The Study of Christian Cabala in English

Don Karr

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On page 2, CHRISTIAN INTERPRETERS OF THE KABBALAH, *i.e.*, the navigation page, subjects (names and topics) are arranged in roughly chronological order. Each entry on the list links to its subject's page(s) within this paper.

The icon ∞ in the upper left of each page is a link to the navigation page.

In spite of its abundance of internal hyperlinks, the uneven treatment of its subjects, and its "cuts and detours," this paper has been composed to be read, or at least skimmed, in order, from beginning to end.

Not all the names on the list are of Christians, whether by birth or conversion. Jewish personalities appear because they played a role in the development of Christian *cabala*, *e.g.*, Pico's mentors, Leone Ebreo, Samuel Falk, and Francis Israel Regardie.

Names are missing from the list, for example, Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie (1541-1598) and his brother Nicolas (1550-1613), even though Guy produced a French translation of Giorgi's *De harmonia mundi* that was widely circulated and likely a cabalistic source for Shakespeare, and Nicolas is reputed to have written "the most important treatise on kabbalistic hermeneutics."[1] Yet, in English sources, Guy and Nicolas Lefèvre de la Boderie are mentioned only in passing.

Also missing: John Fisher (1469-1535), whose "theology is scarcely known and his interest in Pico, Reuchlin, and Catholic Kabbalah seems to have evaded detection entirely," even though he was "the *first* to use the English-usage term 'Cabala'"—Andrew Kuiper, "Officially Sanctioned Catholic Kabbalah?" in *Church Life Journal* (University of Notre Dame, August 7, 2019), §4 at https://churchlifejournal.nd.edu/articles/officially-sanctioned-catholic-kabbalah/#_ftn5.

On the other hand, many names on the list are connected to *kabbalah* only by reputation or through using the term *kabbalah/cabala* in its most inexact and extravagantly broad sense, *e.g.*, Heinrich Khunrath, Ralph Cudworth, and Louis Claude de Saint-Martin.

[1] Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy, 1280-1510: A Survey* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2011), page 232.

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CHRISTIAN INTERPRETERS OF THE KABBALAH

NAVIGATION PAGE

Names marked with an asterisk (*) have entries in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, edited by Wouter Hanegraaff in collaboration with Antoine Faivre, Roelof van den Broek, and Jean-Pierre Brach (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005).

1. Ramon Llull* 1232-1316
2. Dante Alighieri* 1265-1321
3. Abner of Burgos 1270-1348
4. Paulus [Pablo] de Heredia ca. 1405-1486
5. Lodovico Lazzarelli* 1447-1500
6. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola* 1463-1494
   Pico's Mentors
7. Johannes Reuchlin* 1455-1522
8. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples* ca. 1455-1536
9. Petrus Galatinus* ca. 1460-ca. 1540
10. Leone Ebreo ca. 1460-ca. 1530
11. Johannes Trithemius* 1462-1516
12. Francesco Giorgi* 1466-1540
13. Egidio da Viterbo* 1469-1532
14. Agostino Giustiniani 1470-1536
15. Albrecht Dürer 1471-1528
16. Jean Thénaud ca. 1480-ca. 1485
17. Paul Ricius 1480-ca.1542
18. Giulio Camillo* 1480-1544
19. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa* 1486-1535
20. Paracelsus* 1493-1541
21. Archangelus of Burgo Nuovo d. ca. 1570
22. Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter 1506-1557
23. Guillaume Postel* 1510-1581
24. Teresa of Avila 1515-1582
25. John Dee* 1527-1608
    Enochian Magic
26. Luis de León ca. 1538-1591
27. Juan de la Cruz 1542-1591
28. Jean Bodin 1530-1596
29. Johann Pistorius 1546-1608
30. Giordano Bruno* 1548-1600
31. Heinrich Khunrath* ca. 1560-1605
    The Conflation of Cabala & Alchemy
32. William Shakespeare 1564-1616
33. Johannes Bureus 1568-1652
34. Paul Yvon 1570-1646
35. John Donne 1572-1631
36. Robert Fludd* 1574-1637
37. Jacob Böhme* 1575-1624
38. Jacques Gaffarel 1601-1681
39. Athanasius Kircher* 1602-1680
40. J. S. Rittangel [Rittangelius] 1606-1652
41. John Milton 1608-1674
42. Antonia of Würtemberg 1613-1679
43. Thomas Vaughan* 1622-1695
44. Francis Mercury van Helmont* 1614-1699
45. Christian Knorr von Rosenroth* 1636-1689
    The Cambridge Platonists
46. Henry More* 1614-1687
47. Ralph Cudworth* 1617--1688
48. Anne Conway 1631-1679
49. Thomas Burnet 1635-1715
50. Isaac Newton* 1642-1726 or 1727
51. Gottfried Leibniz 1646-1716
    17th-Century Printed works on Christian Cabala
    The Contents of *Kabbala denudata*
52. Kabbalah in Colonial America
53. Johan Kemper 1670-1716
    The 'Unknown Superiors'
54. Emanuel Swedenborg* 1688-1772
55. Samuel Falk* 1710-1782
56. Alessandro Cagliostro* 1743-1795
57. Friedrich Christoph Oetinger* 1702-1782
58. Louis Claude de Saint-Martin* 1743-01803
59. William Blake* 1757-1827
60. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel 1770-1831
61. Francis Barrett* ca. 1775-18??
62. Franz Josef Molitor 1779-1860
63. David-Paul Drach 1791-1865
64. Alphonse Louis Constant [Éliphas Lévi]* 1810-1875
65. Albert Pike 1809-1891
66. Hargrave Jennings* 1817-1890
67. Seth Pancoast 1823-1889
68. Helena Petrovna Blavatsky* 1831-1891
69. Albert Jounet [Alber Jhouney] 1863-1923
70. Gerard Encausse [Papus]* 1865-1916
    19th-century books

The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn

71. William Wynn Westcott* 1848-1925
72. S. L. MacGregor Mathers* 1854-1918
73. Henry B. Pullen-Burry 1855-1926
74. Arthur E. Waite* 1857-1942
75. Florence Farr 1860-1917
76. William Williams [Nurho de Manhar] fl. 1888-1914
77. W. B. Yeats 1865-1939
78. Aleister Crowley* 1875-1947
79. Charles Stansfeld Jones [Frater Achad] 1886-1950
    Kenneth Grant/O.T.O.
80. Charles Williams 1886-1945
81. Violet Mary Firth [Dion Fortune]* 1890-1950
82. Francis Israel Regardie 1907-1985
    20th-Century Books

The article, "Christian Kabbalah," at Wikipedia identifies ten "Christian Kabbalists" (see below, page 132), three of whom are not listed above:

- Balthasar Walther (1558-ca. 1631), who is discussed in my entry on Jacob Böhme. The Wikipedia article cites Leigh T. I. Penman's paper, "A Second Christian Rosencreuz?"—my source as well.
- Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682), whom I have not encountered in the course of my research. The Wikipedia article refers to Reid Barbour's book, *Sir Thomas Browne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Therein, *cabala* is mentioned only in passing as "the fancies of Cabala" and simply "Cabala" (—pages 338 and 360) within lists of topics which Browne touched upon in his writings.
- Adorján Czipleá (1639-1664), whom I have not encountered in the course of my research. The Wikipedia article refers the reader to its own page on Czipleá, which contains neither notes nor links to sources. Further, the article refers to but one "short treatise" by Czipleá which is lost. References indicate that Czipleá's *cabala* was derived from familiar names within the first wave of Christian *kabbalah*, namely Pico and Reuchlin, and a slightly later influence, John Dee.

