

The Smell of Mortal Man: When the Demonic Female Preys Upon the German Pietist*

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■ Abstract

In the esoteric writings of the Medieval German Pietists, nocturnal female demons, known as *lilioth*, preyed upon mortal men who crossed their paths or who laid down to sleep in their territory. These *lilioth* could smell the scent of a man, whose body carried with it the additional value of sexual allure, and would hunt them down with their finely attuned olfactory sense. Another odor discussed in these texts, the smell of flying ointment, guaranteed invisibility and offered invulnerability to night-time travelers of both sexes which mirrors the phenomenon known in contemporary Latin sources under the term *cursus*. In these texts, Jewish mystics, before the dawn of the Kabbalah, rewrote the widely known folklore traditions and fairy tales common to both Jewish and Christian cultures in the Middle Ages. The study presented here is therefore aimed to provide insight into a previously underestimated chapter in Jewish esoteric and kabbalistic sensorium, namely, the olfactory experience.

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■ Keywords

Medieval German Pietism (*Haside Ashkenaz*), olfactory sense, *lilioth*, female demons, Jewish magic, Jewish esotericism, scent, folktales

The odor of humans is always a fleshly odor—that is, a sinful odor. (Patrick Süskind, *Perfume: The Story of a Murderer*)¹

■ Introduction

German Jewish Pietists (*Haside Ashkenaz*) wrote about female demons, similar to the succubi, which they called *lilioth*. These were malevolent spirits that could adopt the form of a beautiful woman in order to seduce male mortals. The term used by these medieval esotericists was derived from early rabbinic and magical sources, where Lilith was described as the disobedient, first wife of Adam. Following the failed union with her partner, she would later be portrayed in Jewish folklore as the demon who returns to seduce men and kill their offspring. In later kabbalistic literature, Lilith is the name of a genus of demonic figures. Special attention will be given in this study to their keen olfactory sense, which allowed them to detect the presence of men who cross their path or were found sleeping at the roadside in their territory. Even so, *lilioth* along with the anointed nocturnal travelers found their place within the larger metaphysical framework of the German Pietists, in which all extra-divine beings and hybrid-creatures, including angels and all demonic spirits, behaved according to a set of rules, such that nothing was outside of the divine order. I will explore these esoteric adaptations of medieval folklore and fairy tales through theories of the senses, such as Merleau-Ponty's theory of perception, in order to position these medieval texts within the history of ideas about olfactory experiences. An analysis of these traditions of the *lilioth* contributes to the history of ideas about olfaction in the Middle Ages by completing a neglected chapter in Jewish magic and esotericism prior to the rise of the Kabbalah.

■ Medieval Sensorium – Anthropologic Trajectory of Olfactory Experience

The olfactory sense, like all the senses, was constructed in medieval religious cultures, based on medical knowledge preserved and transferred from Greek antiquity, primarily the works of Galen and Aristotle.² What emerged was a

¹ Patrick Süskind, *Perfume: The Story of a Murderer* (trans. John E. Woods; New York: Penguin, 1987) 16.

² On ancient Greek philosophic-medical *modi* used to describe the olfactory sensation, see *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (ed. Constance Classen, David Howes and Anthony Synnott; London: Routledge, 1994) 13–50; Grainne Louise Grant, “The Greek Sense of Smell: Olfactory Perception and the Sociocultural Roles of Perfume in Antiquity” (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2014), esp. 70–161; Katelynn Robinson, *The Sense of Smell in the Middle Ages. A Source of Certainty* (London/New York: Routledge, 2020) 13–35. Concerning olfactory interdependencies between mythology,

mechanics of the inner economics of the sensual perception, “saturated sensorium”³ in which smell, among the other senses, was used to allure or repel a specific group of people based on the unique odor of the persons. More specifically, olfaction was part of a religious epistemology, where it functioned as a revelatory marker of belonging that situated the scented body in a hierarchy of odors: the aroma of sanctity and good deeds was contrasted with the stench of sin or the malodor of a demonic presence, which often disclosed the hidden qualities or misconduct of the soul, which emitted a scent.⁴ Prior to being deemed ontologically pleasant or offensive, each smell penetrated the body and was expelled as a breath, vapor, or a bodily liquid, which could then be evaluated according to theological or medical knowledge. Such a gradation of olfactory experiences paved the way to a general abhorrence of sensing the by-products of bodily secretions, primarily feces, as will be seen in the Pietistic narrative discussed below.

In late antique Christianity, ancient Mediterranean olfactory codes were adapted to dovetail with both theological argumentation and previously advanced rites advising the use of fragrant oil, spices, and incense. The stench of a disintegrated corpse, in contrast with the heavenly fragrances of Paradise or of the Garden of Eden, provoked a cultural discomfort. The sweetness of pure sanctity contradicted the artificially generated seductive perfumes that adorned the foul soul, a variation on the ancient *topos* of the body as a sack of excrement. The putrid smell generally evoked an association with moral degeneration and evil. However, a certain dissonance in the hierarchy of smells and their valuation can be discerned in an example of the malodor of the ascetics, whose bodies reeked as a result of their intensive self-castigating practices and the severe illnesses brought on by such a lifestyle. Challenging for the sensual experience of the community was a transgressive incongruity between the stench exuded by the body of an ascetic over the course of his or her abstemious career and the fragrant aroma of Christ, although this paradox was alleviated by the

philosophy, spice trade, and celebration of festivals in ancient Greece, see Marcel Detienne, *Les Jardins d'Adonis. La mythologie des parfums et des aromates en Grèce* (Paris: Gallimard, 1972); English translation: idem, *The Gardens of Adonis: Spices in Greek Mythology* (trans. Janet Lloyd; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

³ The designations “saturated sensorium” and, subsequently, the “hagiosensorium,” as an expression of a “perceptual system aimed at sensing the property of holiness,” were derived from the contributions of Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen gathered in the omnibus volume *The Saturated Sensorium: Principles of Perception and Mediation in the Middle Ages* (ed. Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen et al.; Gylling: Aarhus University Press, 2015), esp. 9–70.

⁴ Two basic patterns can be distinguished: that of incense consisting of the fragrance of martyrdom and odors exhaled through good or bad deeds, and that of perfume entailing the aroma of sanctity or fetor of evil related particularly to the demonic agency. For an examination of the spiritual olfaction in the Christian environment, see: Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Martin Roch, *L'intelligence d'un sens. Odeurs miraculeuses et odorat dans l'Occident du haut Moyen Âge (Ve-VIIIe siècles)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); from the comparative perspective, see: Mary Thurkill, “Odors of Sanctity: Distinctions of the Holy in Early Christianity and Islam,” *Comparative Islamic Studies* 3.2 (2007) 133–44.

emission of a sweet fragrance on the deathbed. This opaque distribution of scents arising from an extreme exercise of the monastic virtue of humility found its fullest expression in the hagiographical legends of Simeon the Stylite (d. 459).⁵

Anointing oil held a privileged place within the medieval sensorium, especially in Byzantine culture, where it was conceived as a means of communicating with the divine or emphasized the status of being chosen, since the savior-messiah was conceived as the “anointed one.” The holy oil, an odoriferous substance, habitually known as *myron*, was mixed with dust, pebbles, or bones to produce an apotropaic balm often encapsulated in amulets or small containers called *encolpia*. In this cultural landscape, the holy oil was recommended for use to exorcise a demon, as for instance in the sixth-century *Life of Daniel the Stylite*. In medieval Europe, a specific magical balm was called “witch ointment” since it might empower individuals of both sexes to cover great distances during nocturnal flights while endowing them with the supernal faculties of invisibility and invulnerability.⁶

Standards for commenting on the olfactory experience were established in rabbinic literature with a technical vocabulary that was linked to the incense offerings in the Temple, going back to the Hebrew Bible and the adoption of the metaphor of the female body as a fragrant garden of delights in the Song of Songs.⁷ A foul odor appears as one of the crucial features attributed to the religious “other,” a “bad smell” (*ba'ash*, פֶּשַׁע), assigned to one’s enemies.⁸ Additionally, the Christian doctrine of incarnation was successively put into question, as for instance in the *Toledot Yeshu* literature or in the polemical *Nišaḥon ha-Yashan*, in which Mary’s womb was described as having a bad smell.⁹ Images of Jesus’s excretion during his mundane

⁵ On the role of smells in late antiquity, with particular focus on Christian sources, including the practical aspects of trade with fragrant spices and the production of incense see: Béatrice Caseau, “Euōidia: The Use and Meaning of Fragrances in the Ancient World and their Christianization (100–900 A.D.)” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1994); on the significance attributed to scents in Syriac Christianity as the most sophisticated textual elaboration of the olfactory experience in late antiquity, see Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*.

⁶ See Susan Ashbrook Harvey, “Fragrant Matter: The Work of Holy Oil,” in *Knowing Bodies, Passionate Souls: Sense Perceptions in Byzantium* (ed. Susan Ashbrook-Harvey and Margaret Mullett; Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2017) 153–66.

⁷ A “pleasing smell” (*reah nihoah*) of sacrifices evidenced in the Hebrew Bible and subsequent shifts in its interpretations have been analyzed in Shlomo Zuckier, “Nothing to Sniff at: Odorless Reah Nihoah in Early Biblical Interpretation,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 31 (2022) 184–214.

