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THE NAMES OF GOD AND THE CELESTIAL POWERS: THEIR FUNCTION AND MEANING IN THE HEKHALOT LITERATURE

“Names and adjurations are the two main theurgic means found in the Hekhalot literature applied in connection with the descent to the Merkavah and the invocation of angels to come down to earth and to reveal secrets,” says Ithamar Gruenwald in his book on the Merkavah literature. He continues and maintains, with Gershom Scholem, that “that particular element in the Hekhalot Literature actually belonged to its very heart and this almost from its beginning.”¹

It is very seductive for the student of this literature to go straight to the heart of these texts; but the danger of this approach is as great as the danger of *yeridat merkavah* itself. Indeed, I feel as if I am passing the gates of the Hekhalot, the watchers of the gates standing on both sides prepared to throw their iron axes at my head. I can only hope that I may present the proper names!

There is, first of all, the main gate guarded by those who demand that we refrain from an overall view of this text corpus and, instead, take apart its quite heterogeneous strands of tradition and separate the individual pieces of tradition from each other.² The result is a collection of partial aspects and conceptions of different groups of mystics not, however, a uniform *Weltanschauung* of the Hekhalot mystics. I approve of this conception without reservation, for the achieved results speak for themselves.

When I nevertheless choose a different approach, it is because this collection which we call the Hekhalot-texts has common traits which can be better grasped by way of an overall investigation. This approach helps to discern the common topics and peculiarities of the texts and to formulate the observations as a preliminary hypothesis which may also be helpful for the analysis of the competing particular traditions. It is in this sense that my arguments should be understood, and the following

hypothesis considered: The majority of the Hekhalot-texts share a specific and distinct onomatological system. This very distinct onomatology belongs originally only to a part of the transmitted traditions, and appears to be superimposed on the others as a layer of interpretation.

What I have said so far includes a first indication towards defining my issue: I am *not* asking here what person or angel bears this or that name in the particular pieces of tradition in order to separate them accordingly. The aim of my investigation is not concerned about the celestial *persons* and the names attributed to them. I rather want to ask a far more basic question: *What is a name* in the context of the Hekhalot-texts; what is meant when the texts speak of the *shemot*, and what connotations are linked with this word? It is obvious to everyone familiar with these texts that this question is not a futile one, since a 'name' in the context of our texts has a totally different connotation from what we mean by a 'name' in the modern social and legal sense.

It is necessary that as a first answer to the question posed I establish an apparently banal fact — which does not seem so obvious and superfluous to me — namely that a name in the context of Hekhalot literature is a longer or shorter succession of letters which do not have to convey a meaning in the sense of a conventional language. Let us refer for instance to the names of God mentioned in the texts, composed of 42 letters³, of 14⁴, 22⁵, 6, 7 or 3⁶ letters, and to the many other uninterpretable *nomina barbara* or the long permutations of different letters, mostly those of the Tetragrammaton.⁷ At times it also seems that instead of 'name' the texts read *ot* or *otiot* ('letter' or 'letters'). For instance in phrases like *weyazqir 'otiyot she-lo yitnazzeq*⁸ — "He should say letters so that he will not be harmed" — we find in a comparable text both 'name' and 'letter' next to each other, as a kind of variant reading.⁹ According to several text passages it can be concluded without doubt¹⁰ that a single letter can be considered as the minimum of letters which can pass for a name. The letters are the basic element in this thinking, the names being 'only' components of them. This is the impression one gets by sentences like these:

³ Enoch 13 (Odeberg p. 34/18; Schäfer s897).

He wrote with his finger with a flaming style upon the crown of my head the letters by which were created heaven and earth, the letters

by which were created mountains and hills, the letters by which were created planets and constellations, the lightnings etc...

Since the basic characteristics of such a name are conveyed in the series of letters, it seems that the addition or omission of one letter is relevant and meaningful even when a change of meaning in terms of conventional language is not perceptible.¹¹ From that we realize that it is useful and reasonable to define a celestial name simply by the number of its letters, as in the previous mentioned examples.¹²

The names thus depicted seem to have the further peculiarity of being subject to permutability and changeability by means of *gematria* and *temurot*.¹³ This ontological capability of alteration grants them a dynamic element, which is all the more important when one considers the different powers of each distinct name, that is, that the permuting change of the succession of letters causes at the same time a change of the forces and powers which are dormant in the names. I shall specify this further on.¹⁴

It is well known that in the so called 3 Enoch in particular, and elsewhere as well, we often find 'etymologies' of the angel's names.¹⁵ Those etymologies, however, are interpreted in one preconceived direction only; thus it becomes clear that the form of the etymology is used only to show another, more fundamental, idea. The question raised stereotypically in the texts reads as follows: Why is he called this and that? The answer then denotes a function of the angel or, to be more accurate, a mandate, an angel's domain of power and supremacy: e.g., Baraqi'el is placed over Baraq, Baradi'el over Barad, Layli'el over Layla, etc. It has been often noted in the literature that the suitable etymologies were not always given, which supports what has been said so far, namely that the etymology is not the aim here, but only the means.