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INTRODUCTION

ANYONE WHO HAS read a few books concerning the Western esoteric tradition has encountered, at the very least, references to *kabbalah*, variously *cabala*, or *qabalah*.[2] A familiarity with the term *kabbalah* and the implications of the variant spellings of the word as *cabala* and *qabalah* is useful here. Very broadly,

- *kabbalah* generally represents Jewish esoteric teaching which emerged in the 12th century, though preserving older mystical elements; it is a grand commentary on the Torah elaborating on the relationship of man and the infinite creator.
- *cabala* is something of a catch-all for both Christian interpretations of *kabbalah* from the Renaissance and Reformation periods and magic in general, such as that described by Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535).
- *qabalah* is "Hermetic"[3] in that it is the narrow practical version of *kabbalah* originating in nineteenth-century Western esoteric schools such as the Golden Dawn the structure of which is centered on the kabbalistic Tree of Life and its correspondences to other schemes, especially the *tarot*.

These days, academics seem to favor *kabbalah* for all references, drawing distinctions by adding the modifiers "Christian" or "Hermetic."

Cabala figures into many tenets and methods central to Western esoteric thought and practice. Unfortunately, what is meant by term is not always clear and may vary from one reference to another. Those readers who enter an investigation of Christian *cabala* after having studied Jewish *kabbalah* may well become impatient at the outset with the misreadings and deformations characteristic of "Christian developments."[4]

Complicating matters further, Christian ideas seem to have crept into (Jewish) *kabbalah*.

- Regarding kabbalistic developments in the 12th century, Elliot R. Wolfson suggests that the motif of the cosmic tree, an image that became central to *kabbalah* as the Tree of Life (*etz hayyim*—the tree of the *sefirot*), combines Jewish and Christian influences.[5]

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[2] On "the background of variant orthographies, including origins, definitions, and usages," see Anthony J. Elia, "An Historical Assessment of the Narrative Uses of the Words 'Kabbalah,' 'Cabala,' and 'Qabala/h': Discerning the Differences for Theological Libraries," in *Theological Librarianship: An Online Journal of the American Theological Library Association*, Volume 2, Number 2 (Chicago: American Theological Society, 2009), at THEOLOGICAL LIBRARIANSHIP: Vol. 2 No. 2 (2009) | Theological Librarianship (atla.com)

[3] Frances Yates coined the term "Hermetic-Cabalist tradition" to refer to the Christian stream begun by Pico and Reuchlin, which incorporated a blend of the literature attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, Platonism, and what was perceived as *kabbalah*. Thus, it is equivalent to the second category above: *cabala*.

[4] For a summary of the differences between Jewish *kabbalah* and Christian *cabala*, especially with regard to the latter's earliest stages, see

(1) Joseph Dan, "Christian Kabbalah: From Mysticism to Esotericism," in *Western Esotericism and the Science of Religion*, eds. Antoine Faivre and Wouter J. Hanegraaff [GNOSTICA 2] (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), pp. 117-129; reprinted in Dan's *Jewish Mysticism*, Volume III: THE MODERN PERIOD (Northvale – Jerusalem: Jason Aronson Inc., 1999), pp. 191-207.

(2) the first several sections of Dan's article, "The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin and Its Historical Significance," in *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and Their Christian Interpreters*, ed. Joseph Dan (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1997), also reprinted in Dan's *Jewish Mysticism*, Volume III, pp. 209-251.

(3) Moshe Idel, "Jewish Kabbalah in Christian Garb," in *Kabbalah in Italy, 1280-1510: A Survey* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 227-235

[5] "The Tree That is All: Jewish-Christian Roots of a Kabbalistic Symbol in *Sefer ha-Bahir*," in *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*, volume 3, issue 1, edited by Elliot Wolfson and Paul Mendes-Flohr (Harwood Academic Publishers GmbH, 1993), pp. 31-76; reprinted in *Along the Path: Studies in Kabbalistic Myth, Symbolism, and Hermeneutics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), pp. 63-88.

While raising the issues of Christian influences on (Jewish) *kabbalah*, Wolfson calls into question traditional lines of inquiry into a particular subject matter, namely, the ten *sefirot*, as the major indication of the origins of *kabbalah*. He says, in effect, that if *Sefer ha-Bahir* is the earliest known work which can properly be called kabbalistic, its own contents suggest that something more—if not something other—than the *sefirot* comprises *kabbalah*'s primal swirlings.

- Peter Schäfer indicates connections between the Christian figure of Mary and kabbalistic notions of the *shekhinah* (the "presence of God") as a deific female, an object of devotion, and a mediator between God and man.[6]
- Yehuda Liebes has demonstrated that the *Zohar*'s "Doctrine of Trinity," concepts of the "Son," and interpretations of GENESIS 1:1 betray signs of Christian thought,[7] though he qualifies his observations, stating,

  > [A]lthough the author of the Zohar allowed himself to be influenced by Christianity, this does not mean that he felt any affinity for the "Gentile Nations," and particularly for those who converted to their faith. Quite the opposite is true.[8]

  Indeed, Ellen D. Haskell has shown how the author(s) of the *Zohar* "crafted strategically subversive narratives that bolstered Jewish identity by countering Christian claims."[9]

The strand of Christian *cabala* which has become best known began in Renaissance Florence with Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494). Pico sought to harmonize Christian beliefs with *cabala*, which he considered a primal form of Jewish doctrine which originated with Moses and thus long presaged the teachings of Jesus. This parallels the treatment of the *Hermetica* by the circle around Ficino, namely the movement to recover the *prisca theologia* (the ancient theology) and *philosophia perennis* (the perennial philosophy), thought to be the fountainheads of all true religion and philosophy.[10] Certainly, the "first wave" of Christian kabbalists in the Renaissance (Pico della Mirandola, Johannes Reuchlin, Francisco Giorgi, Egidio da Viterbo, Agrippa, etc.) viewed *cabala* as an expression of Christian truth entrusted to the Jews centuries before Christ's incarnation.[11] These interpreters took *cabala* as an independent tradition that transcended Judaism.[12]

Moshe Idel broaches the same point at the beginning of "Jewish Kabbalah in Christian Garb" (cited in the previous footnote), mentioning "an esoteric tradition concerning divine names" as another possible early indication of *kabbalah* (*ibid.*, page 227). Idel also takes up this issue in "Defining Kabbalah: The Kabbalah of the Divine Names," in *Mystics of the Book: Themes, Topics and Typologies*, edited by R. A. Herrera (New York – San Francisco – Bern, etc.: Peter Lang, 1993), pp. 97-122.

6 *Mirror of His Beauty: Feminine Images of God from the Bible to the Early Kabbalah* (Princeton – Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002).

7 *Studies in the Zohar* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), pp. 139-161

8 *Ibid.*, page 139.

9 *Mystical Resistance: Uncovering the Zohar's Conversations with Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), page 1. Also see Jonatan Benarroch's articles, (1) "God and His Son: Christian Affinities in the Shaping of the Sava and Yanuka Figures in the Zohar," in *the Jewish Quarterly Review*, Volume 107, Number 1 (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), pages 38-65; and (2) "'The Mystery of (Re)Incarnation and the Fallen Angels': The Reincarnations of Adam, Enoch, Metatron, (Jesus), and Joseph—an Anti-Christian Polemic in the Zohar," in *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 2018), pp. 117-147.