⁸ Concerning rabbinic perspectives on smell and their utilization as evidenced, especially in *Genesis Rabbah* and *Song of Songs Rabbah*, see Deborah A. Green, *The Aroma of Righteousness: Scent and Seduction in Rabbinic Life and Literature* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

⁹ The abhorrent fluids discharged by the mortal body, its decay and filth alongside the feminization of religious adversaries in Jewish, Christian and Islamic sources are investigated in a comparative analysis by Alexandra Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007); regarding *Toledot Yeshu*, see *Toledot Yeshu (“The Life Story of Jesus”) Revisited: A Princeton Conference* (ed. Peter Schäfer, Michael Meerson, Yaacov

life sparked scatological controversies, both among Christian theologians and Jewish polemicists such as redactors of *Niṣaḥon ha-Yashan*.¹⁰ Further, the belligerent foul stench purportedly exuded by Jewish bodies, infamously known as *foetor Judaicus*, was affiliated with both the planetary influence of Saturn and with leprosy. This was a theological weapon used against the Jewish minority in medieval Europe.¹¹

Christian scholastic traditions developed against the backdrop of an Aristotelian division of the five senses. They viewed the common sense (*sensus communis*) as a principle which synthesized all the perceptual modalities often conflated with each other for fabricating a unified bodily sensation. In order to establish a synchronized sensory experience, both the data gathered via *sensibilia propria* (known also as *sensibilia particularia*—hence through the senses, for example olfaction or gustation), and that collected via *sensibilia communia* (“common sensibilities”—universal perceptual categories such as, for example, movement) were taken into consideration.¹² Transient senses, smell, taste and touch, collaborated with each other and were judged to be generally inferior to visual or aural perception. Thomas Aquinas placed the olfactory sense hierarchically below vision and hearing, as the perception of an odor required the internal processing of an object and its subsequent exhalation to perceive the scent.¹³

■ The Phenomenology of Smell and Religious Experience

The philosophical oeuvre of Maurice Merleau-Ponty explores vicissitudes of perception by viewing every human being as “perpetual *sensorium commune*”:¹⁴ by giving prominence to the lived body, conceived of as a unique locus providing for the synthesis of the sensed, where the perceiver (an embodied subject) merges with the perceived object in an inter-sensory unity reaching beyond any reflective

Deutsch; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

¹⁰ For a considerable contribution to “medieval waste studies,” see: David Shyovitz, *A Remembrance of His Wonders: Nature and the Supernatural in Medieval Ashkenaz* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), esp. 161–204. Shyovitz considers the comprehensive attention of the German Pietists to the significance of excrement and bodily effluvia as unparalleled in earlier Jewish writings. Such a preoccupation with bodily waste was motivated by the vivid concern of these Pietists with the human body as representing a certain whole, physical consequence of bodily resurrection, reflected in regulations guaranteeing purity of the worshippers, sacred spaces and objects. Moreover, these texts contain some polemical replies to the Christian dogmas of transubstantiation, immaculate conception, and the dual nature of Jesus.

¹¹ Among the vast literature on *foetor Judaicus*, see Irven M. Resnick, *Marks of Distinctions: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2012) 232–43.

¹² See *The Saturated Sensorium* (ed. Jørgensen et al.), 37.

¹³ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I, q. 78, 3–4; *The Saturated Sensorium* (ed. Jørgensen et al.), 37; Annick Le Guérer, *Scent: The Mysterious and Essential Powers of Smell* (trans. Richard Miller; New York: Turtle Bay Books, 1992) 153–54.

¹⁴ Maurice Merleau-Ponty referred to the expression coined by Herder: see Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *La Phénoménologie de la Perception* (Paris: Gallimard, 1961) 271; idem, *Phenomenology of Perception* (trans. by Donald A. Landes; London/New York: Routledge 2014) 244.

analysis and intellectualism. Assuming every sensation encapsulates within itself a “seed of dream or depersonalization,”¹⁵ this French thinker compares all-pervading sensation to an experience of the sacrament of communion, operating not only on a symbolic plane as a spiritual gift of grace, but also by embracing the real presence of God made material in consecrated bread and wine destined for consumption.¹⁶ By framing sensory perception as a communication, or even a communion, between the body and the world, he invigorated phenomenological approaches to the senses and sensuality: approaches which have often been examined against the backdrop of spirituality and aesthetics, including the olfactory experience as an expression of both time and sexuality.

In keeping with Cézanne’s locution, the “odor of the landscape”¹⁷ can be configured by the sense of smell, even if the landscape is only painted on the canvas. In the medieval texts about she-demons or *lilioth* (analyzed below), the literal sense of what would otherwise seem to be the metaphoric use of a phrase will become evident. This can be grasped as a close parallel to Merleau-Ponty’s thoughts on communion, understood strictly as a palpable experience of the divine presence inherent to the act of consuming consecrated bread and wine. The sensation is replenished when each sensible thing links the perceiver to other sensible givens. This occurs in order to complete the perception of a thing entangled within a certain symbolism, a completion which remains unachievable: for instance, a patient seeing a devil even reports being able to see its sulfurous odor.¹⁸ Both hallucinations and myths, as argued by Merleau-Ponty, are rooted in the same phenomenon of decomposition of space, a shrinkage in the space experienced as an abolition of distance between sentient subject and sensed object, causing a delirious or mythic experience of oneness between human beings and their world.¹⁹ A similar disintegration of space

¹⁵ In the original wording, “un germe de rêve ou de dépersonnalisation” (Merleau-Ponty, *La Phénoménologie de la Perception*, 249; idem, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 223).

¹⁶ Merleau-Ponty’s parallel between a sensual perception and the sacrament of communion has been interpreted in categories of interpenetration or intercorporeality, see Merleau-Ponty, *La Phénoménologie de la Perception*, esp. 245–46, 370; idem, *Phenomenology of Perception*, esp. 219, 334. Cf. Richard Kearney, “Eucharistic Imagination in Merleau-Ponty and James Joyce,” in *Human Destinies: Philosophical Essays in Memory of Gerald Hanratty* (ed. Fran O’Rourke; Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013) 415–33.

¹⁷ Maurice Merleau-Ponty incorporated into his work *La Phénoménologie de la Perception* a quotation from Joachim Gasquet’s book *Cézanne*. The expression concerning the olfactory sense reads in the French original as follows: Cézanne disait qu’un tableau contient en lui-même jusqu’à l’odeur du paysage. Merleau-Ponty, *La Phénoménologie de la Perception*, 368. For the English translation, see: idem, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 332. Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenological approach has served as the foundation for research on smell. See Hans J. Rindisbacher, *The Smell of Books: A Cultural-Historical Study of Olfactory Perception in Literature* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992).

¹⁸ Merleau-Ponty, *La Phénoménologie de la Perception*, 368; idem, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 333.

¹⁹ Merleau-Ponty, *La Phénoménologie de la Perception*, esp. 336–37; idem, *Phenomenology of Perception*, esp. 303–4.

via its initial subdivision into domains of mortals, demons, angels, and God, will be apparent in the story of mortal trespassers defecating on roads destined for *lilioth* and anointed nocturnal travelers invisible to demonic eyes.

Before embarking on the *lilioth*-episode, it is worth mentioning two monographs pertinent to the topic of olfactory experience which provide diverse methodological frameworks for a scholar of senses and sensuality. While in *Tasten, Riechen, Schmecken: Eine Ästhetik der anästhesierten Sinne* (2005) Mădălina Diaconu implements findings from the phenomenology of perception and focuses her investigation on the aesthetic qualities attributed to olfactory and gustatory systems chiefly in the French and German cultures,²⁰ Abraham Ofir Shemesh's *The Fragrance of Paradise: Scents, Perfumes and Incense in Jewish Tradition* (2017) offers a lengthy study on the sense of smell in Jewish sources.²¹ Shemesh places special emphasis on religious literature, while dedicating substantially less space to the examination of mystical sources, kabbalistic literature, and magical practices in which diverse scents and perfumes are discussed or recommended. Some references are made to the writings of the German Pietists, particularly *Sefer Hasidim* and *Sefer ha-Roqeah*, as well as *Sefer Gematriot*. In this article, my intention is to consolidate the phenomenological approach with the textual one, so as to examine the medieval text through the lens of the phenomenology of olfactory experience, while bearing in mind hallucinatory impressions garbed in a fairy-tale aesthetics elicited by this source.

Furthermore, I wish to stress two aspects examined in Shemesh's monograph as particularly relevant for purposes of the present study. The first is the concept of a foul or evil odor, which could be emitted by either a plant or the body of an evildoer. In one such case, a malodorous herb was automatically excluded from a ritual action, as illustrated in *Sefer Hasidim* in the example of fetid pine-splinters, which could not be used as ritual spices (*besamim*) in the *havdalah* ceremony.²² In another story encapsulated in this collection, the stench of the corpse of a sinner could be discerned by a pietist.²³ This cemetery episode displays basic imagery found in the works of the German Pietists: good and evil are considered on the ontological level, and the distinction between the two becomes perceptible through various senses in the daily lives of a devout community set within a non-Jewish environment and beset by internal transgressors. The second element appears as an interplay of scent and demonic possession. In *Sefer Gematriot*, an incense of galbanum is suggested as a remedy for possession by a malicious spirit.²⁴ This recipe demonstrates that demons were considered to have a specific scent and a sense of smell.

²⁰ Mădălina Diaconu, *Tasten, Riechen, Schmecken. Eine Ästhetik der anästhesierten Sinne* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005).

²¹ Abraham Ofir Shemesh, *The Fragrance of Paradise: Scents, Perfumes and Incense in Jewish Tradition* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2017) [in Hebrew].

²² See Judah ben Shmuel he-Hasid, *Sefer Hasidim* (ed. Reuven Margalioi; Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1957) §854, 485; Shemesh, *The Fragrance*, 21 n. 36.

²³ See *Sefer Hasidim* (ed. Margalioi), §705, 439; Shemesh, *The Fragrance*, 94 n. 29.

²⁴ Daniel Abrams and Israel Ta-Shema, *Sefer Gematriot of R. Judah the Pious: Facsimile Edition*

■ Do Lilioth Have a Sense of Smell? Olfactory Sense in *The Book of the Divine Name*

Although mystical experience was often considered for its visionary characteristics, the sense of smell along with the gustatory sense played a significant role in the construction of spiritual experiences.²⁵ It can also be said that contact with the divine was described as a synesthetic process, a feast for all the senses.²⁶ In the discursive accounts, metaphors related to the senses appear as the most common form of expression in conveying mystical experiences. Furthermore, in magical practices, such as the elaborate recipe to cure various ailments, the senses, which were classified by the scientists and philosophers as primitive, emerged as relatively more dominant.

The participation of gustatory and olfactory senses in medieval Christian culture was reflected in accounts on myroblytes, sweet-smelling holy women (female ascetics), whose bodies discharged a Holy Myron-like scented liquid, despite their ascetic practices regarding the consumption of food that often provoked a certain bodily stench.²⁷ A parallel with the aroma of sanctity associated with eucharistic piety can be found in the fragrance of the apple field, understood to be a name for the divine presence, *Shekhinah*, in the *zoharic* literature. The pleasant smell of *Shekhinah*, designated as the Holy Apple Orchard, perceived by Isaac, persuaded him to bless Jacob, whose clothing emitted a supernatural aroma.²⁸

Curiously enough, in the esoteric teachings of the German Pietists, the olfactory experience gained ground, not primarily in the context of ascetic practices or sacred rituals, but above all, in the magical and demonological frame of reference. In *Sefer ha-Shem*, the “Book of the Divine Name,” which is the most esoteric and rich work composed by Eleazar of Worms, the main composer of pietist texts, night she-demons, *lilioth*, possess the sense of smell.²⁹ The relevant passage appears in

of a Unique Manuscript (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 1998), fol. 23b (p. 70); Shemesh, *The Fragrance*, 277. Ms. Jerusalem, The National Library of Israel, Heb. 28° 7234 reads as follows: פִּיטוּמִין וְהַלְבָּנָה רֵיחַ רַע לְכַךְ נִהְיָ לְקַטֵּר לְמִי שֶׁכָּפְאוּ שֵׁד בְּסַמִּים וְעֵשְׂבִים וְשִׂרְיָהוּ רַע (“The ingredients [to manufacture frankincense] and galbanum emit a malodor; therefore, they direct the smell of incense towards someone who is bent by a demon [possessed by a demon], [it means] perfumes and herbs, which give off the malodor”).