The more the etymology is unsuitable and the interpretation is forced, the more the true interest of these mystic exegetes becomes visible; they want to point out that the name of a celestial power gives evidence of its nature and mandate, a conception that was also known to Irenaeus of Lyons. In attacking certain heretics who see in the different names Sabaoth, Eloë, Elloeuth, Adonai and Jaoth the names of different powers and gods, he maintains that all these names are different names

of the one and only God which express His different aspects and actions.¹⁶ The late commentary to the list of the 70 names of Metatron quoted by Joseph Dan¹⁷ is absolutely right when it says that every name denominates “the task that Metatron performs when he assumes this name.” This conception of the names of the angels can go so far as to mean that the thus called angelic figure is nothing else than the function expressed in its name, a hypostasis of this function. This phenomenon also pertains to the celestial singers, as I have shown elsewhere.¹⁸ The name itself emanates the power and the dread — the celestial ones, when they hear it, are smitten with horror and fear,¹⁹ before Him they tremble:

Shi'ur Qomah, Cohen, p. 256 (Schäfer s972)

Because of Your Name the batallions of fire quiver...

Because of Your Name the sea flees backwards...

And all them who dwell on high... and every [celestial] residence, quiver and quake because of Your Name.

The statement that the name is nothing else but a functional concentration of power applies also to the so-called *nomina barbara* or the names composed of one letter only, for instance when texts apostrophize certain names or letters as the potency of creation. These are “the letters by means of which heaven and earth have been created”;²⁰ and in an apparently gnostic notion, “For before all, Your Name was established... the ‘ofanim declare Your Name pure, for Your Name made all created beings.”²¹ Faith in the specific function of power of each name is likewise expressed in the need to show the respective proper names for the purpose of the descent to the Merkava,²² for the induction of the vision of the Merkava, and insight into the Torah.²³ Similarly, certain names are ascribed special qualities for protection²⁴ and diverse successful operations²⁵ and, eventually, force the respective celestial holders of authority to fulfill diverse tasks.²⁶

In addition to the increasing accumulation of names which are bestowed on the traditional angels, there is also a tendency in the texts to give every single being of the celestial world a name. This is particularly conspicuous in the *Shi'ur Qomah*²⁷, where names are given even to the individual parts and members of the *corpus divinum* as well as to the other parts of the Merkava²⁸ — which seems to be, in addition, a source and treasure-vault of names.²⁹ After all, the heavens themselves and the

spirits of the stars have their names;³⁰ thus arises the impression of a comprehensive onomatological conception which seeks to embrace all celestial beings.

This onomatological conception, which evidently constitutes a totally autonomous view of the celestial world, seems in a large part of our texts to have been superimposed on an older traditional angelology, leading to the ambivalence of the personal and onomatological ways of thinking in our texts. This process of superimposition can be observed particularly well in the following small Metatron-piece in the *Re'uyot Yehezqel*:

Temirin 1, p. 128

The Prince dwells nowhere but in Zebul...

And what is his name? Kimos is his name.

R. Isaac said, Me'atah is his name.

R. Inyanei bar Sisson said, Bizbul is his name.

R. Tanhum the elder said, 'Atatyah is his name.

Elazar Nadwadya said, Mitatron, like the name of the Power.

Those who make use of the Name say, Kas Bas Bas Kebas is his name, like the name of the Creator of the world.³¹

The distinction and autonomy of the onomatological conception become particularly apparent where the names themselves appear in the texts as living, powerful, magnificent and venerable beings, who are granted veneration and praise like a personal god, particularly through the well known formula: *Barukh shem kevod malkhuto*.

Elsewhere I called those texts 'Barukh-Shem-name-liturgies.'³² They describe how the names of God flash from the throne of glory, how they are bestowed with praise and singing by the crowd of singers present, and how they, like the "sons of the kings," are escorted through the heavens with an escort of honor:

Sefer Enoch, BHM II, S. 114, Schäfer §71

These are the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, which go out with several crowns of fire... from before the throne of glory, and with them are a thousand camps of the Shekhina, and myriads over myriads of hosts of Gevura, who escort them like a king... and their light is like flash lights, like the appearance of the Hashmal; and they venerate them and call before them: Holy, holy, holy [is the Lord of Hosts] (Isaiah 6:3)... They roll them through all

heavens and heavens of the height, like noble and honorable sons of kings.