10 See D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972); and Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983).

The Ancient Theology is a series of articles examining the influence and use of the *prisca theologia*, ancient theology, as derived from the *Hermetica* and related material, writings of the first four-hundred or so years of the common era which were believed to be—until Isaac Casaubon's "convincingly thorough scholarship (in 1614) showed otherwise"—of great antiquity and, indeed, the fountainhead of the world's religions and philosophies.

11 On the "first wave" of Christian kabbalists, see my "Ésotérisme et Kabbale chrétienne," in *Histoire comparée des littératures de langues européennes*, SOUS-SÉRIE RENAISSANCE, Volume II: *La Nouvelle Culture* – 1480-1520, ed. Eva Kushner (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó/Amsterdam: John Benjamins B. V., 2017), pp. 47-56; for the English version, "Esotericism and Christian Kabbalah: 1480-1520," link to either of the following URLs:

- http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/KS/ECK.pdf
- https://www.academia.edu/34425754/Esotericism_and_the_Christian_Kabbalah_1480-1520_-_full_text

12 Even within Judaism, some developments of later *kabbalah* (16th century and after) spun free of dependence on the Torah. The *Zohar* was a supposed commentary on the Torah, and Lurianic *kabbalah* was a commentary on the *Zohar*. Hayyim Vital, whose writings are among the most important representations of Lurianic *kabbalah*, "restlessly recast the essential Lurianic doctrine in ways that increasingly abandoned the *Zohar* as proof text" (—Pinchas Giller, *Reading the Zohar* [Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2001], p. 23).

Ideally, we would find sources which led us in a nice straight line from the traditional beginning of the Christian *cabala* in the Renaissance to the present day. Alas, the material available on the subject and the history of Christian *cabala* itself conspire to make our effort one fraught with cuts and detours, though a certain shape to it all does emerge.

At the outset, the limitations of an English-only bibliography should be noted, for any short list of books on Christian *cabala* consists largely of works in other languages.

A selection of standard works—listed chronologically—would include

- Benz, Ernst. *Die christliche Kabbala: Ein Stiefkind der Theologie* [*THE CHRISTIAN KABBALAH: A STEPCHILD OF THEOLOGY*] (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1958).
- Secret, François. *Le Zôhar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Durlacher, 1958).
- Secret, François. *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964).
- Wirszubski, Chaïm. *Sheloshah perakim be-toldot ha-Kabalah ha-notsrit* [*THREE STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN KABBALAH*] (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1975).
  Studies on Pico della Mirandola.
- Gorny, Leon. *La Kabbale: Kabbale juive et cabale chrétiennes* (Paris: Pierre Belfond, 1977).
- Wirszubski, Chaïm. *Mekubal be-Notsri Kore ba-Torah* [*A CHRISTIAN KABBALIST READS THE LAW*] (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1977).
  The "Christian Kabbalist" here is Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.
- *Kabbalistes chrétiens*, eds. Antoine Faivre and Frédérick Tristan [series CAHIERS DE L'HERMÉTISME] (Paris: Albin Michel, 1979).
- Wirszubski, Chaïm. *Ben ha-shtin : Kabalah, Kabalah Notsrit, Shabta'ut* [*BETWEEN THE LINES: KABBALAH, CHRISTIAN KABBALAH, AND SABBATEANISM*] (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press/Hebrew University, 1990).
- Secret, François. *Hermetisme et Kabbale* [LEZIONI DELLA SCUOLA DI STUDI SUPERIORI IN NAPOLI 15] (Naples: L'Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, 1992).
- Kilcher, Andreas. *Die Sprachtheorie der Kabbala als ästhetisches Paradigma: Die Konstruktion einer ästhetischen Kabbala seit der Frühen Neuzeit* [*THE LINGUISTIC THEORY OF KABBALAH AS AN AESTHETIC PARADIGM: THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN AESTHETIC KABBALAH SINCE THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD*] (Stuttgart - Weimar: Verlag J. B. Meltzer, 1998).
  For an English summary of *Die Sprachtheorie der Kabbala...*, see Elke Morlok's review in *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts*, Volume Seven, eds. Daniel Abrams and Avraham Elqayam (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2002), pp. 67-77.
- *Christliche Kabbala*, ed. Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2003).
  Contains papers in French (1), German (13), and English (2). The English articles are Sarah Hutton's "From Christian Kabalism to Kabalistic Quakerism: The Kabalistic Dialogues of Anne Conway, Henry More, and George Keith," and Moshe Idel's "Jewish Thinkers versus Christian Kabbalah."
- Schmidt-Biggermann, Wilhelm. *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala* [*HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN KABBALAH*] [CLAVIS PANSOPHIAE 10], vier Bände [FOUR VOLUMES] (Stuttgart: frommann-Holzboog Verlag e.K., 2012-2014).
  - Band 1. 15. und 16. Jahrhundert [FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES - Pico to Pistorius]
  - Band 2. 1600-1660 [Böhme, Franckenberg, Khunrath, Fludd, the translation of *Sefer Yetzirah* by Stephan Rittangel (1642)]
  - Band 3. 1660-1850 [*Kabbala denudata* and thereafter]
  - Band 4. Bibliographie

Subsequent Luria-based kabbalists, *e.g.*, Moshe Hayyim Luzzatto (author of *Kelah Pithei Hokhmah*) and Shneur Zalman of Lyady (author of *Likkutei Amarim*, called the *Tanya*), offered bodies of teachings that are even further removed from Scripture.

Standard works in English include the following (listed chronologically),[13] five of which are discussed in some detail below (follow the links):

- Blau, Joseph L. *Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944; Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1965)—BLAU.
- Yates, Frances. *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964 & 1991)—YATES[GB].
- _____. *Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979 & 2001)—YATES[OP].
- Joseph Dan (ed.) *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and Their Christian Interpreters* (Cambridge: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, 1997/1998).
  Contributors: Gershom Scholem, Joseph Dan, Giulio Busi, Klaus Reichert, Allison Coudert, and Hillel Levine.
- Beitchman, Philip. *Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998)—BEITCHMAN.
- Benz, Ernst. *Christian Kabbalah* (St. Paul: Grailstone Press, 2004) = a translation of *Die christliche Kabbala: Ein Stiefkind der Theologie* (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1958)—BENZ.

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[13] In spite of its "assertive title" (—the author's term, p. ii), *The Rape of Jewish Mysticism by Christian Theologians* by Robert Wang (Columbia [MD]: Marcus Aurelius Press, 2001) is a rather drab summary of well-known—and well-worn—sources. Moreover, Wang does not really engage his thesis (*i.e.*, the *rape* of Jewish mysticism) anywhere through the book save the preface and the brief conclusion. The book comes to an anticlimactic halt with "Christian Kabbalah becomes Rosicrucianism," "The Fama Fraternitas," and "Robert Fludd." Wang's omission of developments through the 17th-19th centuries is all the more puzzling given the book's subtitle, *How the Modern Occult Movement Grew out of Renaissance Attempts to Convert the Jews.*

See my detailed discussion of Wang's *Rape of Jewish Mysticism* in ADDENDUM B, *Reviews* (a link to the URL for the ADDENDA is given at the head of this paper), and, in a less clear format, which seems purposely buried, at *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies*, Volume VI, ed. Arthur Versluis (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2004), at http://www.esoteric.msu.edu/VolumeVI/Wang.html.