²⁵ See Elliot R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). The early Kabbalah established a particularly strong predilection toward the sense of hearing. See, for instance, Eitan P. Fishbane, “The Speech of Being, the Voice of God: Phonetic Mysticism in the Kabbalah of Asher ben David and His Contemporaries,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 98 (2008) 485–521.

²⁶ On the gustatory sense and the spiritual significance attached to meals in *zoharic* literature, see Joel Hecker, *Mystical Bodies, Mystical Meals: Eating and Embodiment in Medieval Kabbalah* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005).

²⁷ See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) 126, 145, 211, 274.

²⁸ See *Zohar* 1:142b; Hecker, *Mystical Bodies*, 226 n. 23. Furthermore, another fragrance as the sum of all possible pleasant scents was exuded by manna. *Ibid.*, 60–61 (see also *Zohar* 2:62b–63a).

²⁹ The designation *lilioth* is a collective appellation of nocturnal succubi, while *lilin* serve as their

various textual versions across the manuscripts of the German Pietist writings and so will be presented in a synoptic edition in the appendix to this article. At this juncture I will discuss the version preserved in Ms. Munich, the Bavarian State Library, Hebr. 43, fol. 215a:

וּכְתוּב נְהַר דִּינֹר נִגְד וּנְפִיק מִן קַדְמוֹהִי וְכַתּוּב וַיְהִי לִי קִיבַת אֵשׁ מִי שְׁאִינוּ זֹכֵה יִצְטָרֵךְ לְטְרוּחַ
בְּגִשְׂרִים קוֹדֵם לְבֹאֵ שֶׁם בְּטִרְחוּם וְהִרְשָׁעִים כִּי בֵּאֵשׁ יִי' נִשְׁפֵּט. וְכַתּוּב וְהִנֵּה מֵהֵרָה קוֹל יִבֵּא אֵין
עֵיף וְאֵין כּוֹשֵׁל בּוֹ לֹא יָנוּם וְלֹא יִשָּׁן. וְגַם בּוֹזֵה הָעוֹלָם עֵדִיין לִילִיּוֹת. וְכֵן בְּנֵי אָדָם הַמוֹשְׁחִים
בְּמוֹשִׁיחָה אַחַת יִשׁוּטְטֵן בְּשַׁעָה אַחַת הָעוֹלָם בְּדֶרֶךְ יָמִים נְהָרוֹת וּבְדֶרֶךְ הַמִּיּוּחָד וְנִגְזֹר לָהֶם וּמִי
שִׁשׁוּכָב בְּדֶרֶךְ הַנִּגְזֹר לָהֶם לְעֹבֵר אוֹ שִׁמְטוּנָף שֶׁם יִזְיקוּ לוֹ וְאֵין אָדָם יָכוֹל לִילֵן עִמָּהֶם בְּלֹא
רְשׁוּתָם כִּי מְרִיחֵין הָאָדָם שְׁלֵא נִגְזֹר לִילֵן עִמָּם כְּמוֹ שְׁאִמְרַת הַמַּלְאָכִים וְהַב"ה עַל מֹשֶׁה וְאַלְיָהוּ
מֵה אֲנוּשׁ כִּי תִזְכְּרוּ.

And it is written, “A stream of fire issued and came forth from before him” (Dan 7:10). It is also written: “and given over to be burned with fire” (Dan 7:11). Someone, who has not merited this, needs to make an effort [to cross the] overpasses before arriving there with such efforts. And evil persons the Lord will judge with fire. And it is written “and lo, swiftly, speedily it comes; None is weary, none stumbles, none slumbers or sleeps” (Isa 5:26–27). And also, in this world, *lilioth* are still to be found. And therefore, people who anoint themselves with one [specific] ointment, traverse the world in a single instant via oceans and rivers, and they have [but] one special path decreed for them. And one who lays down in a place along their path or secretes there [that is, defiles it with his excrement] will be harmed, and there is no human being, who can lie with them [with *lilioth*] without their permission, for they smell the human who is not decreed to lie with them. Like it is said: the angels and the Holy One, blessed be He, about Moses and Elijah, “what is man that You should remember him?” (Ps 8:4).³⁰

These female demons can smell two types of scent through their olfactory perception: the pleasant fragrance given off by the male body as well as the foul odor of excrement [טְנוּפַת אָדָם]. The third kind of scent discussed is a miraculous ointment applied as a flying balm by mortals of both sexes. The employment of an analogous magical flying salve enabling nocturnal travels was attested in Latin sources contemporary to *Sefer ha-Shem*. The most pertinent description of such a phenomenon, named in Latin *cursus*, was offered by theologian and scholastic Roland of Cremona (d. 1259) in his *Summa*, ergo Roland’s observations might

male equivalents, thus incubi, as previously attested to in both Aramaic incantation bowls and in the Talmud. *Lilioth* as a strain of she-demons often was amalgamated into a dominant character of Lilith, the rebellious first wife of Adam, portrayed in numerous Jewish sources, whereas the earliest comprehensive biography of Lilith was formulated in *The Alphabet of Ben Sira*. Concerning the first references to *lilioth* (sometimes anglicized to liliths), see Daniel Boyarin, *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 96; Judit M. Blair, *De-Demonising the Old Testament: An Investigation of Azazel, Lilith, Deber, Qeteb and Reshef in the Hebrew Bible* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009) 24–30; Shaul Shaked, James Nathan Ford, and Siam Bhayro, *Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls* (vol. 1 of *Aramaic Bowl Spells*; Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 1; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013) 15, 21–22, 108, 114, 123.

³⁰ Ms. Munich, the Bavarian State Library, Hebr. 43, fol. 215a.

have resonated magical recipes for invisibility and invulnerability gathered in the compendium entitled *Liber vaccae*, “the Book of the Cow.” In accordance with his testimony, individuals of both sexes confessed to have smeared their own bodies with a certain ointment, a procedure which permitted them to fly and copulate with each other as well as with beasts.³¹

In contrast to this presumably fragrant aroma of an ointment at least operating as a pheromone to attract other nocturnal travelers and unnamed creatures, feces represent the by-products of metabolism secreted by the human body. A particular attractiveness of the scent of a man for *lilioth* bears a certain sexual connotation, established on the basis of their olfactory perception: The she-demons found the odor of human flesh to be especially charming to their own “noses.” Therefore, the smell of the male body operates here as a pheromone, for the desires of the flesh are translated into an olfactory experience best expressed in its signature bodily scent, which can occasionally be perceived even in the absence of the odoriferous body, thus as a phantomatic fragrance. This interrelation between sexual energy, eroticism, and senses, chiefly the olfactory sense, is suggested in Merleau-Ponty’s pertinent remark: “Sexuality emanates like an odor or a sound from the bodily region that it occupies most specifically.”³² This interpretative approach can be reinforced by other sources that surface in the references to *lilioth*. In another major work of the German Pietists, *Sefer ha-Kavod*, “Book of the Divine Glory,” the topic of the *lilioth* is addressed in the framework of punishment for having a carnal relationship with one of them. On the fol. 135a of the Ms. Oxford, The Bodleian Library, 1567 (Opp. 540), we read the following comment:

פעמים שהלילות מביאות את הרוח האדם ביניהם ואם מתעבר' ממיתים את הוולד לאחר הלקוהו לפי שנראה להם ששכב עם אחת מהם.

Sometimes the *lilioth* bring [*mevi'ot*, also coitus] the spirit of a man to be amongst them. And if they become impregnated [by this spirit] they kill the child after beating it, because it shows that a man slept with one of them.³³

This fragment indicates that *lilioth* intended that carnal relationships between them and male mortals be kept secret. There is a certain fear discernible among the she-demons, who decide to kill the fruit of their intercourse with humans in order to cloud the issue. The same economy of vulnerabilities is exposed in an excerpt from *The Book of the Divine Name* dedicated to the olfactory experience of *lilioth*. A man who left his house to go on a journey is exposed to danger as the *lilioth* can smell

³¹ For the textual evidence, see Ayelet Even-Ezra, “Cursus: An Early Thirteenth-Century Source for Nocturnal Flights and Ointments in the Work of Roland of Cremona,” *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 12 (2017) 314–30; see also Maaïke Van der Lugt, “Abominable Mixtures”: The *Liber vaccae* in the Medieval West, or The Dangers and Attractions of Natural Magic,” *Traditio* 64 (2009) 229–77.

³² Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 172; in the original: “De la région corporelle qu’elle habite plus spécialement, la sexualité rayonne comme une odeur ou comme un son” (Merleau-Ponty, *La Phénoménologie de la Perception* 196).

³³ Ms. Oxford, The Bodleian Library, 1567 (Opp. 540), fol. 135a.

fluids secreted by his body or his excrement. His humanity makes him vulnerable when facing the demonic forces. Furthermore, he might have been contaminated with feces according to the ways of *lilioth*, hence entering the territory of demonic influences. Such a crossing of the borders between species can result in the soul of a mortal conceiving offspring from its relation to the demonesses, as displayed in *The Book of the Divine Name*. As hazardous for the pietistic community, the child of half-human and half-demonic provenance must be killed by the *lilioth*, thus fulfilling their traditional role of cold-blooded baby-slaughterers.³⁴ This act would protect the female demons from the hunt against them, as the killing of the baby destroys the evidence of their deeds and thus reduces the tension between demonic and human areas of activity.