And when they lead them back to the place of the throne of glory, all the Hayyot of the Merkavah open their mouths with the praise of the magnificence of the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, and they call: *Barukh shem kevod malkhuto le-olam wa-ed*.³³

Considering such descriptions, one has to realize that a name within the scope of Hekhalot-texts is not a simple appellation, nor a convention for the purpose of naming and recognizing persons, but that a name itself is a venerable bearer of power, indeed, it is a hypostasis of inherent power and function. Consider again the above-mentioned quote (n. 21).

From the aforesaid it becomes clear why even the slightest change of a name, or an enumeration of too many or too few names,³⁴ can have dangerous consequences, since through the change of the series of letters a new name comes into being³⁵ and a new center of power is activated, which eventually can become dangerous to the one who handles the name.³⁶ For the onomatologically thinking mystic, the names are crucial, not the angel figures, the latter still belonging to the realm of thinking in personal categories. That is why a central task of the mystic on his heavenly journey is to learn the names up there and to teach them to the adepts down on earth.

Typical of this attitude is the following passage of the Schäfer Collection §337:

This is the name which was revealed to Rabbi Aqiva when he visioned the Merkava. And Rabbi Aqiva came down and taught it to his disciples and spoke to them:

My sons, be careful with this name, it is a great name, and everyone who uses it in fear and awe, in purity, holiness and humility, will have plentiful offspring, success in all his paths, and long life.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who has sanctified us with His commandments and commanded us to sanctify His name!

This task of overhearing, and teaching what one has heard on the heavenly journey, also pertains in almost the same words to the heavenly hymns.³⁷ They, too, are bearers of celestial power and provide indispensable protection for the traveller through the heavens during his ascent

and descent. That the hymns possess this power partly due to the celestial names incorporated in them can be surely concluded from the words of Rabbi Yishmael:

Schäfer §586

Every day I have prayed each of the five prayers with their names, during the descent and the ascent, and all my limbs became disburdened.

This parallelism of name and chanting is certainly not accidental, and it seems that the structure of litany of so many series of names takes this nexus into consideration. Presumably these name-litanies or even single names had to be chanted,³⁸ not least as a kind of autosuggestive technique, so that the name unfolds its power through the litany.³⁹

A confirmation of this presumption may be seen in the fact that the name of God, like the celestial chanting, must be recited with all one's might and with one voice, *una voce*.⁴⁰ One may refer here to the Latin technical term for an adjuration, *incantatio*, expressing a similar idea.

The name as a celestial being, as a hypostasis of power and as an instrument for theurgy and protection is, as has been indicated above, at the same time the highest step and the main substance of revelation, because of its deep significance for the mystic. With these mystics, the revelation of names, or the Torah as the revelation of names, actually replaced the revelation of the written and the oral Torah. This fact is expressed most clearly by the well-known Torah-tradition chain of the Mishnah, which acquires the following form here.

Schäfer §397

This is His eminent name, which was given to Moses at Sinai from the lips of the faithful and humble God.

And from the lips of Moses it was given to Joshua and from Joshua to the Elders and from the Elders to the Prophets, and from the Prophets to the men of the Great Assembly and from them to Ezra, and from Ezra to Hillel and from Hillel onward He was hidden until R. Abbahu came.⁴¹

Accordingly, for these mystics the election of Israel from all nations is not based upon the possession of the Written or the Oral Torah, but on the revelation of the Name of God and, accordingly, on the privilege to

be permitted to utter this Name. Consider for instance this blessing in our texts:

Schäfer §384

Blessed art Thou O Lord, our God, King of the world, who has sanctified us with His commandments and has chosen us from all nations and has revealed His secrets to us and has taught us, to know His eminent and awful Name.⁴²

Until now it has been the Torah which was regarded as the totality and all embracing source of wisdom; now it is the names.

Whoever knows and utters them is immediately granted the highest wisdom; his heart will be enlightened, and he sees the Merkava.⁴³ Man is granted revelation when he chants God's Names, as is explicitly stated in the following passage:

Schäfer §676

While praising Your Name the secrets of wisdom will be revealed, and while chanting the praises of Your Naming, the secrets of secrets and the gates of insight will be opened.⁴⁴

It is, therefore, hardly poetic diction only, when the praise of God's Name is mentioned so often in our texts. Moreover, the still common *Barukh Ha-Shem* seems suddenly to acquire a most concrete sense in this light.