Christian Kabbalists: John Donne, Giordano Bruno, Ramon Llull, Paracelsus, Athanasius Kircher, Robert Fludd, Giovani Pico della Mirandola... (Memphis: Books LLC, 2010) offers incomplete reprints of WIKIPEDIA articles with an index. The articles are sketchy and inconsistent, some showing no connection with *cabala* whatsoever. The same description could apply to *The Esoteric Codex: Christian Kabbalah* by Sarai Kasik (Lulu.com, 2015), though this book offers numerous illustrations.

SOME USEFUL INTRODUCTORY BOOKS, CHAPTERS & ARTICLES

LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY

- Thorndike, Lynn. *History of Magic & Experimental Science* (New York – London, Columbia University Press, 1923-1958).

  Refer below to Thorndike within A SELECTION OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY BOOKS.
- Schuchard, Marsha Keith. "The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance, and the Development of the Syncretic Occult Tradition," = CHAPTER II of FREEMASONRY, SECRET SOCIETIES, AND THE CONTINUITY OF THE OCCULT TRADITIONS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE (Ph.D. diss. University of Texas at Austin, 1975).
- Swietlicki, Catherine. "Christian Cabala in the Renaissance" and "The Diffusion of Christian Cabala in Renaissance Culture" = CHAPTERS 1 and 2 of *Spanish Christian Cabala* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 1-42—based primarily on François Secret, Frances Yates, and Gershom Scholem.
- Manuel, Frank E. *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 1992), especially CHAPTER 3, §§ "Pico della Mirandola and His Mentors" (pp. 37-44) and "Johannes Reuchlin in Defense of the Talmud" (pp. 44-46).
- Masters, G. Mallary. "Renaissance Kabbalah," in *Modern Esoteric Spirituality*, eds. Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1995), pp. 132-153.
- Wouter J. Hanegraaff's historical outline of "traditional esotericism" (CHAPTER 14, especially § C, "The Components of Western Esotericism") in *New Age Religion & Western Culture* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), pp. 388-396.
- Dan, Joseph. "Christian Kabbalah: From Mysticism to Esotericism," in *Western Esotericism and the Science of Religion*, eds. Antoine Faivre & Wouter J. Hanegraaff [GNOSTICA 2] (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), pp. 117-129; reprinted in Dan's *Jewish Mysticism*, Volume III: THE MODERN PERIOD (Northvale – Jerusalem: Jason Aronson Inc., 1999), pp. 191-207.
- Faivre, Antoine. "Renaissance Hermeticism and the Concept of Western Esotericism" in *Gnosis and Hermeticism*, edited by Roelof van den Broek and Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), pp. 109-123.
- Idel, Moshe. "Reflections on Kabbalah in Spain and Christian Kabbalah," in *Hispania Judaica Bulletin*, #2 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999), pp. 3-15.
- Laenen, J. H. "Popular Literature on 'Kabbalah'" = CHAPTER 8 of *Jewish Mysticism: An Introduction* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), pp. 263-272.
- *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, edited by Wouter Hanegraaff in collaboration with Antoine Faivre, Roelof van den Broek, and Jean-Pierre Brach (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005), VOLUME II: § "Jewish Influences,"[14] especially PART III: "'Christian Kabbalah' in the Renaissance" (pp. 638-642), PART IV: Enlightenment / Romanticism" (pp. 642-644), and PART V: Occultist Kabbalah" (pp. 644-647).

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[14] The debt that the early Christian cabalists owe to Jewish teachers should not be overlooked. In a discussion of the Renaissance period, Eisig Silberschlag writes:

> Many outstanding teachers who taught some eminent Christians were in the forefront of their age: Mauele da S. Miniato, the erudite banker and teacher of the Florentine statesman Giannozzo Manetti; the philosophical scholars Elijah del Medigo and Yohanan Alemanno, teachers of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola; Obadiah Sforno, the physician, the commentator on the Pentateuch and the teacher of Johannes Reuchlin; Elijah Levita, the itinerant scholar, grammarian and teacher to such eminent personalities as Edigio da Viterbo, the General of the Order of the Hermits of Saint Augustine, who became cardinal in 1517, Mario Grimani, the patriarch of Aquila, George de Selve, bishop of Lavaur, Sebastian Münster, the humanist of Basle and Paul Fagius, the reformed minister; Leone Modena who taught Giovanni Vislingio, professor of anatomy in Padua, Vincenzo Noghera, the scholarly Theologian.
>
> —*From Renaissance to Renaissance* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1973)—pp. 3-4.

- Stuckrad, Kocku von. "Esotericism in the Confessional Age," = CHAPTER 5 of *Western Esotericism: A Brief History of Secret Knowledge* (London – Oakville: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2005), pp. 62-98; CHAPTER 3, pp. 31-43, outlines major developments in *Jewish* Kabbalah.
- Dan, Joseph. "Modern Times I: The Christian Kabbalah" = CHAPTER 5 of *Kabbalah: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 61-69.
- Smoley, Richard. "The Sages of the Renaissance" = CHAPTER 6 of *Forbidden Faith: The Gnostic Legacy from the Gospel to the Da Vinci Code* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2006), pp. 107-123.
- Bogdan, Henrik. *Western Esotericism and Rituals of Initiation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007); see in particular CHAPTER 3, "Historical Background" (pp. 53-52), and the last section of CHAPTER 4 (pp. 89-93).
- Smith, Wolfgang. "The Wisdom of Christian Kabbalah," in *Sophia: The Journal of Traditional Studies*, Volume 13, Number 2 (Oakton [VA]: The Foundation for Traditional Studies, Winter 2007-2008), pages 41-67.
- Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. "Italian Renaissance Magic and Cabala" = CHAPTER 2 of *The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 33-47.
- Levenda, Peter. "Christian Kabbalah and the Esoteric Orders" = CHAPTER 10 of *Stairway to Heaven: Chinese Alchemists, Jewish Kabbalists, and the Art of Spiritual Transformation* (New York – London: Continuum, 2008), pp. 146-179.
- Stuckrad, Kocku von. "The Secrets of Texts: Esoteric Hermeneutics" = CHAPTER FIVE of *Locations of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Esoteric Discourse and Western Identities* [BRILL'S STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY 186] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010), especially § "Linguistic Ontologies in Christian Kabbalah," pp. 103-110.
- Coudert, Allison P. "Christian Kabbalah," in *Jewish Mysticism and Kabbalah: New Insights and Scholarship*, ed. Frederick E. Greenspahn (New York – London: New York University Press, 2011), pp. 159-172.
- Idel, Moshe. "Jewish Kabbalah in Christian Garb" = CHAPTER 19 of *Kabbalah in Italy, 1280-1510: A Survey* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 227-235.
- *Rosicrucian Digest*, Vol. 90, No. 2: KABBALAH (San Jose: Rosicrucian Order AMORC, 2012); contains a mix of Jewish and Christian occult *kabbalah* with articles from a broad spectrum of authors: from Papus and Ralph M. Lewis to Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke and Daniel C. Matt.
- Forshaw, Peter. "Kabbalah" = CHAPTER 54 of *The Occult World*, edited by Christopher Partridge (Abingdon – New York: Routledge, 2015), pages 541-551.
  Along similar lines, there is Forshaw's "Christian Kabbalah" in *The Cambridge Handbook of Western Mysticism and Esotericism*, edited by Glenn Alexander Magee (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 143-155.
- Dunkelgrün, Theodor. "The Christian Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe" = CHAPTER 12 of *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, VOLUME VII, THE EARLY MODERN WORLD, 1500-1815, edited by Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pages 316-348; see especially § CHRISTIAN KABBALAH, pp. 322-325.
- Karr, Don. "Ésotérisme et Kabbale chrétienne," in *Histoire comparée des littératures de langues européennes*, *L'Époque de la Renaissance (1400–1600)* Tome II: *La Nouvelle Culture* – 1480-1520, edited by Eva Kushner (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó/Amsterdam: John Benjamins B. V., 2017), pp. 47-56. The English version, "Esotericism and Christian Kabbalah: 1480-1520," can be found online at Hermetic Kabbalah and Academia.edu:
  http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/KS/ECK.pdf
  https://www.academia.edu/34425754/Esotericism_and_the_Christian_Kabbalah_1480-1520_-_full_text