The textual traditions of the German Pietists appear in various formulations, from the works attributed to Judah the Pious, some of them based on texts possibly composed by him, to the works of Eleazar of Worms, based on oral teachings he apparently received from R. Judah. The early fourteenth-century Ashkenazi Kabbalist, R. Menaḥem Šiyoni, drew from the pietistic heritage while offering the following summation of demons and *lilioth* in his commentary on the Torah, which echoes the passages presented above:

ודע שאם בני אדם ישכב את שידא ונבעלת לו ויהיה לה ממנו בן או בת אותם יהו מלכי ומלכו
בניהם מפני שיש להם כח וטבע משניהם גלל כן נבעלת ברצון לבני אדם ואין עוד יכול להשביע
ולצוות על חברו בדרך בני אדם רק המלך שבניהם והם צריכי' למלך לשפוט מישרים מי שיעות
וויק בני אדם שלא כדין או יורד לרשות חברו ויש להם זמני' ועת' קבועי' ויום משפט ודע
שאין ביניה' שיעבו' לשום ע"ז כ"א לאלהי ישר' ואשר אמ' שיש שדי' גוי' ישמעאל' ר"ל ממוני'
עליה' אף יש שדי' ממונ' שניתן להם רשו' מן המלאכי' להסית וכפי אשר תצא הגזיר' מפי עליון
מצוי' הם למשרתי' ופעמ' שהליליות מביאי' רוח האדם ומלקי' אותו בהוא עבודא שמחיהו
לאחר לפני שהביט וצפה ביום בנשי' והרהר וראה ליליות וכן בני אדם משמשין מטותיה'
במקום שדרכו לעבור או טינפת לפי שאינם סובלי' טרחון וטומאה לפי שלא היו יוכלי' השדי'
לעלות במקו' יום הדין שלה' להוועד גלל זה מקטרגי' בעל ניגרומציא סמי קטורת ובעולם השפל
יש עדיין עניין מופלא והדבר אמתי שיש אנשי' ונשי' ליליות ויש בהם צד שיד' ונמשחין בשמן
ומשחה אחת הידועה להם אשר כרגע אחד יעופפו כנשר בשמי' דרך ימים ונחלי' ואגמים אמנם
צריכי' הם לחזור קודם היום בעלות השחר ונגזר להם דרך אחד לעבור במקום מיוחד ולא יסכן
בלכתם והשוכב במקו' המיוחד להם יכולי' הם להזיק לו מפני שמעבבם.

And know that if a man sleeps with a demon and has intercourse with her. And she gives birth to his son or a daughter, they would be kings and queens amongst them because they would have power from their dual nature. This is why they consent to sexual intercourse with humans. And they cannot adjure or command each other as humans do; only the king amongst them can.

³⁴ Lilith was portrayed as a malevolent spirit jeopardizing newborns in *Pseudo Ben Sira*, a satirical work of pseudepigraphic character, as well as in the magical sources. See *The Tales of Ben Sira in the Middle Ages: A Critical Text and Literary Studies* (ed. Eli Yassif; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984) 63–71, 231–34 [Hebrew]; Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1961) 37, 42, 101, 169; Siegmund Hurwitz, *Lilith-The First Eve: Historical and Psychological Aspects of the Dark Feminine* (trans. Gela Jacobson; Einsiedeln: Daimon Verlag, 2009) 31–32, 130; Raphael Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990) 236–41.

They need [such] kings to decide their rules, to do wrong and harm humans unjustly, or cross into the realm of another. And they have set times and days of judgment. And know that none of them worship any form of idolatry, but rather [they worship], the God of Israel. And it is said that they are demons of the Gentiles and the Muslims, that is to say, those who preside over them. But there are demons who have permission from the angels to instigate [harm]. And when the edict is issued from the Supernal [One], they are ready to serve. And sometimes the *lilioth* are brought by the spirit of man and they whip him like in the [Talmudic] account of the Other [Elisha ben Abuyye]. [This happens] when earlier in the day a man saw and gazed upon women and fantasized [about them].³⁵ Then he sees a vision of *lilioth*. So also, when people have intercourse in a place along a path that crosses [where the *lilioth* reside] or defecate there, the [*lilioth*] cannot stand the stench and impurity, because the demons cannot ascend there on the day of judgment. And because of this the masters of necromancy burn spices of incense in the lower world. This is indeed a wondrous matter and it is true that there are male and female *lilioth*. And they are partially constituted of a demonic side, and they anoint themselves with oil and with the ointment known to them, that in an instant they can fly like an eagle through the sky the distance of a few days' journey across rivers and lakes. However, they must return before dawn and they are compelled to pass through their designated path and do not risk crossing their path. And he who lays down to rest in their special place can be harmed because they will attack him.³⁶

This passage offers a synthesis of German Pietist traditions, detailing the rules by which demons and *lilioth* operate, especially when they cross paths with humans who leave a scent from intercourse or do not conceal the smell of excrement left on the road. *Šiyyoni*'s passage touches upon the subconscious attack of *lilioth* in the thoughts or dreams of humans as well as the actual attack of *lilioth* during travel. He further articulates part of their anthropology, that *lilioth* can mate with humans and that hybrid forms are produced who become kings or princes amongst the demonic forces. The inverse is also true, that some humans have a demonic side and are inherently half-demonic, blurring the boundaries between the two species.

³⁵ See Peter Schäfer, "The Ideal of Piety of the Ashkenazi Hasidim and Its Roots in Jewish Tradition," *Jewish History* 4 (1990) 9–23; Judith Baskin, "From Separation to Displacement: The Problem of Women in Sefer Hasidim," *AJS Review* 19 (1994) 1–18.

³⁶ Ms. London, The British Library Add. 27202 (Margoliouth 770), fol. 93a-b. Ms. Oxford, Mich. 383, fol. 52b preserves many variant readings but most interestingly includes a preamble that this discussion is taken from *Sode Razayya*: מצורף לזה ראיתי בסודי רזי שאין השד'י הפצי' שידעו בני אדם: ענין שלהן וסוד' כמו המלאכים כאשר בארנו. מטעם הזה קטיל המלך הורמין בר לילת'. וא"כ אדם ישכב אם שידה ויהל . . . לה ממנו בני' או בנות' . . . This extended passage was omitted by act of the printer's self-censorship with a blank folio in the first edition of *Sefer Šiyyoni*, Cremona 1559, fol. 70a; it was completed in the subsequent reprinting, Cremona 1560, fol. 67a-b. On these editions see Meir Benayahu, *Hebrew Printing at Cremona: Its History and Bibliography* (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute and Mosad haRav Kook, 1971) 80–83. See further, Heidi Laura, "The Ashkenazi Kabbalah of R. Menahem Ziyoni" (PhD diss., University of Copenhagen, 2005); Boaz Huss, "Demonology and Magic in the Writings of R. Menahem Ziyoni," *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts* 10 (2004) 55–72.

Members of this third species were categorized as users of the flying balm, however, with one restriction: they were compelled to return to their mortal condition before dawn in order to avoid competing in flight with the winged demons, such as *lilioth* were imagined to be.

It is clear that, from the early German Pietists and onward through Šiyiyoni's writing, contemporary folklore from the Christian surroundings was a constituent part of their traditions, as the Ashkenazi esotericists were part of the surrounding culture. And so, the hazards arising from intimate contacts between demons and mortals were most frequently addressed both by the German Pietists and by Christian writers in the thirteenth century in the geographic area of Middle Europe, designated in Jewish sources as Ashkenaz.³⁷

While the *lilioth* became impregnated by their mortal lovers, Christian demonology preserved the concept of demonic manipulations of human seed that resulted from nocturnal emissions. The malignant spirits were accused of creating their own mortal bodies by using the wasted sperm to inseminate the women.³⁸ As for the German Pietists, the most perilous possibility was engendering an impure cross-offspring, demonic beings with human traits. Regarding such offspring as a threat to the boundaries of the pietistic community, Christian clergy regarded the potential for demon-human liaisons as a danger to the virginity of innocent girls and a temptation to break the vow of celibacy imposed upon monks and nuns. Therefore, they interpreted such intercourse through the lens of the dogmas of the Christian faith. Interestingly, the preacher and contemporary of Judah the Pious

³⁷ The peculiar imaginary of these Pietists, including the expanded demonology, angelology, and effective magical techniques, dialogs often with the Christian popular culture established in medieval German lands. See Joseph Dan, "Rabbi Judah the Pious and Caesarius of Heisterbach: Common Motifs in their Stories," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 22 (1971) 18–27; Susanne Borchers, "Hexen im *Sefer Hasidim*," *Henoch* 16 (1994) 271–93; Shyovitz, *A Remembrance*.

³⁸ Regarding demon-human liaisons in medieval Christian sources, by Caesarius of Heisterbach for example, see Dyan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) 30–34. According to the traditions articulated in the *Zohar*, Adam begot new generations of evil spirits as female demons approached him during his separation from Eve. Moreover, Eve was impregnated through the slime injected into her by the Serpent and gave birth to Cain, considered to be an incarnation of the Other Side, who conceived myriads of evil spirits. See *Zohar* 1:54a-b; Oded Yisraeli, "Cain as the Scion of Satan: The Evolution of a Gnostic Myth in the *Zohar*," *HTR* 109 (2016) 56–74. In contrast with the Jewish communities in Ashkenaz, the Sephardic Jewry faced not only Christian, but also Muslim others, which determined the nature of their polemical writings: in the *zoharic* literature, both non-Jews and "bad Jews" underwent bestialization and became associated with menstruation and promiscuity. See Alexandra Cuffel, "The Matter of Others: Menstrual Blood and Uncontrolled Semen in Thirteenth-Century Kabbalists' Polemic Against Christians, 'Bad' Jews, and Muslims," in *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe: Gender, Power, Patronage and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom* (ed. Katherine Allen Smith and Scott Wells; Leiden: Brill, 2009) 249–84. In the Islamic sources, the demonic spirit, *jinn*, in male or female shape, could have intercourse with a mortal, however, without producing offspring. See Pierre Lory, "Sexual Intercourse Between Humans and Demons in the Islamic Tradition," in *Hidden Intercourse: Eros and Sexuality in the History of Western Esotericism* (ed. Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Jeffrey J. Kripal; Leiden: Brill, 2008) 49–64.

of Regensburg, Caesarius of Heisterbach, compiler of *Dialogus miraculorum* (written between 1219 and 1223) showed a predilection to discuss at length evil intrusions into both the secular and cleric domains, especially carnal knowledge of the demonic and human.³⁹ He was convinced that the demons were incapable of entering the soul (*anima*) of mortals, thus their intellect.⁴⁰ According to Caesarius, the malevolent spirits occupy the human body (rather than the soul, which was viewed as a *locus* of the dwelling of the Holy Spirit), entering it through its natural cavities and entrails, which might contain the excreta (*in concavitatibus eius et in invisceribus ubi stercora continentur*).⁴¹ The story of a virgin who was persecuted by a male demon for refusing to marry him illustrates a specific affinity of malignant spirits towards bodily waste, which often bordered on coprophilia. The demonic predator insisted on contaminating her meal by putting some filth on her plate and, while she was eating, scattered excrement (*stercora*) and “broken pots full of dirt” in her domicile.⁴² If the excreta in this example provided by Caesarius might be identified as *pars pro toto* of evil temptation, another attempt to weaken the steadfast abnegation of marriage in order to remain in the preferable condition of virginity, in the Jewish narrative, it is precisely the human odor that attracted the *lilith* to seek interaction with the male mortals who discharged it. In the shared cultural landscape of medieval Germany, it is possible to decipher the image of *lilith* as a demonized incarnation of Christian women who might have been found desirable by Jewish men, thus possessing a certain magnetism that would ruin the intercommunal boundaries. On the other hand, in Christian narratives, the Jewish male turned into an incubus fornicating with the Christian virgin and impregnating the deflowered girl.⁴³

³⁹ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* (ed. Joseph Strange; 2 vols.; Cologne: J. M. Heberle, 1851) 1:116–27; English translation: Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles* (trans. H. von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland; 2 vols.; New York: Harcourt, 1929) 1:130–42; Elliott, *Fallen Bodies*, 140; Shyovitz, *A Remembrance*, 193.