On the whole, it seems that the highest knowledge of man in this world is not the knowledge of God, but the knowledge of the celestial names, particularly those of Metatron and God. The first man to whom this highest knowledge of God's or Metatron's name was granted is, besides the transformed Enoch-Metatron himself, Moses, the prototype of all Merkava-mystics.⁴⁵ On his journey through the heavens he was permitted to hear things which not even the Hayyot ha-qodesh were allowed to hear. He was permitted to hear how Metatron exclaimed the secret Name of God in the presence of God, a name which — as it seems — revealed the innermost nature of deity.⁴⁶

The possibility of attaining the knowledge of God by knowing His Name seems for the Hekhalot mystic to be founded on a real resemblance, if not on an identity, of God and His Name. How else should one

understand a litany like the following, in which the Name of God is awarded the same attributes as the divinity itself:

Schäfer §392

You are precious and Your Name is precious
 You are powerful and Your Name is powerful
 You are flaming and Your Name is flaming
 You are sweet and your Name is sweet...
 You are bearing and Your Name is bearing...⁴⁶

It is possible, perhaps, to go one step further and to determine for God the same fact I have stated already for the celestial names in general, namely that they are actually nothing else than a hypostasis of the power they represent. That would mean that the God of these mystics is strictly speaking nothing else than the hypostasis of His own Name. He and His Name are one.⁴⁷ Indeed, in one case, this equation is expressed quite in detail:

Ma'ase Merkava, Scholem §28; Schäfer §588

He is His Name and His Name is He
 He is in Himself and His Name is in His Name
 chanting is His Name and His Name is chanting.⁴⁸

Here, the equation of name and chanting can perhaps be understood in the following sense: God manifests Himself as a sounding or chanted name; or even more, He Himself is a sounding name; a chanted succession of letters — of *letters*, one should bear this in mind — by means of which heaven and earth could be created!

If my observations so far are correct, we have the right to say that in the Hekhalot texts we face the forerunners of the later mysticism of language of the kabbala, to which Gershom Scholem dedicated his great essay “Der Name Gottes und die Sprachtheorie der Kabbala.”⁴⁹

In conclusion, I would like to refer to a point which may be interpreted in the light of my arguments. The fragments and splinters of tradition of the Hekhalot-literature tell about celestial powers whose authority falls only a little behind the authority of the supreme Godhead, and who are even ascribed a share in the work of creation, as in the case of Anafi'el.⁵⁰ Primary among them is Enoch-Metatron who, according to several texts, has been endowed with extraordinary fullness

of power. The depicted onomatological theology could evidently express this fullness of power adequately only by stating that the highest deity gives some of its own names away because the participation in God's Name is participation in God's power, and thus in the deity itself. Therefore the fullness of power of Metatron expresses itself above all in the fact that he obtains seventy names from the seventy names of God,⁵¹ or — in a somewhat different diction — that the Name of God is dormant in him, or that his name is like the Name of his Lord.⁵² It should not then surprise us that this finds its most concrete and logical expression in the name *Adonay Ha-Qatan*.⁵³ The onomatologically thinking mystic would hardly find this name offensive, as in his language it expresses what is described in angelologic parlance as the enthronement of Metatron.⁵⁴

Even the name of Anafi'el, which is quite unsuitable as apt etymology and equation with the name of God, had to submit to this way of thinking in a very forcible interpretation, as demonstrated by Joseph Dan.⁵⁵ Finally, let us recall that those angels whose names bear elements of YHWH, are in one case characterized as more powerful and superior to other angels which lack this element.⁵⁶ In view of this, I suggest that we also have to consider the composition of names with the element EL, which thus appears not only as an imitation of traditional angel's names, but also as an onomatological program.

Let me now recapitulate briefly the results of my study:

1. In the Hekhalot-texts there is a distinct layer of what may be called an onomatological tradition.
2. This onomatological tradition represents an autonomous theological system, which is considerably different from the traditional angelology and theology, the latter still thinking in personal categories.
3. In the majority of our texts the new *Weltanschauung* and theology is not expressed in independent treatises, but frequently as a layer of interpretation superimposed on the older theological and angelological texts — hence the often very contradictory image presented by the texts.
4. With this new onomatological theology, the Hekhalot-texts become the still unsystematic forerunners of the later kabbalistic theory of language, in so far as theology and angelology are becoming onomatology, as the name is divine, powerful, dynamic, a means of revelation and, at the same time, its content; finally it is ready for use by the mystic.

If, considering these findings, the repeatedly discussed question of the orthodoxy of these texts⁵⁷ is posed, we can state that at least here the faith in a personal deity is considerably shaken, especially where the participation in God's Name means a participation in God's power and perhaps even in His essence.