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FOUR HISTORIANS OF CHRISTIAN CABALA

ARTHUR EDWARD WAITE (1857-1942)

- *Doctrine and Literature of the Kabbalah* (London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1902).
- *The Secret Doctrine in Israel* (London: Rider and Co., 1913).
- *The Holy Kabbalah*—incorporating the two titles above (London: Williams and Norgate Ltd, 1929; rpt. New Hyde Park: University Books, 1960 and subsequently[15]).

Writing from within the Western esoteric/Golden Dawn tradition, Waite made a serious attempt to set the record straight about what true *kabbalah* was and what it was not. His effort was hampered by his falling prey to the unreliable Latin, English, and French translations available to him, in particular Jean de Pauly's *Le Livre de la Splendeur* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906-1911), a Christianized French rendering of the *Zohar* which, unfortunately, was relied upon by a host of twentieth-century occultists, historians, and writers, including Denis Saurat and Anais Nin. However, Waite's knowledge and understanding of *kabbalah* far exceeded that of anyone else within the Golden Dawn circle (Westcott, Mathers, Farr, Crowley, Pullen-Burry, Fortune, etc.). Waite's *Holy Kabbalah* offers a remarkably clear-minded critical survey of the topic.[16]

BOOK X of *The Holy Kabbalah* is titled "Some Christian Students of the Kabbalah" (pp. 437-513). Therein Waite gives spot-on sketches of Ramon Llull, Pico della Mirandola, Johannes Reuchlin, Paracelsus, Cornelius Agrippa, Guillaume Postel, Robert Fludd, Henry More, Thomas Vaughan, Knorr von Rosenroth, Ralph Cudworth, Thomas Burnet, Louis Claude de Saint-Martin, Éliphas Lévi, Papus (Gerard Encausse), Stanislas de Guaita, H. P. Blavatsky, and a few others. Waite's survey is quite useful, for its parade of names connected with *kabbalah/cabala*—whether by fact or fancy—takes us from the Renaissance to the end of the nineteenth century. Waite's descriptions of these characters give some idea of the range of *cabala's* seepage into occult and theosophic endeavor, including the symbolism of the Freemasons and the Rosicrucians.

For a recent appraisal and analysis of Waite's work on the *kabbalah*, see Wouter J. Hanegraaff, "Mysteries of Sex in the House of the Hidden Light: Arthur Edward Waite and the Kabbalah," in *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts*, Volume Forty, edited by Daniel Abrams with guest editors Christian Wiese and George Y. Kohler (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2018), pp. 163-182.[17]

On Waite:

- Gilbert, R. A. *A. E. Waite: Magician of Many Parts* (Wellingborough: Crucible, 1997).
- _____. *The Hermetic Papers of A. E. Waite: The Unknown Writings of a Modern Mystic* [ROOTS OF THE GOLDEN DAWN SERIES] (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1987).

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[15] Reprints from Carol Publishing Group, 1992; Dover Publications, 2003; Cosimo Classics, 2007.

[16] See Boaz Huss, "'Authorized Guardians': The Polemics of Academic Scholars of Jewish Mysticism against Kabbalah Practitioners," in *Polemical Encounters: Esoteric Discourse and Its Others*, edited by Olav Hammer and Kocku von Stuckrad (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007), pages 81-103, especially § 4. *Scholem's Polemics against Western Esoteric Kabbalah*. on Waite, see pages 88 and 93.

Waite penned dozens of books on the occult sciences (alchemy, divination, magic, tarot, etc.) and its personalities (*e.g.*, Louis Claude de Saint-Martin and Thomas Vaughan—see below). For a full list of Waite's output with online access, go to https://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupname?key=Waite%2c%20Arthur%20Edward%2c%201857%2d1942

[17] The title of Hanegraaff's article alludes to the obscure book, *The House of the Hidden Light*, written by Waite and Arthur Machen. See below, A SELECTION OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY BOOKS: "1904 - Machen," page 164, for more details.

JOSEPH LEON BLAU (1909-1986)

Reliable (even if not unbiased) scholarship on *cabala* might be said to have begun in the 1940s with Joseph L. Blau's *Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944; rpt. Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1965; rpt. Brampton: Ballantrae Reprints, 1998). Subsequent writers on the subject, while often disagreeing with Blau on many key points, freely use such words as "groundbreaking," "essential," and "pioneering" when referring to his study.

To provide a brief outline of Christian *cabala*, the contents of Blau's work are summarized here: The first chapter recapitulates the history of the *kabbalah* within Judaism, following Gershom Scholem. The second chapter takes up the beginnings of Christian interest in the *kabbalah*, stating that Ramon Llull "did not write of the Cabala in the thirteenth century" and that the pseudo-Llullian *De auditu kabbalistico* is somewhat *kabbalah*-like, but not kabbalistic; Blau then considers Pico della Mirandola in some detail. The third chapter discusses those whom Pico influenced, directly or from a distance. The fourth chapter focuses on Pico's most important follower, Johannes Reuchlin. Chapter Five summarizes Paolo Ricci's *De coelesti agricultura* and from it offers a translation of "Introduction to the Lore of the Cabalists or Allegorizers." This fifth chapter finishes with a survey of others who "followed the path of cabalism to Christianity." The sixth chapter, "The Fantastic Cabala," discusses how *cabala* became entangled with magic, referring to, among others, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa and Paracelsus. Chapter Seven treats Jean Thenaud and his work, *The Holy and Very Christian Cabala* (Appendix D of Blau's study contains selections from this work in the original French). The continued diffusion of "the Christian interpretation of the cabala" by a range of relatively obscure 16th- and 17th-century expositors is discussed in Chapter Eight, "The Erudites." Finally, Chapter Nine offers Blau's conclusions, namely that *cabala* was treated and shaped in many ways for many different purposes by many Christian interpreters, none of whom knew very much about *kabbalah*. Several appendices follow: A, on Moses Cordovero; B, on whether Ramon Llull was a cabalist; C, on the identity of Archangelus of Burgo Nuovo; and D, selections from Thenaud. An impressive bibliography lists Jewish and Christian primary and secondary sources.

In addition to *Christian Interpretation...*, there is Blau's article, "The Diffusion of the Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in English Literature," in *The Review of Religion*, volume VI, number 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942). Here Blau concludes,

> This study has shown few actual Cabalists among the writers of English literature, but many writers to whom Cabalism was familiar. ... For Cabalism, specifically, it can be said in summary, that Fludd, Thomas Vaughan, and Henry More were the only Christian Cabalists who wrote in English. ... Cabalism was an intellectual fad, a day's fashion. (—pages 167 & 168)

Blau's first statement is accurate: There were "few actual Cabalists among the writers of English literature."[18] For the undoing of Blau's statement regarding Fludd, More, and Vaughan, see below: Fludd, More, Vaughan.[19]

Certainly, the third statement has been proven untrue, not just by the current paper but even in the scant evidence that Blau himself provides at the close of "Diffusion...," § VII, where he mentions Madame Blavatsky, Anna Kingsford, Edward Maitland, and Wynn Westcott. These names, especially the first, are all quite familiar to us today.