⁴⁰ Demonic perspicacity was already subjected to the analysis of Augustine, who considered demons to be aerial and therefore superior to the carnal sphere, as bodies endowed with the ability to infiltrate human senses, *inter alia* sexual phantasies stored in the memory. See Elliott, *Fallen Bodies*, 17–19; on the Augustinian view of the demonic body as transformable, under certain conditions, from aerial into more humid and heavy substance (a view which is *de facto* founded upon Apuleius’ demonology), see Seamus O’Neill, “The Demonic Body,” *Philosophical Approaches to Demonology* (ed. Benjamin W. McCraw and Robert Arp; Routledge Studies in the Philosophy of Religion; New York: Routledge, 2017) 39–58.

⁴¹ Caesarius, *Dialogus* (ed. Strange), 1:294 (bk 5, ch. 15). Regarding the identification of Hell with fecal matter by Christian writers and the bowels as a potential place of residence for the demons, see Shyovitz, *A Remembrance*, 193–94. A contradictory concept, that of angels inhabiting human limbs, emerged in connection with the *Shi’ur Qomah* tradition and can be found for instance in writings attributed to Rabbi Nehemiah ben Shlomo ha-Navi’, active in 13th-cent. Erfurt. See Moshe Idel, *The Angelic World – Apotheosis and Theophany* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Aḥronot Books, 2008) 23–25 [in Hebrew].

⁴² Caesarius, *Dialogus* (ed. Strange), 1:116–17 (bk 3, ch. 6); idem, *The Dialogue* (trans. Scott and Bland), 1:130–31. The term *stercora* explicitly indicates the excrement.

⁴³ Here a general prohibition of miscegenation applied towards the plausible fornication (a

■ The Smell of Evil, the Smell of Disgust

The citation presented above from *The Book of the Divine Name* concerning the ability of *lilioth* to smell their prey was founded upon the opposition of pleasant and foul scents. While the scent of anointment was considered a fragrance and a ritual sort of perfume, the discharges of the human body emitted a malodor. A question that arises from a reading of the passage above may be formulated as follows: Do malevolent spirits find mortal excrement to be an amiable aroma? The question could also be reversed: Do the demons have a foul odor to humans?

If assuming that several pejorative features are attributed to each phenomenon associated with evil, then the answer is yes, the demons have an unpleasant smell. This hypothesis is confirmed already in the sources preceding the period in which the medieval German Pietists were active. The pseudepigraphic text, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which emerged in the Hellenistic period and dates back to the late second century BCE, encapsulates the distinction between good and evil spirits, and the first class is defined as anti-sexual in nature. The spirit of smell was listed as one of the spirits bestowed to humankind in the act of creation. Many of the spirits responsible for human faults and the arousal of carnal desire are described as linked to the group of these primordial, instinctive spirits.⁴⁴

Genesis Rabbah, one of earliest Midrashic collections on Genesis, introduced a misogynist view of the scent emitted from the female body. According to the first account of the creation of human beings, Adam was created from earth, material that never rots, in contrast to Eve, who was fashioned from his rib. The bone, without salt after three days, starts to give off a malodor, as testified in this source.⁴⁵ The association of the female body with the source of dirt and foul smell gained popularity in Jewish, Pagan, and Christian writings in late antiquity, whereas this tendency continued to be predominant in the medieval period.⁴⁶ In chapter forty-two of *Genesis Rabbah*, an unpleasant scent was said to be emitted from

Jewish man, seeking carnal pleasures with non-Jewish women) has been enhanced not exclusively by phantasms focusing on the demonized female body or excreted liquids like blood and semen, but even more effectively by an imposed legal order and fear of the public punishment on the side of potential transgressors. For preliminary remarks regarding the transgression of the socio-sexual boundaries in the medieval period as well as the penitential order to diminish their frequency, see, for example, David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages – Updated Edition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015) 128–65.

⁴⁴ *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (trans. R. H. Charles; London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908) 4–7; compare also the interpretation of this work by Daniel Boyarin, who emphasizes two inclinations in the human being, whereby the evil *yeşer* should be associated with sexual desire: Daniel Boyarin, *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmud Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) 68–69.

⁴⁵ Boyarin evaluated this Midrashic account as misogynistic. See Boyarin, *Carnal Israel*, 89 (with the quotation from *Midrash Genesis Rabbah*); Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 29.

⁴⁶ Cuffel examines this Midrashic evidence in the framework of Christian and polytheistic sources related to the negative perception of the female body, its discharges, and odors. See Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 26–35.

the mouth of Rabbi Eliezer, the smell antagonistic to the fragrance emerging from Torah learning.⁴⁷ That is, the smell was first deemed as pleasant or foul based on its use and location. If connected explicitly with holiness, even if unfragrant, the scent would become a perfume. In another midrash, *Seder Rabbah de-Bereshit*, the angels were reported to bathe themselves in fire before they would praise the Holy One with their song. Their ritual ablution helps to counterbalance the smell of human beings, impure women with all their bodily discharges, which reaches the angels in the heavenly place.⁴⁸ This theme returns in the *Hekhalot* literature, where the angels reject the scent of a male human, impeding his ascent on high.⁴⁹

To neutralize the place of filth on which the human being is standing, the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 94a and *Megillah* 3a) recommends the recitation of verses of the Torah together with the additional formula, “The goat of the slaughterhouse is fatter than I,” so that the demon will harm the goat instead of the human. The stench of the cesspool already caused spiritual torment for the sectarians of Qumran, so that they would build toilet facilities properly distanced from the cult location in their permanent settlements. They were advised, in accordance with the instructions included in the *Temple Scroll*, to bury the excrement in a covered pit outside the camp.⁵⁰ The disgust associated with fecal matter was shared by the German Pietists in medieval Ashkenaz, who even considered contact with a child or stepping in excrement during a walk to the synagogue as an event that defiled them.⁵¹ Impurity caused by defecation or urination might have elicited the stench of the body of each member of the pious community as explicitly articulated in the pietistic manual, *Sefer Ḥasidim*.⁵² Although imposing more stringent norms of purity than those found in rabbinic sources and commanding the burial of excreta in order to neutralize a source of potential contamination, the Pietists believed in a pantheistic God, whose immanence was absolute, even in feces.⁵³ The mode of treatment of excrement depicted in the writings of the German Pietists affords the following conclusion: that bodily waste was perceived as emitting a stench and could serve as an indicator of the presence of *lilith* for whom the malodor of the

⁴⁷ *Midrash Rabbah: Genesis* (ed. H. Freedman and Maurice Simon; 2 vols.; London: Soncino Press, 1961) 1:340.

⁴⁸ Quotation from and interpretation of this source offered in Michael D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 169.

⁴⁹ See Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 22, 36, and 251–52 (including the references to sources relevant for the topic of the malodor of the ascending mystic as perceived from the angelic angle).

⁵⁰ For the Qumran community, defecation was apparently forbidden on Shabbat. See Jodi Magness, “Toilet Practices, Purity Concerns, and Sectarianism in the Late Second Temple Period,” in *Jewish Identity and Politics Between the Maccabees and Bar Kokhba: Groups, Normativity, and Rituals* (ed. Benedikt Eckhardt; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 51–70.

⁵¹ Judah ben Shmuel he-Ḥasid, *Sefer Ḥasidim* (ed. Jehuda Wistinetzki; Berlin: Mekitse Nirdamim, 1891) §104, 609, 683, 1073, 1613, 1663; Shyovitz, *A Remembrance*, 266 n. 14 and 15.

⁵² Shyovitz, *A Remembrance*, 161–71.

⁵³ *Shirei ha-Yihud veba-Kavod* (ed. A. M. Haberman; Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1948) 27 [Hebrew]; on scatology and God’s omnipresence, see: Shyovitz, *A Remembrance*, 174–81.

feces preceded the expected aroma of a male body. Thus, for these she-demons, the anticipated pleasure of carnal intercourse with a human trespasser made even the stench discharged by his excrement less repugnant, or, rather, the *lilioth* failed to classify this odor as an unpleasant smell due to their own demonic reek.⁵⁴

■ Scent in Folklore – The Sense of Smell in Fairy Tales

The theme of detecting the smell of humans in medieval German Pietism is closely tied to their environment dominated by Christian models of narration. In several accounts included in his *Dialogus miraculorum*, Caesarius of Heisterbach referred to olfactory experience as a sign of either the most precious quality, communication with the divine and its presence, or a demonic intrusion. Sweet scent, generally associated by Christians with the aroma of virginity and particularly with the Virgin Mary, was reported to come out of the tomb of Marcadellus, a pious man who was unjustly executed,⁵⁵ while a sweet-smelling myrrh-like odor also wafted from the hands of a virtuous monk.⁵⁶ Moreover, evoking Christ's nostrils, Caesarius credits the prophets with the ability to smell the future.⁵⁷ Malodors unveiled the presence of malignant spirits, as in the story of the novice Theobald, who after drinking dirty evil-smelling water, became the subject of the devil's attacks.⁵⁸ According to Caesarius, the stench suggests a certain temptation, as in the case of the filth that the demon put on the dish of the girl or in the example of the wife of Henry Wied, the duchess of Saxony, who plunged into the murky stinking water of a local pond, thus breaking her husband's command not to immerse herself in this polluted body of water.⁵⁹ The marvelous character of the episodes contained in *Dialogus* harmonizes well with the content of both the stories recounted in the name of Judah the Pious and the popular fairy tales representing the same genre of magical narratives anchored originally in oral traditions and phenomenologically situated in the same register of magical thinking.