1. I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, (Leiden/Köln, 1980), p. 105f; cf. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition*, (New York, 1960), p. 75.
2. Cf. J. Dan, "Anafi'el Metatron we-Yoser Bereshit," *Tarbiz* 52(1982/3): 447-457; idem, "The Seventy Names of Metatron," *Proceedings 8th World Congress of Jewish Studies*. (1982), Div. C, p. 19-23; A. Goldberg, "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Quellen und den redaktionellen Einheiten der Großen Hekhalot," *FJB* (1973): 1-49; P. Schäfer, "Die Beschwörung des Sar Ha-Panim," *FJB* 6 (1978): 107-145; idem, "Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Edition und Analyse der Merkava Rabba," *FJB* 5 (1977): 65-98; but idem, "Engel und Menschen in der Hekhalot-Literatur," *Kairos* 3-4 (1980): 201-225.
3. If not otherwise stated, all quotations are from P. Schäfer et al., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen, 1981); §516: "This is the venerable and awful name: 'BG YT' etc. ... these are the handed down 42 letters of the Shem ha-meforash." Cf. §571.565; L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (Budapest, 1898), p. 143:7 letters, 8, 9, 12, 14, 18, 20, 24, 25, 27, 37, 49, 100 letters; and p. 144f, where he cites the 8th Book of Moses (F. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 200): "I invoke thee iyeyo etc. (75 vowels) the Great Name"; see also below, n. 48; and M. Gaster, *The Sword of Moses* (London, 1896), p. 10: "When comparing the ancient tradition with the new texts of Hebrew literature, there can no longer be any doubt that the Name of forty-two, or more or less, elements could not have been originally anything else but words consisting of that number of letters..."; Blau, *op. cit.* p. 145.
4. §513.
5. §499, 960.
6. §960, 564, 565; for five letters, cf. Gruenwald (above, n. 1), p. 176; 37, 28, 16 and 15 times the two letters YH, §491.
7. §491ff.
8. §561.
9. §564, 565; cf. §568, 841.
10. §364, 389, 637, 473, 421; cf. L. Blau (above, n. 3), p. 119, regarding the prohibition to erase single letters of the Name, and cf. p. 104.
11. §637.

12. Here, one should mention again the theories of letters and numbers of Marcus the Gnostic (Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses I, 14, 2*), which Moses Gaster noted in 1892 as a gnostic parallel for *Shi'ur Quomah* in which the 12 limbs of the "soma tes Aletheias" are inscribed with the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet in the manner known as the AT-BaSH from the Hebrew sources; cf. M. Gaster, *Das Schiur Komah, MGWJ* (1892), now in *Studies and Texts*, (New York, 1971) pp. 1330-1353; cf. G. Scholem, *Gnosticism*, p. 37 and M.S. Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah* (New York-London, 1983), p. 24f. The latter's discredit of this reference might be debated in the light of the above findings, as here too, with Marcus, there is a counting of letters to define names: the Universe is a name of 30 letters, likewise the Bythos, Aletheia with twelve times two, the first Tetras has 24, the name of Arretos has seven, Sige five, Aletheia seven and Christus six: "But when the name of six letters was revealed, and when this one, who has in himself the six and the 24, became flesh... then [mankind] lost in the knowledge of him their ignorance and came from death to life, because this name became a path for them, leading to the father of truth," *Adv. Haer I 15, 2.1*; and cf. F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1925 repr. Leipzig, 1980), pp. 61ff., who refers to the common custom in the Magic Papyri to give the number of letters of a magic name, for instance in the 8th Book of Moses: "dein siebenbuchstabiger Name nach der Leiter der sieben Klänge," p. 37.
13. In particular, the aforementioned alterations of the letters of the Tetragrammaton; and cf. further §513: "And this is the Name of fourteen letters. that is the one behind the Mezusa, opposite [the words] *wehaya* (Deut. 11:13): KWZW BM [W] KSZ [KWZW] [Temura for YHWH 'LHNW YHWH, cf. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York, 1974), p. 92] and he goeth forth in fourteen ways in particular (*biferat*) and by arithmetic [you get] the general of it (*kelilotaw*)... and you should be an expert to give the general of it, from which *ta'am* and from which *miqra* he will bring them forth in 72 ways...;" cf. *BHM 2*, p. 114. The different forms of names seem to be accordingly a result of the midrash ha-torah, an art that was taught to Moses by Yefefiya, cf. Ma'ayan Hokma, *BHM 1*, p. 61; cf. M. Idel, "Tefisat ha-torah be-sifrut ha-hekhalot we-gilguleha ba-qabbala," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* (1981):28; J. Dan, "Hadre merkava," *Tarbiz* 47 (1977/8):53, notes an identity of midrash shir ha-shirim, shi'ur quoma and the highest experience of the mystic before the throne of God; and that shir ha-shirim, particularly in its physical descriptions, is nothing else than the names of God. This connection of highest mystic experience and the exegesis-like combination of different letters into

names appears twice in Hekhalot Zutarti in a hymn describing this climax of the mystic life: G. Scholem, *Gnosticism*, p. 78 (Schäfer §349/361; R. Elijior, *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought*, Suppl. 1 (1982): 24-27:

He invited Man... to enable him...