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[18] Were I writing this line instead of Blau it would read, "few if any actual Cabalists...."

[19] Also find descriptions of 17th-century printed works by these authors: Fludd[MOS], More[CONCAB], Vaughan[MALL].

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DAME FRANCES AMELIA YATES (1899-1981)

The "classic" English-language resource for our subject is Frances Yates' *Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979 and 2001; rpt. London: Ark Paperbacks, 1983), which is divided into three parts: PART 1 covers the Renaissance and Reformation periods, discussing Llull, Pico, Reuchlin, Francesco Giorgi (*or* Zorzi), and Agrippa; PART 2 takes up the Elizabethan period, treating, most significantly, John Dee and Shakespeare; PART 3 moves into *cabala*'s connections with Rosicrucianism, occult philosophy and Puritanism (John Milton), and the return of the Jews to England in the seventeenth century. From reading Yates, we see how *cabala* got smeared together with other pressing religious and philosophic concerns of the day (Hermetism, alchemy, astrology, and magic), and how the term "cabala" came to be used quite loosely, referring at times to stuff which no Jewish kabbalist would recognize as *kabbalah*.

Other books and articles by Frances Yates are of great value to us here:

- *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964; rpt. 1991).
  Yates paraphrases the Hermetic writings which were most important to Ficino and company, treats Pico's "Cabalist Magic" in some detail, and summarizes the contents of Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*. This all leads to a discussion of Bruno's *cabala*, which, according to Yates, was derived primarily from Agrippa and remained rather dilute, being far less important to Bruno than his "Egyptianism." See below, § GIORDANO BRUNO.
- *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966; rpt. 1994).
  Art... follows the methods of "artificial memory" from the ancient Greek rhetoricians to the seventeenth-century scientific philosophers. Of particular interest to us here are Yates' chapters on Giulio Camillo's *Memory Theatre*, which fused the Hermetic-Cabalist tradition to the art of memory. There are also chapters on the Art of Ramon Llull as a memory method, the memory systems of Giordano Bruno, and the Memory Theatre of Robert Fludd.
- "The Hermetic Tradition in Renaissance Science," in *Art, Science, and History in the Renaissance*, ed. Charles S. Singleton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967); reprinted in *Articles on Witchcraft, Magic and Demonology*, Volume 11: RENAISSANCE MAGIC, ed. Brian P. Levack (New York – London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992).
- *Theatre of the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).
  Theatre... picks up where *Art of Memory* leaves off concerning Robert Fludd and John Dee, considering both as perpetuators and propagators of "the Renaissance revival of Vitruvius." As with *Giordano Bruno* and *Art of Memory*, *Theatre of the World* "carries" Yates' series on Renaissance thought "in the direction of the English theatre, and another step towards Shakespeare."
- *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1972; rpt. 1993 and 1996).
  Yates discusses the Rosicrucian Manifestos of the early seventeenth century and the reactions which they stirred; the whole commotion was quite well entangled with the Hermetic-Cabalist tradition. In this work, Yates further emphasizes (or, as some think nowadays, exaggerates) the importance of John Dee. See the comments of Didier Kahn: "Even if the many works of Frances Yates have often shown themselves to be beneficial, and even if several of these works are now considered classics, there is no choice but to accept that *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, published in 1972, has scarcely done anything but add to the reigning confusion on the topic"—"The Rosicrucian Hoax in France (1623-24)," § PRESENT STATE OF RESEARCH ON THE ROSICRUCIAN MOVEMENT, in *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*, eds. William R. Newman and Anthony Grafton (Cambridge – London: MIT Press, 2001).

For reviews of Yates' works, along with Didier Kahn's comments mentioned above, see

- Farmer, S. A. § PROBLEMS IN YATES'S VIEW OF PICO'S MAGIC (pp. 118-132) in *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1480): The Evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems* (Tempe: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998).
- Feingold, Mordechai. "The Occult Tradition in the English Universities of the Renaissance: A Reassessment," in *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Gatti, Hilary. "Frances Yates's Hermetic Renaissance in the Documents Held in the Warburg Institute Archive," in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, volume 2, number 2 (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2002).
- Hanegraaff, Wouter. "How Hermetic Was Renaissance Hermetism?" in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, volume 15, number 2 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015).
- _____. *Lodovico Lazzarelli*: introductory chapter (discussed below, § LODOVICO LAZZARELLI).
- Idel, Moshe. "Kabbalah and Hermeticism in Dame Frances Yates's Renaissance," in *Ésotérisme, Gnoses & Imaginaire Symbolique: Mélanges offerts à Antoine Faivre* [GNOSTICA 3], eds. Richard Caron, Joscelyn Godwin, Wouter J. Hanegraaff, and Jean-Louis Viellard-Baron (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).
- Szönyi, György E. "Frances Yates and the Theatre of the World," in *This Treasure of Theatre: Shakespeare and the Arts from the Early Modern Period to the Twenty-First Century* – Essays in Honour of Jerzy Limon, edited by Marta Gibińska, Małgorzata Grzegorzewska, Jacek Fabiszak, and Agnieszka Żukowska (Gdańsk: Słowo/Obraz Terytoria, 2020), pp. 239-260.

For a "full-length biography," find *Frances Yates and the Hermetic Tradition* by Marjorie G. Jones (Lake Worth: Ibis Press, 2008). Jones' book is reviewed by Allison Coudert in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, Volume 12, Number 1 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 165-169.

DANIEL PICKERING WALKER (1914-1985)

Inevitably cited along with Yates' studies is D. P. Walker's *Spiritual and Demonic Magic: From Ficino to Campanella* (London: Notre Dame Press, 1958, rpt. 1975; rpt. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000). Between Ficino (1433-99) and Campanella (1568-1639) occurred developments of crucial importance to our line of inquiry, namely, the mixing of the demonic and the astrologic (as derived from Ficino), a mixture which turns up in one form in Agrippa's synthesis of Medieval magic, *De occulta philosophia*, but in quite another in Francesco Giorgi's *De harmonia mundi totius*.

In the first section of *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, Walker focuses on Ficino,[20] in the second on what became of his magic in the sixteenth century, and in the third on the "Telesians" (named for Bernardo Telesio, philosopher and scientist, noted less for his ideas than for his methods of empirical science) and Tommaso Campanella.

Other works by D. P. Walker:

- *The Decline of Hell: Seventeenth-Century Discussions of Eternal Torment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964).
- *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972).
- *Studies in Musical Science in the Late Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1978).
- *Unclean Spirits: Possession and Exorcism in France and England in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

[20] On Ficino's *magic*, see Brian Copenhaver, *Magic in Western Culture: From Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), PART II.

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PHILIP BEITCHMAN (1939-)

Criticisms of Joseph Blau's conclusions are sprinkled through one of the more recent books given notice here, *Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998) by Philip Beitchman, who draws on the research of the last 150 years, making full use of scholars ranging from Heinrich Grätz to Arthur Waite to Harold Bloom. Most of the contentious comments regarding Blau are derived from François Secret, whose works were among the most important sources for Beitchman. Indeed, from Beitchman's book one gets a sense of how much the English-only reader is missing in not having Secret's studies available.