⁵⁴ The relation between excrement and sexual desire was investigated by Georges Bataille. He explained the ways in which the moment of shame during sexual activity is related to the revulsion caused by excreta, even though it might have been considered as a natural defilement that was contrasted with the cultural aspiration for cleanliness. See Georges Bataille, *L'Histoire de l'érotisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 2015), esp. 42–65; for the English version: idem, *The Accursed Share, Volume II & III* (trans. Robert Hurley; New York: Zone Books, 1993) 61–86.

⁵⁵ Caesarius, *Dialogus* (ed. Strange), 1:384–85 (bk 6, ch. 33); idem, *The Dialogue* (trans. Scott and Bland), 1:444–46.

⁵⁶ Caesarius, *Dialogus* (ed. Strange), 1:198–202 (bk. 4, ch. 30); idem, *The Dialogue* (trans. Scott and Bland), 1:225–29.

⁵⁷ Caesarius, *Dialogus* (ed. Strange), 2:113 (bk. 8, ch. 40); idem, *The Dialogue* (trans. Scott and Bland), 1:2, 40.

⁵⁸ Caesarius, *Dialogus* (ed. Strange), 1:177–78 (bk. 4, ch. 6); idem, *The Dialogue* (trans. Scott and Bland), 1:200–2.

⁵⁹ Caesarius, *Dialogus* (ed. Strange), 1:243–44 (bk. 4, ch. 76); idem, *The Dialogue* (trans. Scott and Bland), 1:276–78.

One among them, “Little Red Riding Hood,” officially penned for the first time by Charles Perrault in 1697 under the title “*Le Petit Chaperon Rouge*,” gave special significance to the sense of smell.⁶⁰ The Brothers Grimm presented a variation on this tale, expanding it with Red Riding Hood’s encounter with a second wolf. This time, Little Red Riding Hood cooperated with the grandmother, so that together they filled a trough with the water in which sausages had been cooked. The smell of sausages attracted the wolf, causing him to fall into the trap.⁶¹ The fairy tale exposes the working of the olfactory sense. If activated, it is able to localize the source of potential pleasure, thereby operating “as taste at a distance,” as observed by Kant.⁶² The same type of pleasure experienced by the wolf, the desire to devour, thus gaining carnal knowledge of a human, was sought by the *lilioth* in other narratives. In keeping with the common imagery regarding these she-demons, whose vampiric characteristics found their confirmation in the writings of the German Pietists, the nutritive scent of human bodies motivated the *lilioth* to organize an orgiastic degustation of the blood of mortals. At this point, sexual desire encounters the cannibalistic and coprophagic in localizing the human not only as an erotic toy, but also a feast for the palate and the nose, too.

The scent of the human body also lured a giant, or, alternatively, an ogre, portrayed in the British tale “Jack and the Giants,” the most prominent among the cycle of Jack stories, published for the first time at the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁶³ As demonstrated in recent scholarship, motifs known from the Arthurian legends were incorporated into this “fairy tale,” a fact that places the roots of the story in question.⁶⁴ The two-headed giant utters the tale in a memorable couplet: “Fee-fi-fo-fum, / I smell the blood of an Englishman, / Be he alive, or be he dead / I’ll grind his bones to make my bread.”⁶⁵ A version of the spell “Fie, foh, and

⁶⁰ Concerning the earlier variants of the Little Red Riding Hood story and the determination of their age, see Yvonne Verdier, “Little Red Riding Hood in Oral Tradition,” *Marvels & Tales* 11.1/2 (1997) 101–23; Richard Chase, Jr. and David Teasley, “Little Red Riding Hood: Werewolf and Prostitute,” *The Historian* 57 (1995) 769–76.

⁶¹ See *Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Gebrüder Grimm* (ed. W. H. van der Smissen; Boston: D. C. Heath, 1885) 15. Bruno Bettelheim addresses the topic of sexual desire expressed by the wolf towards the red hood; see Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977) 166–83, esp. at 174.

⁶² In original “Geruch ist gleichsam ein Geschmack in die Ferne,” see *Immanuel Kant’s Sämtliche Werke* (8 vols.; ed. G. Hartenstein; Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1868) 7:470; furthermore cf. *Die philosophischen Hauptvorlesungen Immanuel Kants. Nach den neu aufgefundenen Kollegheften des Grafen Heinrich zu Dohna-Wundlacken* (ed. Arnold Kowalewski; München: Rösl, 1924) 96–98; for the English translation, see, Immanuel Kant, *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (trans. and ed. Robert B. Louden; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 50.

⁶³ Another influential fairy tale from this cycle is “Jack and the Beanstalk”; see Christine Goldberg, “The Composition of ‘Jack and the Beanstalk,’” *Marvels & Tales* 15.1 (2001) 11–26.

⁶⁴ On the Arthurian motifs in Jack’s cycle, see Harry B. Weiss, “The Autochthonal Tale of Jack the Giant Killer,” *The Scientific Monthly* 28.2 (1929) 126–33; Thomas Green, “Tom Thumb and Jack the Giant-Killer: Two Arthurian Fairytales?,” *Folklore* 118.2 (2007) 123–40.

⁶⁵ Green, “Tom Thumb and Jack the Giant-Killer,” 130.

fum,” enlarged with the phrase “I smell the blood of a British man,” had already appeared in Shakespeare’s drama *King Lear*.⁶⁶ The giant from the fairy tale “Jack and the Giants,” with his thirst for human blood, can be classified as a cousin of *lilioth*, the vampiric she-demons inhabiting the imagery of the German Medieval Pietists. Again, the sense of smell enabled the giant to locate Jack, his potential victim and meal.

■ Conclusion

The she-demons of the night, known as *lilioth* in *The Book of the Divine Name*, are clear examples of extra-divine beings that had an olfactory sense, found in the esoteric and magical sources of the medieval Jewish mystics. Despite the prevalent descriptions of mystical visions and other magical practices which revolved around the sense of sight, here we have documented primary sources that focus on the sense of smell. The olfactory sense served as the means for detecting prey and locating sources of pleasure, or, alternatively, it served as a warning of impending evil. Taste complemented the sense of smell in esoteric and mystical texts as vehicles for conveying the fuller experience of extraordinary visions or for implementing magical techniques. In this way, readers of these accounts could better gain access to the *mysterium*, leading to a fully integrated picture that included all the human senses.

This study has exposed the significant role of the olfactory sense in Jewish esoteric sources.⁶⁷ The special convergence of magic and demonic beliefs, which entered esoteric and mystical speculations, can already be discerned in an early phase of development amongst the works of the German Pietists. *Lilioth* were here described as celestial creatures who traveled into terrestrial realms to cause harm. They were known to reside in certain areas and preside over certain paths or roads. As the sovereigns reigning over such territory, the *lilioth* used their sense of smell to detect intruders and hunt them as prey, unless the nocturnal travelers applied an apotropaic flying balm guaranteeing their invisibility and hence invulnerability. Unsatiated sexual desire led *lilioth* to transgress the boundaries of their own species and copulate with mortal men. In either case, as trespassers into the regions of men or as their seductresses, these malevolent spirits recognized the presence of

⁶⁶ See William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear* (ed. Joseph Pearce; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2008) 3.4.185–87, on p. 108. Compare also Pearce’s interpretation, in which he compares the phrase in *King Lear* with the fairytale on Jack the Giant-Killer (108–9).

⁶⁷ Some remarks concerning the “smell of blood” in the context of female sexual fluids in one passage from the *Zohar* are noted by Daniel Abrams in his book *The Female Body of God in Kabbalistic Literature: Embodied Forms of Love and Sexuality in the Divine Feminine* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004) 99–105 (Hebrew). The *zoharic* expression, “Surely, the world’s existence depends upon scent” (ודאי אין העולם מתקיים אלא על הריח), is explained by Fishbane. He emphasizes that the scent of the rose inhaled by Rabbi Abba signifies the transcendence of the worldly consciousness enabling the metaphysical experience. Eitan P. Fishbane, “The Scent of the Rose: Drama, Fiction, and Narrative Form in the Zohar,” *Prooftexts* 29 (2009) 324–61, esp. at 346–48.

men with their sense of smell. These accounts of *lilioth* can be seen as variations of pietistic fairytales that conclude with a dreaded outcome. These accounts share a common understanding of the connection between scent and evil spirits known from other Jewish sources, and also of the role of fragrances in popular folktales. In all of these texts, the human body was perceived generally as malodorous while, more specifically, the scent of blood was a tell-tale sign of human mortality and impending danger.

■ Appendix: The Sense of Smell amongst *Lilioth*—Variant Readings from Manuscript Witnesses to *The Book of the Divine Name*

In the above analysis and interpretation of the fragment from *The Book of the Divine Name* (*Sefer ha-Shem*) I have presented the version preserved in Ms. London, The British Library, Add. 27199, accompanied by my translation. It is an earlier variant of the passage on *lilioth* who are gifted with the olfactory sense, which I have identified in the manuscripts investigated. Ms. London, Add. 27199 was written on paper largely in Ashkenazi semi-cursive script. It was copied by Elias Levita,⁶⁸ the distinguished grammarian and lexicographer, at the request of Cardinal Aegidio de Viterbo.⁶⁹ In the table below, I have juxtaposed the reading from Ms. London, Add. 27199 with that of Ms. Munich, The Bavarian State Library 81, which is another copy of the esoteric anthology, *Sode Razayya*, attributed to Eleazar of Worms, the major disciple of Judah the Pious and the most prolific author amidst the medieval German Pietists. Furthermore, Ms. Munich 81, copied in Ashkenazi script, was written in 1555 by the scribe Moshe Gad ben Tuvia from the Jewish community in Cracow (Lesser Poland) on request of the Christian hebraist Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter.⁷⁰ When comparing two textual variants of the *lilioth* episode in Ms. London, Add. 27199 and Ms. Munich 81, one can conclude, that Ms. London, copy in 1515, served as a template for the production of Ms. Munich 81.

Several fragments from *The Book of the Divine Name*, including the *lilioth* passage interpreted above, were copied in another Munich manuscript, namely Ms. Munich, The Bavarian State Library 43. In line with Steinschneider's findings, Ms. Munich 43 was written in Ashkenazi script, presumably in the sixteenth century and contains both philosophical as well as esoteric texts: *Sefer ha-Yesodot* by Isaac Israeli, some writings of Maimonides, *Sefer ha-Mispar* by Ibn Ezra, Abraham Abulafia's *Sefer ha-Yashar*, *Shi'ur Qomah*, portions from *Sode Razayya* reflecting

⁶⁸ See the colophon in Ms. London, The British Library, Add. 27199, fol. 601a (Ms. Margoliouth 737).

