in filo misericordie: et prociere superioris: Robele ezer: in principio mensis oportet Tipheret cogitare et nihil novi: nihil in duplicando: tantum: in principio mensis et festis duplicantur orationes: in 3a · cum dixit Baruc incipiendo cogitet primum unde venit beraha usque decimam que est beraha: nocte non sed oportet usque Iesod: non decima que est nox: oportet ergo in 3a que concludit omnia: et est Rex providens toti mundo et attollitur cum	279 Tertio orationis: baruc

operantibus inferioribus: ideo dicitur exaltatus est deus zebaot: idest ghevula ghevura: et surgit in mispat idest in tertiam: ideo benedictio fructuum: et omnium: et si non haberet intentionem trahendi: sat est dixit sed verba sunt loco intentionem: in his rebus tamen: haham sapiens potest dicere cito benedictionem sine ulla intentione: sed in primis non oportet esse sine intentione: quia sine ea nihil: ad haurienda prima: cur dixit baruc ata adonai · et post Melec adonai: et post dixit elohenu: in 3a persona: prius in 2a · tu: deberet dicere qui sanctificasti nos: tamen facit in 3a · ratio quia loquitur de malcut · 3a. Rex omnium · ideo dicitur atta: loquitur cum Rege et benedicit ei: idest Tipheret inde incipimus dicere honorem regis in · 3a · persona qui Lo Tipheret: qui sanctificavit nos: cum enim loquimur Regi dixit in 3a persona. Altitudo tua: sic dixit ipsa gloria tua faciet nobis: sanctificavit nos et c. ab eo mundo data sunt precepta Mosi: ex Tipheret et inferioribus sex: quandoque non incipit Baruc: ubi non ponitur Rex sic loquimur in 2a persona: tota intentio 3e est: et ob horem Regni in 3a persona: Rex · 3e · est Rex corone idest agentium hic. Rex mundi idest 7m sephirot que dicitur mundus et ideo in · 3a · vel 2a prima loquimur in orationibus Sepe incipiunt in 2a persona: inde ad · 3m · inde ad · 2 · alie redeunt in 3m personam. Scias · quod qui dixit redemptionem e mizraim cum oratione habebit partem in alio mundo Tipheret Thephilla oratio: decima redentio megulla. Iesod olem aba: mundus futurus: cum hee simul mittuntur habetur pars mundi alius: alii dicunt orationem esse decimam: Tephila:	exaltatus in · 3m · Intentio non necessaria Intentio necessaria: persona: 2a · 3a · Atta: 3a · in 3a persona precepta: Mundus intellectualis redentio: oratio
[141r] orationes inclinationes que Et roscio caput eius: dixit orando caput inclinandum cum dixit benedictus tu: et ibi intentione summa: usque in decimam ubi benedictio vite semper. Nocte usque in Iesod: non ulterius: inde attollet · caput: intentione in tertiam · cum dixit scem caput attollat · cum intentione ad litteras et	280 · caput inclinare: et non

puncta: sic cum dixit deum necessarium cum racmim · eloe · abram isac Iacob: 3a dicitur deus patrum: sub bina enim sunt: corone et agentes infra · sunt: el fortis: vis inferiorum est in Tertia. Tertia dicitur timor: sic timor domini · quia a pahad · el elion: 3a · intelligitur que trahit abundantiam a tertia: hesadim dixerunt quia sunt aperte misericordie: quia deus volvet in misericordias iustitias suas: dextre sunt misericordia: leve contra pahad hod decima sed dextre sunt particulares: sic misericordie super Iustitias. Deus locus nidet · 3a · acquirere(s) et possidens omnia cav olem nidus mundi hacol iesod: ubi misericordie patrum memorantur: filium misericordie trahitur: et reducit filium redemptoris: in nos: filii dicuntur nezec et c · et intellectus divisi esse: et agentes cum abundantia hic: decima dicitur redemptor angelus redimens: cum ava cum amore Onomar · dicemus hee omnia ob potentiam⁹⁹¹ decime que est Eva: zadic scemo Iesod · cum est pax in toto mundo: Melex Rex et salvat tota intentio in · 3a · tuens cum misericordia: mecavem: oportet esse cum intentione in · 3a · que est misericordia Abraam: et oportet⁹⁹² intendatur nomen: cum litteris et punctis · misericordia abraam unde incipit edificium: 2a fundamenta in pacad Isac: 3a in Fortitudine Iacob · sic 3s benedictiones: benedictio in templo est ad nezec contra accusatores: inde ad vod: in benedictione oportet omnes iuncturas flecti · genua flectimus cito: et⁹⁹³ surgimus quiete: ut serpens · ad evitandum serpentis vim: et qui non flectit hic ut serpens: fit serpens in alio mundo: 70 anno: idest in Iesod 7mo punitur per midot adin · cheduscia: cados cados: cum dicimus: intentio sit in · 3a · et cogitat cum dixit adonai tunc cogitat	Deus patrum Timor domini misericordia super Iustitiam locus et Nidus mundi redentor Eva · 10 · Iustus nomen eius · Abram misericordia Inclinatio iuncturis Serpens fit post

⁹⁹¹ Initially “postentiam”, then corrected.

⁹⁹² The letter “d” is erased.

⁹⁹³ The word “statim” is erased.

nomen 4r litterarum et punctorum: et · 3 · et ensoph in 2° sanctus cogitat pahat ·	
[141v] Intentio orantium chi hu be: quod ipse in exercitu suo: cum dixit plena est omnis terra: iesod: inde in decimam: que dicitur honor dei: de loco suo idest Tipheret: et honor dei pahat · dicemus quod secunda est locus: quia sapientia salomones trahit: a ensoph · etiam in bahir locus tipheret:⁹⁹⁴ dicitur Rex dei in · 3a · sit intentio: cum litteris et punctis. Regnum Tertia: Dor vador decima est: generatio it et venit. Gheduscia cados cados: non sic vere meturghem idest interpretibus · ramban sic: dixit primum cados significat decimam · et hec intentio cadis orationis Min amacor · fons unde benedictio · qui incipit cantare habeat intentionem: et caput inclinet cum intentione litterarum et punctorum sic az midot in ea oratione. Intentio facit trahere coronam ut trahat abundantiam in totum edificium. Qui respondet Amen: intentio sit eis: leallan unum: inde 4r sephirot: nomen sanctum benedictum ipsum intelligit decimam: item laudate deum: oportet⁹⁹⁵ inclinare: et respondens intentionem habeat it ipse · Israel seva: senes idest antiquus idest Tipheret: cum dixit elohenu intelligit coronas inferiores: cum dixit adonai cum a dixit tunc e sursum deorsum intentio sit La hesed⁹⁹⁶ · ad octavam ubi cum deo zadic: finis · Maareac elaïd	281 Sapientia · locus : a Generatio: Targum: Intentio: Amen: Antiquus:

⁹⁹⁴ The word “et” is erased.

⁹⁹⁵ The word “laudare” is erased.

⁹⁹⁶ Initially written as “heded”, then erased.

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