Alchemy of the Word is presented in four sections: The first, "In the Beginning," traces *cabala* and its influence from the Renaissance to the present-day. Beitchman puts some emphasis on the *kabbalah* of the *Zohar*, treating a range of this central text's concepts and difficulties. Included are arresting discussions of *kabbalah*'s sexual symbolism and of the stress between (and attempted resolutions of) the notions of God's immanence and transcendence.

The second section, "The Secret of Agrippa," begins with Pico, even while calling attention (relying on Secret) to cabalistic developments which predate Pico; it goes on to Reuchlin, as one would expect. Then to Agrippa; however, Beitchman does not dwell so much on *De occulta philosophia* as on Agrippa's apparent self-refutation in *De certitudine et vanitate omnium scientarum declamatio inuectiva* (ON THE UNCERTAINTY AND VANITY OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES), which Beitchman considers a manner of further cabalistic development on Agrippa's part.

The third section, entitled "Bibliographica Kabbalistica," lists and, to one extent or another, describes a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works which treat *cabala*, whether sympathetically or otherwise. The promise of the chapter is undermined somewhat by Beitchman's inconsistent treatment of the items included and his veering off the subject-at-hand so frequently.

The final section, "The Kiss of the Spouse," deals with (as the subheading suggests) "Cabala in England (1497-1700)," discussing Shakespeare, John Dee, and Thomas Vaughan, among others.

Throughout the book, themes and methods of *kabbalah/cabala* (which is spelled "cabala" through the text, yet, peculiarly, "kaballah" through the bibliography and index) are set against the notions of modern thinkers, philosophers, and writers: Freud, Kierkegard, and Kafka, to name a few. Beitchman freely and effectively draws on Gershom Scholem, Frances Yates, (as mentioned) François Secret, Harold Bloom, Lynn Thorndike, and others to compose this ranging view of *cabala* and its diffusion.

Alchemy of the Word is not a good introductory book; it would be best to have been through some of the other studies before engaging this one, *i.e.*, Blau's *Christian Interpretation...*, and Yates' *Occult Philosophy*. It is something of a shame that Beitchman's keen observations, insights, and humor are buried in such cumbersome prose, strained with interjections and qualifiers. (I do hope that he doesn't feel that there is some form of *ars cabbalistica* in his over-interrupted sentences.) Moreover, there is Beitchman's infatuation with the word *ineluctable*, which seems to appear at least once on nearly every page of the book. All the same, there is a wealth of valuable information and fine synthesis here. In the end, the book is well worth the discomfort.[21]

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[21] "A survey of Christian Cabala that could supersede the books by Joseph L. Blau (1944) and François Secret (1958) is desirable, but *Alchemy of the Word* is not that book. Discussion of dozens of authors requires a great deal of connecting historical narrative, and in this narrative stream the short passages of explanation and evaluation rush past too rapidly. The book offers many provocative statements, many informative ones, and many that are avoidably erroneous or obscurely brief. To undertake such an ambitious task without access to Hebrew for primary sources and modern scholarship; to characterize Kabbalah by relying heavily on the old studies of A. E. Waite, Adolph Franck, and Blau; and to ignore such important recent scholarship as *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, is to attempt too much on an

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Further, see

- Beitchman's collection, *The View from Nowhere: Essays in Literature, Mysticism, and Philosophy* (Lanham – New York – Oxford: University Press of America, 2001), in particular Chapter 1, "Milton and Cabala Reconsidered," and Chapter 2, "Cabala and Literature." Portions of *The View...*, CHAPTER 1, appear as "Following Lucifer: Miltonic Evil as Gnostic Cabala," in *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies*, Volume I, ed. Arthur Versluis (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1999), at www.esoteric.msu.edu/Beitchman.html, pp. 61-78.
- Beitchman's engaging book, *The Play of the World and the Expiation of the Real: Acts, Approaches and Inebriations* (Bethesda – Dublin – Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2015), especially Chapter VIII, "Jewish Kabbalah and Christian Cabala," pp. 227-244, which takes up issues surrounding the image of the female in *kabbalah* (addressing in particular Elliot Wolfson's notion of the *male androgyne*) and how Jewish/Christian cross-influence may have played a role in forming this image.

> Beitchman on Beitchman: "Spinoza's pebble thought it was moving freely only because it had forgotten being kicked along the road. Well, do we agree with Spinoza (he wasn't there either when it all began) or the pebble? Whether we are subjects who have a say in what happens to us, or objects pushed around by forces, within and without us, beyond our control, has been argued back and forth for millennia. Beitchman's *Play of the World* picks up on this 'debate' as refracted through the prism of a variety of works and genres, from Shakespeare's *King John* of 1593 to Baudrillard's essay on 9/11 of 2001, by way of excursions into the drug overdetermination of notably 'stoned' works like Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan' and Burrough's *Naked Lunch*, then up to the mountains of mystical apologetics that move the arena of the debate beyond the materiality of cause and effect, up to 'the heavens' of the *Zohar* in frankly sacred literature, then down (just a bit) to the theatre highlands of Villiers' Axel and Russian Symbolist Theatre, in their (non)adaptation of the sacred to the profane realities of life on earth. with an excursion on the ramparts of Proust's Platonic denials, because destructive of the autonomy of art, of Sainte-Beuve's 'real life' causality approach to the appreciation of literature; then through the salutary confusion of des Forets' (Blanchot-inspired) self-deconstructing fictions, rendering the whole question of where life ends and art begins or vice-versa nugatory, so intertwined have they become, or we made them... *A fortiori* now for our online generation. You see, we still haven't decided if we have any say; only since we're still wondering, still talking (like Beckett's 'can't go on, must go on'), we've agreed to continue the conversation, *L'Entretien infini*, as Blanchot called it."
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> The Play of The World and The Expiation of The Real: Acts, Approaches and Inebriations: Beitchman, Philip: 9781936320905: Amazon.com: Books

insufficient foundation. The learning, energy and wit that the book displays could have achieved more if directed towards a more modest goal." —Arthur M. Lesley, REVIEW ESSAY: "Jews at the Time of the Renaissance," in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Volume 62, Issue 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press/The Renaissance Society of America, Fall 1999), pages 845-846.

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CHRISTIAN INTERPRETERS OF THE KABBALAH

RAMON LLULL (1232-1316)

After co-opting such *kabbalah* as was desired, most Christian Cabalists sought to transform it into a dogmatic weapon to turn back against the Jews to compel their conversion[22]—starting with Ramon Llull (ca. 1232-1316), "the first Christian to acknowledge and appreciate *kabbalah* as a tool of conversion."[23] In his book, *The Art of Conversion*, Harvey J. Hames demonstrates, however, that Llull was "not a Kabbalist, nor was he versed in any particular Kabbalistic approach."

Refer, in particular, to *The Art of Conversion*, CHAPTER THREE: "Into the Gates of Wisdom," and Hames' article, "Discourse in the Synagogues: Ramon Llull and his Dialogue with the Jews," in *Constantes y Fragmentos del Pensamiento Luliano*: *Actas del simposio sobre Ramon Llull en Trujillo, 17-20 septiembre 1994* [BEIHEFTE ZUR IBEROROMANIA, Book 12], edited by Fernando Dominguez *et al.* (Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter, 1996; reprinted 2014), pp. 99-115.