⁶⁹ See the description of Ms. London, The British Library, Add. 27199 (Ms. Margoliouth 737) in G. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, part III (London, 1915) 4–10 (including the transcription of the scribal colophon).

⁷⁰ See the colophon on fol. 369a of Ms. Munich 81. Moreover Elias Levita and Cardinal Aegidio de Viterbo are mentioned in the Latin note located under the colophon on fol. 369a of Ms. Munich 81. See also: Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen* (2nd ed.; Muenchen, in Commission der Palm'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1895) 53.

the Divine Names,⁷¹ the problem of the emanation of the Glory [*kavod*] and the image of the Heavenly Throne, Asher ben David's *Sefer ha-Yihud*, Abraham ben Shem Tov Bilbago's *Derekh Emunah*. The esoteric miscellanea from *Sode Razayya* were preceded by the prophetic work of Abraham Abulafia, *Sefer ha-Edut*, whereas the portion presented in the table below can be considered as the version of *The Book of the Divine Name (Sefer ha-Shem)*.

In the edition of the *lilioth* episode presented below, I have included a later variant of this story from Ms. Oxford, Michael 385, completed in 1710.⁷² This manuscript also reflects traditions transmitted in the name of Isaac Luria Ashkenazi (the Ari) who died in 1572. For comparison's sake I have included the version printed in Eisenbach's recent edition of *Sode Razayya*.

A. Ms. Munich 43, fol. 215a (16th century)

וּכְתוּב נְהַר דִּינֹר נֶגֶד וּנְפִיק מִן קְדֻמוּהֵי וְכָתוּב וִיהִבַת לִי קִיבַת אֵשׁ מִי שְׁאִינוּ זֹכֵה יִצְטָרֵךְ לְטָרוּחַ בְּגִשְׁרִים קוֹדֵם לְבֹא שֵׁם בְּטָרְחוֹם וְהִרְשָׁעִים כִּי בֹאשׁ יִי נִשְׁפֹּט. וְכָתוּב וְהִנֵּה מֵהֵרָה קוֹל יִבָּא אֵין עֵיף וְאֵין כּוֹשֵׁל בּוֹ לֹא יִנּוּם וְלֹא יִשָּׁן. וְגַם בּוֹזֵה הָעוֹלָם עֲדִיין לִילִיּוֹת. וְכֵן בְּנֵי אָדָם הַמוֹשְׁחִים בְּמִשְׁחָה אַחַת יִשׁוּטְטֵן בְּשַׁעַה אַחַת הָעוֹלָם בְּדֶרֶךְ יָמִים נְהָרוֹת וּבְדֶרֶךְ הַמִּיּוּחַד וְנִגְזָר לָהֶם וּמִי שְׁשׁוֹכֵב בְּדֶרֶךְ הַנִּגְזָר לָהֶם לַעֲבוֹר אוֹ שְׁמֻטְוֵנָה שֵׁם יִזְיָקוּ לוֹ וְאֵין אָדָם יִכּוֹל לִילֵן עִמָּהֶם בְּלֹא רִשׁוּתָם כִּי מִרְיָחֵי הָאָדָם שְׁלֵא נִגְזָר לִילֵן עִמָּם כְּמוֹ שְׁאֵמֵר הַמְּלָאכִים וְהַב"ה עַל מִשְׁה וְאֵלֵיהוּ מָה אֲנוֹשׁ כִּי תִזְכְּרוּנוּ וּמְלָאכִי אֵשׁ וּמְלָאכִי רוּחַ וּמְלָאכִי רֵב רַעַם שְׁאֵמֵר וְנִתְרַעְמוּ עַל בֶּן אָדָם לִכְךָ לֹא בֹאשׁ יִי וְלֹא בְרוּחַ יִי וְלֹא בְרַעַשׁ יִי אֵלֹא בְּחוֹמֵר דָּקָה שְׁלֵא נִתְרַעְמוּ עַל הָאָדָם וְלִכְךָ הַקְּדִים הוּא עַל אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם אֶרֶץ קוֹדֵם לְשָׁמַיִם שְׁבַצ' שֵׁב' צְדִיקֵי הָאֶרֶץ עוֹמְדִים בְּנִיסוּיוֹת הַרְבֵּה וּמִתְגַּבְּרִים בִּיצְרָם. וְכֵן יֵשׁ שְׁשִׁידִים וּמִזִּיקִים שְׁנִבְרָאוּ עַל תְּנַאי כְּשִׁשְׁמַעוּ מִפִּי הַמְּשַׁבֵּיעַ אוֹתָם מִפִּי בִשֵׁם אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים שִׁיבָא בְרוּחַ בְּרַגַע וִישׁ שְׁנִבְרָאוּ מֵאֵשׁ וּמִרוּחַ אוֹ בְּרַגַע וְהַמְּלָאךְ אֲשֶׁר יִכְלַכֵּל כָּל הָרוּחַ וְהוּ' שְׁשֵׁמוֹ ג"ל גְּלִי"א כְּשִׁמְךָ אֲנִי קוֹרָא סְנִיגְרוֹ"ן מִיִּטְרֹוֹ"ן שֶׁר הַפְּנִים אוֹ שֶׁרָא רַבָּא דְאוּרִיתָא אֶפְיָא שֶׁר הַתּוֹרָה וְעַל יְדֵיהּ יִתִּיבֵיב תּוֹרָה לְמִשְׁה וְאַחֲלָקָה לְכָל יִשְׂרָאֵל.

B. Ms. Munich 81, fol. 185a-185b (redaction: Elias Levita, 1555)

(185א) וְכָתוּב וְנְהַר דִּינֹר נֶגֶד וּנְפִיק מִן קְדֻמוּהֵי וְכָתוּב וִיהִיבַת לִיקִידַת אֵשׁ אוֹ שְׁאִינוּ זֹכֵה יִצְטָרֵךְ לְטָרוּחַ בְּגִשְׁרִים קוֹדֵם יִבָּא שֵׁם בְּטָרְחֵי וְהִרְשָׁעִים כִּי בֹאשׁ יִי נִשְׁפֹּט וְכָתוּב וְהִנֵּה יִי (185ב) מֵהֵרָה קוֹל יִבָּא אֵין עֵיף וְאֵין כּוֹשֵׁל בּוֹ לֹא יִנּוּם וְלֹא יִשָּׁן וְבוֹזֵה הָעוֹלָם עֲדִיין לִילִית וְגַם כָּל בְּנֵי אָדָם הַנִּמְשָׁחִי בְּאוֹתָהּ מִשְׁחָה וִישׁוּטְטוּ בְּעוֹלָם בְּרַגַע אַחַד דֶּרֶךְ יָמִים וְנְהָרוֹת וְלֹא נִגְזָר לָהֶם אֵלֹא דֶּרֶךְ מִיּוּחַד וּמִי

⁷¹ Steinschneider appropriately tags these portions as being a component of the esoteric writings of Rhineland Pietists, attributing only a part of them to Eleazar of Worms (specification folio fol. 217b) and judging the preceding passages as kabbalistic notes. See Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Handschriften*, 28–29.

⁷² See the colophons on fol. 166b and 188a of Ms. Oxford Mich. 385 (Neubauer 1574). See also the detailed descriptions of this manuscript in: *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford Including Mss. in Other Languages, which Are Written with Hebrew Characters or Relating to the Hebrew Language or Literature and a few Samaritan Mss.* (comp. by Ad. Neubauer; vol. 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886) 550; *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Supplement of Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. I (A. Neubauer's Catalogue)* (comp. under direction of Malachi Beit-Arié, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 266.

ששוכב במקום אשר יש להם הדרך יכולין להזיק לו לפי שמעכבי' כי בן אדם שאינו מן הקרואי' עמהם אם הם בדרכו מעכבן או טנופת אדם לכך במעשה בראשית כשבא לבראות את האדם אמרו מה אנוש כי תזכרנו ואמרו אשר תנה הודך על השמים וגם אמרו על משה כן ועל אליהו לכך לא ברוח יי' לא ברעש יי' ולא באש יי', אלא בדממה דקה שלא נתרעמו על האדם ולכך הקדים הודו על ארץ ושמים ארץ קודם לשמים שהם עמדו בנסיון ונתגברו על יצרם יהיו לפנים. ואתם הדבוקי בה' אלהי' כו' גו' ודע ובין שנבראו כל השדי' וכל המזיקין על תנאי ומהן אשר נבראו מרוח והם רוח ברוח והתנו על עצמן שכל מי מהם ישמע המשביע ידבר ויצא שם אלהים חיים מפניו ולא יבואו כהרף עין ימותו מותה משונה ויפלו כולם בצרעת ועל זה הדבר הם באים כהרף עין שכמו שיצא הדבור מפי המשביע ילך באויר העולם שהוא רוח וילך הרוח ויודיעם מיד רוח וקושרים קשרים בתוך רוח ובאים כמו כהרף עין אלא יבין אחר שתעשה כל צרכיך ותשלם כל דבריך החזרם לשלום ואל תמתנינם ותאמ' חזרו לשלום כל אחד מכם למקומו ושלום לי ולכם ושלום ביני וביניכם. המלאך אשר יכלכל את כל הרוחות ששמו גלגליאל בשמך אני קורא סניגרון מטטרון שר הפנים אי שרא רבא דאורייתא יופיאל שר של תורה ועל ידיה יתייב תורה למשה וחלקה לכל ישראל.