To ascend on high...

to contemplate the splendor

to dwell with the crown

to praise the glory

to say praise

to combine letters

to say names.

14. One may recall here the Marcosian system of generation of letters: "L'élément 'delta' a en lui-même cinq lettres, à savoir le 'delta' lui-même, l'epsilon', le 'lambda', le 'tau' et l'alpha'; ces lettres, à leur tour, s'écrivent au moyen d'autres lettres, et ces dernières, au moyen d'autres encore. Si donc toute la substance du 'delta' s'étend ainsi à l'infini du fait que les lettres ne cessent de s'engendrer les unes les autres et de se succéder, combien plus grand encore sera l'océan des lettres de l'Elément par excellence! Et si une seule lettre est à ce point immense, vois quel 'abîme' de lettres suppose le Nom entier, puisque, d'après l'enseignement du 'Silence' de Marc, c'est de lettres qu'est constitué le Pro-Père."; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* I, 14, 2, translation of A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau, *Sources Chrétiennes, Irénée de Lyon* (Paris, 1979).
15. §31, 34, 18, 25, 28, 40, 42, 43, 62, 178, 180, 230, 388.
16. I thank J. Libes for this parallel; cf. below n. 35.
17. J. Dan, "The Seventy names" (above, n. 2).
18. K.E. Grözinger, *Musik und Gesang in der Theologie der frühen jüdischen Literatur* (Tübingen, 1982), p. 283 ff.; idem, "Singen und ekstatische Sprache in der frühen jüdischen Mystik," *JSJ* 11 (1980): 66-77.
19. §625.
20. Cf. above 3 Enoch 13, and Schäfer §16, 59, 473, 637, 837, 897, 79, 629, 429, 832, 421, 166; also cf. §60, 587, 497; Bate Midrashot, 2, p. 355; B. Ber. 55a.
21. Shiur Ha-Qoma, M.S. Cohen, p. 256; cf. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, (above, n. 12), p. 40f: "denn das All ist aus dem Alpha herausgekommen und wird zu dem Omega zurückkehren," from the gnostic Books of Jeu, V. Macdermot's translation in *Nag Hammadi Studies XIII* (Leiden, 1978), p. 177.
22. §219: "R. Yishma'el said: When arriving and standing in front of the gate of the first palace, take two seals in your two hands, one of TWTRWS'Y YHWH Eloqe Yisrael and one of Surya the Prince of the Presence. The one of TWTRWS'Y YHWH show to those standing to the right, and the one of

Surya the Prince of the Presence show to those standing to the left. Immediately Dahabi'el the Prince, who is the head of the gate of the first palace... and Tofi'el the Prince... seize you, from your right and one from your left until they guide you and deliver you... to Tofihel'el the Prince who is the head of the gate of the second palace..."; a.cf. §236. 413-417. 229. 204. 586. One can find a similar procedure in the Books of Jeu, for instance ch. 39: "When you come forth from all these places, say these names which I have said to you, with their seals, so that you are sealed with them. And say the names of their seals while their cipher is in your hand, and the watchers and the ranks and the veils are drawn back until you go to the place of their Father," *Nag Hammadi Studies* XIII, ed. McL. Wilson (above, no.21), p. 89 and cf. pp. 90, 119 ff. 127 ff.; cf. P. Schäfer, "Engel und Menschen" (above, n. 2); K.E. Grözinger, *Musik und Gesang*, (above, n. 18), p. 308f.