C. Ms. London, BL Add. 27199, fol. 289b-290a (scribe: Elias Levita, A. M. 5276 – A. D. 1515)

(289b) וכתל' נהר דינור נגיד ונפיק מן קדמוהי. וכתל' והיבת ליקידת אש. ומי שאינו זוכה יצטרך לטרוח בגשרים קודם יבא שם בטרחים. והרשעים כי באש יי' נשפט. וכתל' והנה מהרה קל יבא. אין עיף ואין כושל בו לא ינום ולא ישן. ובזה העולם עדיין לילות וגם כל בני אדם הנמשחים באותה משיחה וישוטטו בעולם ברגע אחד בדרך ימים ונהרות ולא נגזר להם אלא דרך מיוחד ומי ששוכב במקום אשר יש להם הדרך יכולין להזיק לו לפי שמעכבן כי בן אדם שאינו מן הקרואי' עמהם אם הם בדרכו מעכבן טנופת אדם. ולכך במעשה בראשית כשבא לבראות את האדם אמרו מה אנוש כי תזכרנו. ואמרו אשר חנה הודך על השמיים. וגם (290a) אמרו על משה כן ועל אליהו. לכך לא ברוח יי'. לא ברעש יי' לא באש יי'. אלא בדממה דקה. שלא נתרעמו על האדם ולכך הקדים ארץ ושמים הודו על ארץ ושמים. ארץ קודם לשמים שהם עמדו בנסיון ונתגברו על יצרם יהיו לפנים. ואתם הדבקים בי' אלהיכם וגומ'. ודע ובין שנבראו כל השדים וכל המזיקין על תנאי ומהן אשר נבראו מרוח והם רוח ברוח והתנו על עצמן שכל מי מהם ישמע המשביע ידבר ויצא שם אלהים חיים מפיו ולא יבואו כהרף עין ימותו מיתה משונה ויפלו כולם בצרעת ועל זה הדבר הם באים כהרף עין שכמו שיצא הדבור מפי המשביע ילך באויר העולם שהוא רוח וילך הרוח ויודיעם מיד רוח וקושרים קשרים בתוך רוח ובאים כמו כהרף עין אלא יבין אחר שתעשה כל צרכיך ותשלם כל דבריך החזירם לשלו' ואל תמתנינם ותאמ' חזרו לשלו' כל אחד מכם למקומו ושלו' לי ולכם ושלום ביני וביניכם. המלאך אשר יכלכל את כל הרוחות ששמו גלגליאל בשמך אני קורא סניגרון מטטרון שר הפנים או שרא רבא דאורייתא יופיאל שר של תורה ועל ידיה יתייב תורה למשה וחלקה לכל ישראל.

D. Ms. Oxford Michael 385 (Oxford Neubauer 1574), fol. 112a (in Hebrew pagination fol. 71a), (1710)

וכת' נהר דינור נגיד ונפיק מן קדמוהי כתו' ויהיבת ליקידת אשא מי שאינו זוכה צריך לטרוח⁷³ בגשרים קודם לבא שם בטרחים. והרשעים כי באש יי' נשפט וכת' והנה מהרה קל יבא אין עיף ואין כושל בו

⁷³ Because of the quality of the manuscript, the final letter seems to be “hey” and not “het” as testified in this quotation. I have chosen to correct it by implementing the standardized reading—the inadequacy could have been generated by the condition of the manuscript Oxford Michael 385.

לא יינום ולא ישן **בזה העולם עדיין לילות** וגם כל בני אדם הנמשחים באותה משיחה ושוטטו בעולם ברגע אחד דרך ימים ונהרות ולא נגזר להם אלא דרך מיוחד **מי ששוכב במקום שיש להם הדרך יכולין להזיק לו ולפרכך נקראו מזיקין** ולכך במעשה בראשית כשבאל לברא את האדם אמרו מה אנוש כי תזכרנו ואמרו אשר תנה הדרך על השמים. וגם אמרו על משה כן ועל אליהו לכך לא ברוח ולא ברעש ולא באש יי' אלא **בדממה דקה** שלא נתערמו על האדם ולכך הקדים הודו על ארץ ושמים ארץ קודם לשמים שהם עומדו בנסיון ונתגברו [הוד על ארץ ושמים ארץ קודם שמים] על יצרם יהיו לפנים ואתם הבכקים בה אלהיכם חיים כולכם היום. ודע ובין יי' **שנבראו כל המזיקין והשדים על תנאי מהן אשר נבראו מהן עפש ורגש של אשה יוצא מן עץ ששמו סנבו"ק ומהם שנבראו מן הרוח והם רוח ברוח והתנו על עצמם שכל מי מהם ישמע המשביע ידבר ויוציא שם אלהים חיים מפיו ולא יבואו כהרף עין ימותו מיתה משונה ויפלו כלם בצרעות ועל זה הדבר הם באים כהרף עין. שכמו שיצא הדיבור מפי המשביע ילך באויר העולם שהוא רוח וילך ויודיעם מיד נראין רוח וקושרים קשרים בתוך רוח ובמים⁷⁴ אלא ובין אחר שתעשה כל צורכך ותשלים כל דבריך החזירים לשלום ואל תמתרנם ותאמר חזרו לשלום כל אחדי מכם למקומו ושלומו לי ולכם ושלוה בנינו ובניכם. המלאך אשר יכלכל את הרוחות ששמו גלגליא בשמך אני קורא סניגרון [שם מלאך על הרוחות שם שר התורה] מטטרון שר הפנים אי שרא רבא דאורייתא ופיאל שר התורה ועל ידהי יתיב תורה למשה ונחלקה לכל ישראל.**

E. Eisenbach's edition of the Book of the Divine Glory (Sefer ha-Shem), p. 129⁷⁵

וכתיב (דניאל ז, י) נהר דינור נגיד ונפיק מן קדמוהי, וכתי (שם שם, יא) ויהיבת ליקידת אשא, מי שאינו **זוכה צריך לטרוח בגשרים קודם יבא שם בתרחים, והרשעים כי באש ה' נשפט (ישעיהו סו, טז),** וכתיב (שם ה, כו) והנה מהרה קל יבא אין עייף ואין כושל בו לא יינום ולא יישן. **ובזה העולם עדיין לילות** וגם כל בני אדם הנמשחים באותה משיחה ושוטטו בעולם ברגע אחד דרך ימים ונהרות ולא נגזר להם אלא דרך מיוחד, **ומי ששוכב במקום שיש להם הדרך יכולין להזיק לו לפי שמעכבו, כי בן אדם שאינו מן הקרואים עמהם אם הם בדרכו מעכבו או טנופת אדם, ולפרכך נקראו מזיקין.** ולכך במעשה בראשית כשבא לברא את האדם אמרו מה אנוש כי תזכרנו ואמרו אשר תנה הדרך על השמים, וגם אמרו על משה כך ועל אליהו, לכך לא ברוח ולא ברעש ולא באש ה' אלא **בדממה דקה** שלא נתערמו על אדם, ולכך הקדים (תהלים קמח, יג) הודו על ארץ ושמים ארץ לשמים שהם עמדו בנסיון ונתגברו על יצרם יהיו לפנים, ואתם הדבקים בה' אלהיכם חיים כולכם היום. ודע ובין **שנבראו כל המזיקין והשדים על תנאי, מהן אשר נבראו מהן עפש ורגש של אש יוצא מן עץ שממו סבבו"ק, ומהם שנבראו מן הרוח והם רוח ברוח והתנו על עצמם שכל מי מהם ישמע המשביע ידבר ויוציא שם אלהים חיים מפיו ולא יבואו כהרף עין ימותו הארץ הקנייניך.** מכאן היה ר' שמעון אומר (. . .).

Worthy of note is the variant בחומר דקה instead of the common reading בדממה דקה, namely, we find the reading “in the thin matter/substance” instead of “in the fine silence.” Moreover, the formulation להם לעבור או שמטונף is found only in Ms. Munich 43. It thus seems that the scribe of Ms. Munich 43 must

⁷⁴ “Mem” appears as the second letter in this adpositional phrase, although manuscript London Add. 27199 reads at this place “aleph,” what ensued was the change into the verbal phrase: ובמים, which is therefore replaced with ובאים.

⁷⁵ Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus of Worms, *Sode Razayya* (ed. Aaron Eisenbach; 2 vols.; Jerusalem, Makhon Sodei Razayya, 2004), vol. 2.

have had access to the recension of *The Book of the Divine Name* belonging to another manuscript family while copying this work into the Munich codex or changed and added some expressions according to his own taste, thus using some editorial maneuvers.⁷⁶ In Ms. London, Add. 27199, fol. 289b, a *manicule* indicates the specific passage which describes the olfactory experience of the *lilioth*. The disgust of female night demons over “filth,” or feces, left on their road by a human, is expressed in Ms. Munich 43 with the phrase, וּלְפִיכֶךְ נִקְרְאוּ מְזִיקִין: “And therefore they are called ‘those who damage’ [in Hebrew *maziqin*].” This is described further only in Ms. Oxford Michael 385. Eisenbach included it in his edition, which leads us to the conclusion that the editor took this manuscript into account and amended his source accordingly. According to the internal logic of the text, this addition contravenes the preceding description, namely, that *lilioth* may be responsible for harming mortals crossing and contaminating their paths. In medieval Ashkenazi demonology, *lilioth* and *maziqin* formed two separate species of the demonic spirits. Additionally, it is worth emphasizing that *The Book of the Divine Name* contained in another manuscript from the Oxford Bodleian Collection, Ms. Oxford, Opp. 109 (Neubauer 1569), does not include the cited passage on *lilioth* and the intimacy with them, but provides the fragment on Metatron, Prince of the Countenance.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Both members of the community of German Pietists and subsequently the kabbalists were male and promoted strongly androcentric, and even phallogocentric, perspectives on the intra-divine processes. In the same vein, the activity of writing esoteric and kabbalistic secrets, in consonance with reasoning provided in the Talmudic treatise *Git.* 45b and bearing in mind the inherent *modus operandi* of secret societies, was considered an exclusively male profession. As it has been repeatedly emphasized by Elliot R. Wolfson: “As one might expect from a body of thought produced exclusively by men, writing is viewed in kabbalistic sources as a decidedly phallic act, for the pen or stylus is the phallus in relation to the surface upon which the inscription is made, which is the feminine” (Elliot R. Wolfson, “Divine Suffering and the Hermeneutics of Reading: Philosophical Reflections on Lurianic Mythology,” in *Suffering Religion* [ed. Robert Gibbs, Elliot R. Wolfson; London/New York: Routledge, 2002] 101–62, at 135). Cf. idem, “Erasing the Erasure/Gender and the Writing of God’s Body in Kabbalistic Symbolism,” in *Circle in the Square: Studies in the Use of Gender in Kabbalistic Symbolism* (ed. idem, Albany: SUNY Press, 1995) 49–78 and 155–95; idem, “The Mystical Significance of Torah Study in German Pietism,” *JQR* 84 (1993) 43–78.

⁷⁷ In this manuscript, double foliation was implemented with Arabic ciphers and by the means of Hebrew letters. The mentioned textual portion is preserved on fol. 157a (also numbered as עב) and reads as follows: המלאך אשר יכלכל את הרוחות ששמו גלגליאל בשמך אני קורא [שם המלאך על הרוחות שם שר התורה] סנגרון מטטרון שר הפנים מי שרא רבא דאורייתא יופיאל שר התורה ועל ידוהי יתדה בתורה למשה ונחלקה (. . .) לכל ישראל. The formula in the brackets appears in the manuscript as the marginal gloss. On the Ms. Oxford Neubauer 1569, see *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, 549.