23. §302-303, 586, 568-569, 570; cf. Schäfer, "Prolegomena ... (above n. 2)
24. §566, 568, 569, 499; cf. above, n. 8.
25. §337, see below; a name for everything, even reviving the dead, §512, 511; against forgetfulness, §336, 340; and particularly the Harba de-Moshe §606ff., and cf. *Sefer ha-Razim*, ed. M. Margalioth (Tel Aviv, 1966).
26. §826-827, 623, 501.
27. §948-951, 480-482, 483, 695ff; cf. M.S. Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah* (above, n. 12), p. 99ff., where he points to the appellative of Isis as *myrionymos* or *polynomos*. Cohen believes that "The motivating factor in the development of these traditions is probably the assumption that the magnificence of the divine calls for a surfeit of names." In my opinion, here it is more the intrinsic logic of the onomatologic thinking that must give the pleroma of names to the supreme Godhead, as is the above cited (n. 14) Marcosian reasoning: "Et si une seule lettre est à ce point immense, vois quel 'abîme' de lettres suppose le Nom entier, puisque... c'est de lettres qu'est constitué le Pro-Pere." The assignment of specific names to specific limbs of the Shi'ur Qomah should then be seen in a functional coordination of the name and the respective limb (i.e every limb has the power of its name), rather than in the urge to have to assign a plethora of names to a single deity, as Cohen believes (p. 102).
28. §629ff, 59, 373, 78; *BatM* 2, p. 354. M. Idel (above, n. 13) even observes a kind of identity or at least extreme closeness of the names and Shi'ur Qomah, pp. 39-40.
29. §57, 78, 79; *BatM* 2, p. 355.
30. §66, cf. Odeberg, 3 *Enoch* (New York, 1973), p. 25 of the index, s.v. heaven; cf. the fragment of a Midrash Ma'ase Bereshit in MS Paris, Bibl. Nat. Hebr 711, p. 2b, published in *Ozar Nechmad*, 3 (Wien, 1860), p. 59; *Arugat*

- Ha-bosem*, 2, ed. E.E. Urbach (Jerusalem, 1947), pp. 184, 187; K.E. Grözinger, "Ich bin der Herr dein Gott, *FJSt* 2, (Frankfurt a. M.), p. 288; and Mahzor Vitry, Horowitz, 1922/3, pp. 323, 325, 324; Grözinger, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
31. *Temirin* 1, (Jerusalem, 1972); P.S. Alexander, "The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Henoch," *JJS* 28 (1977): 156-180; cf. Scholem, *Gnosticism*, p. 46, 47: "We may, accordingly, speak of two stages through which the traditions concerning the seven heavens have gone. The first knows nothing of Metatron and, forming a part of teachings not confined to the esoterics alone, do not mention secret names that may have magical connotations. The second stage, however, introduces these magical elements and puts Metatron in the place of Michael." That there is a step-for-step superimposition of the onomatology on non-onomatologic texts seems again to be corroborated by an observation of Cohen: "It should be noted that the assignment of names to the divine limbs is characteristic only of section D, the text ascribed to R. Ishmael, and section F, the text attributed to R. Nathan. The Aqiban text has no names for the limbs." *Shi'ur Qomah*, p. 103.
32. K.E. Grözinger, *Musik* (above, n. 18), p. 323ff.
33. Cf. §57, 636, 79, 841; *BatM* 2, p. 350 f.
34. §205; cf. §586, 568, 570.
35. §424. It is worth noting that Irenaeus, too, knew of changes of only a single letter in a name to express a different active power in God: "En effet, le mot Éloé, en hébreu, signifie le 'vrai Dieu'; Elloeuth, en hébreu, signifie 'ce qui contient toutes choses'. Le mot Adonai désigne l'Innommable' et l'Admirable'; avec un double delta et une aspiration, c'est-à-dire sous la forme Haddonai, il désigne 'celui qui sépare la terre d'avec les eaux pour que celles-ci ne puissent plus envahir la terre'. De même Sabaôth, avec un o long dans la dernière syllable, signifie 'celui qui veut'; avec un o bref, c'est-à-dire sous la forme Sabaoth, il désigne 'le premier ciel'. De même encore, le mot Jaôth signifie 'la mesure fixée d'avance', tandis que le mot Jaoth signifie 'celui qui fait fuir les maux'", *Adv. Haer.* II, 35, 3, A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau (above, n. 14).
36. §470, 205, 319.
37. §106; cf. Grözinger, *Musik*, (above, n. 18), pp., 308-315.
38. This might even be concluded from the parallelism of the tradition by Hai Gaon, *MGWJ* 37, p. 23: "the one who wishes to envision the Merkava... puts his head between his knees and whispers many *chants and praises* toward the earth" and the one in HZ, Schäfer §424: "everyone who wishes to study this Mishnah and wants to read (*lefaresh*) the name as it is written

- (*be-ferusho*) should put his head between his knees... and whisper to the earth.”
39. Cf. Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah*, p. 69: “It seems, from all this, that the Shi'ur Qomah was composed as a mystic meditation (incantation would be, perhaps, too strong a term) on the Deity, the recitation of which was meant to yield practical physical and metaphysical results... The Shi'ur Qomah is thus at once *liturgy* and *theurgy*...”
 40. §306, 334, 168, 564; Grünwald, “Qeta'im,” *Tarbiz* 38 (1969): 365.
 41. Cf. §341, 340, 598, 676.
 42. Cf. §392, 393, 469, 470.
 43. §302f. 404, 318, 651, 279, 310. cf. §656.
 44. Similar statements: §580, 571, 564; the ability to name the angels itself is regarded as wisdom, §581.
 45. Cf. the discussion of the “Moses-Apokalypse” in my “Ich bin der Herr dein Gott” (above, n. 30), p. 134ff.
 46. The complex interrelation between this scene in the Shi'ur Qomah pieces in *Merkava Shelema*, pp. 39b-40 (Schäfer §957-961; 729; Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah*, Sect. Jx, p. 230-31), and the traditions in Schäfer §396ff, 389-390, 473, 733-736, 385, 486 need further investigation. It seems however that the Shi'ur Qomah pieces are mainly a combination of traditions about the name of Metatron that was given to Moses (cf. §473-474), and of the tradition pertaining to the heavenly liturgy in which Metatron utters the name of God (§389-390) with the effect that the differentiation between the names of God and those of Metatron were (intentionally?) blurred.
 47. Cf. Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah*, Sect. Lx, p. 243.
 48. Cf. the above cited §972 and §557: “for His Name is in His strength and His strength is in His name, He is His might and His might is He, and His Name is in His Name ASBWGG...” Also R. Elior stated in her edition of *Hekhalot Zutarti* (above, n. 13), p. 5, that the Deity in *Hekhalot Zutarti* is not conceived as an idea but as a series of names, and that the essence of the Deity is identical with its Name. A similar idea is found in the so-called 8th Book of Moses, Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 194, in which the Name and the Deity likewise seem identical: “Stored up in it [i.e. in this book] is the powerful name, which is Ogdoas God, who orders and administrates everything; under his command are the angels, archangels, demons, demoneses and all that is below in creation. There are four names at hand, the one with nine letters and the one with 14 letters and the one with 26 letters and the one here...
The one of nine letters; aeêeîoyô and the one of 14 letters: ysaysiayeiaôys, the one of 26 letters:... (?)”; cf. Scholem's discussion on the Hebrew variant of the Ogdoas in *Gnosticism*, p. 65ff., particularly pp. 69, 70.

49. *Judaica*, 3, (Frankfurt a.M., 1970).
50. Cf. J. Dan, "Anafi'el, Metatron..." (above, n. 2), pp. 447-457.
51. §74, 76 MS V 228; §4, 5, 78, 400; cf. §279, 387, 473.
52. §4-5, 400, 706, 885, 886, 244, 46, 13; cf. §26; Re'uyot Yehezqel, *BatM* 2, pp. 132, 133; *Temirin* 1, p. 128, see above; B.San. 38b; cf. P.S. Alexander (above, n. 31), pp. 164. 167.
53. Adonay ha-qatan §295.405; YWY §15, *BatM* 2, p. 352; H §73; cf. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic*, p. 196f; H. Odeberg, 3 *Enoch*, Introd. p. 188-192, transl. p. 33, n. 5: "The ascribing to Metatron of the Name YHWH ha-QATAN is very near to ascribing to him an intermediary Function of Deity. But it here denotes his Function of being God's representative. As this representative the Most High has conferred upon him part of His essence which is in His name." One should note here the distinctive onomatology of the gnostic Evangelium Veritatis, cf. the translation of J.E. Ménard, *Nag Hammadi Studies* II (Leiden, 1972), p. 65: "Or le Nom du Père est le fils. C'est Lui qui, dans le Principe, a donné nom à celui qui est sorti de Lui, qui était lui même, et Il l'a engendré comme Fils. Il lui a donné Son nom, qui est le Sien propre..." German translation by H.M. Schenke in W.C. van Unnik, *Evangelien aus dem Nilsand* (Frankfurt a.M., 1960), p. 183.
54. Cf. for example §295.405. A different parlance for the same idea seems to be that God gives participation in His brilliance and beauty, § 735, 398, 958, 385; Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah*, p. 230.
55. See above, n. 50.
56. §13, 240-241, 46, 47; cf. Scholem, *Gnosticism*, pp. 71, 133.
57. Cf. for example G. Scholem, *ibid.* p. 10: "The texts of Merkabah mysticism that have so far come to our knowledge also display what I have called an orthodox Jewish tendency, and are in no way heretical... These mystical aspects, however, do not detract from the basic fact that the theology presented, or rather implied, here does not conflict with the biblical concept of God..."