Llull has been associated with *cabala* through the work *De auditu cabbalistico*, which was erroneously attributed to him. In *The Art of Conversion*, Hames states (page 27),

> Modern scholarship has shown that this work ... was written by an Italian doctor and scholar, Pietro Mainardi (1456-1529) from Verona, who taught in Ferrara and in Padua. His point of departure seems to have been an attempt to carry out Pico della Mirandola's ideal of harmonizing the Lullian Art with the Cabala.

On Llull, see

- Eco, Umberto. *The Search for the Perfect Language* (Oxford – Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1995):

  Chapter 6. "Kabbalism and Lullism in Modern Culture," §§ MAGIC NAMES AND KABBALISTIC HEBREW, KABBALISM AND LULLISM IN THE STEGANOGRAPHIES, and LULLIAN KABBALISM (pages 117-132).

- Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. "Ramon Lull's New World Order: Esoteric Evangelism and Frontline Philosophy," in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, volume 9, number 2 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 175-194.

  Within this useful article, note in particular § THE ESOTERIC SOURCES OF LULL'S INSPIRATION (pages 186-189), where Goodrick-Clarke warily writes, "Jewish Kabbalah provides another potential source of Lull's esoteric thought." Oddly, Goodrick-Clarke makes no reference to Harvey Hames' *Art of Conversion* (Brill, 2000) despite noting a later work edited by Hames, namely, *Jews, Muslims, and Christians in and around the Crown of Aragon* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004).

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[22] Peter Forshaw presents a good case for the contention that, over time, the missionary motive in Christian *cabala* diminished; see Forshaw's "Christian Kabbalah" in *The Cambridge Handbook of Western Mysticism and Esotericism*, edited by Glenn Alexander Magee (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 143-155.

[23] Harvey J. Hames, *The Art of Conversion: Christianity and Kabbalah in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2000): page 27.

- Herrera, R. A. "Ramon Llull: Mystic Polymath," in *Mystics of the Book: Themes, Topics and Typologies*, edited by R. A. Herrera (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1993), pp. 219-235.

  Herrera offers a readable summary of Llull's life and thought as culled from numerous primary and secondary sources.

- Hillgarth, J. N. *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* [OXFORD-WARBURG STUDIES] (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

  The first part is on Llull; the second part is on those whom he influenced.

- Idel, Moshe. "Ramon Lull and Ecstatic Kabbalah," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume 51, (London: The Warburg Institute, 1988), pp. 170-174.

  Idel speculates on links between Llull's theory of *ars combinatoria* and ecstatic *kabbalah* of Abraham Abulafia, mentioning that Pico believed that the two were quite similar.

- Llull Ramon. *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Llull Reader*, edited and translated by Anthony Bonner [MYTHOS: THE PRINCETON/BOLLINGEN SERIES IN WORLD MYTHOLOGY] (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985; abridged edition, 1993).

  Passages from *The Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men*, *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*, *The Book of Beasts*, and *Ars Brevis*, with an account of Lull's thought and influence.

- Rossi, Paolo. *Logic and the Art of Memory. The Quest for a Universal Language*, translated with an introduction by Stephen Clucas [= CLAVIS UNIVERSALIS: ARTI DELLA MEMORIA E LOGICA COMBINATORIA DA LULLO A LEIBNIZ, Societa editrice il Mulino, 1986] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, and London: Althone Press, 2000):

  CHAPTER II. "Encyclopaedism and *Combinatoria* in the Sixteenth Century" (pp. 29-60).
  APPENDIX I. "The *Liber ad memoriam confirmandam* of Ramon Lull" (pp. 195-205).

- Schmidt-Biggemann, Wilhelm. *Philosophia Perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES 189] (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004):

  CHAPTER 3, § 4, "Raymond Lull's Theology of Concepts" (pp. 81-92).

- Vega, Amador. *Ramon Llull and the Secret of Life*, translated by James W. Heisig (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 2003) = *Ramon Llull y el secreto de la vida* (Madrid: Ediciones Siruela, 2002).

  Vega's study is a fine "single source" which concludes with substantial selections from Llull's writings. In the few discussions of *kabbalah*, Vega relies on Hames and Idel, suggesting that Llull's *ars combinatoria* was derived from "systems associated with the Cabala of Abraham Abulafia" (—p. 81).

From the series *Collected Works of Giordano Bruno* (see below):

- *Four Works on Llull: On the Compendious Architecture and Complementary Arts of Ramon Llull, Lullian Combinatoric Lamps, Scrutinizing the Subjects*, and *Animadversions*, translation and introduction by Scott Gosnell [COLLECTED WORKS OF GIORDANO BRUNO, volume 3] (Huginn, Muninn & Co., 2015).

DANTE ALIGHIERI (1265-1321)

In *From the Tree to the Labyrinth: Historical Studies on the Sign and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), Umberto Eco concludes CHAPTER 7, "Dante between Modistae and Kabbalah" (pp. 286-308),[24]

> "Before its rehabilitation by the Humanists, Christian notions of the Kabbalah were hazy, and it tended to be lumped together with the black arts. On the other hand, it has been suggested (Gorni 1990: ch. VII) that Dante refers a little too insistently to various divinatory and magical arts.... He [Dante] appears to have been somewhat familiar with an underground and marginalized culture of which the Kabbalah was confusedly a part, at least in popular opinion. ... The only drawback is that, in the absence of concrete proof of these contacts, this is all merely conjecture—as Busi (2004) pointed out in his review of Debenedetti Stow's (2004) book on Dante and Jewish mysticism." (—page 308)[25]

Jewish mysticism as a source for Dante has been explored in a few other works:

- Buffo, Jacopo. *Jewish Mysticism in Dante Alighieri's Works* (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2016).

  > "We can postulate a 'Dante's mysticism' thanks to its precise background, the Neoplatonic philosophy, which is shared among Occitan and Sicilian texts as well as the Jewish mysticism. From the latter the Florentine poet adopts proper techniques to reach step-by-step the intellectual ecstasy towards the Wisdom, mystic's ultimate aim, a voyage commencing from *Vita Nuova* and concluding to *Comedy* through the *Convivio*. Professor Sandra Debenedetti Stow is perhaps the first scholar who attempted to demonstrate Dante's and Stilnovists' knowledge of cabalistic methods and of Kabbalah too."
  >
  > (*Jewish Mysticism in Dante Alighieri's Works*—page 4)

- "Dante Alighieri (1265-1321)," at *Jewish Virtual Library*, § BIOGRAPHY, online at http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0005_0_04876.html.

- Forte, Valeria. FROM ROME TO JERUSALEM: THE QUEST FOR COSMIC REVELATION; JEWISH MYSTICISM IN "THE DIVINE COMEDY" (PhD diss., Dallas: University of Texas, 2014).

  > "This study will present a comparative analysis between the practices advocated by Jewish mysticism in the quest for spiritual elevation and those described by Dante in *The Divine Comedy*. This analysis will be based on the historical premise discussed by Moshe Idel, according to which, the traditions of Jewish Hekhalot literature were present in the cultural fabric of Italy from the 10th century onward."[26] (from the ABSTRACT)

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[24] "Dante between Modistae and Kabbalah" is a "reworking" of chapters from two of Eco's previous books: (1) CHAPTER 3, "The Perfect Language of Dante," in *Search for a Perfect Language* (Oxford – Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995), and (2) CHAPTER 2, "Languages in Paradise," in *Serendipities: Language and Lunacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

[25] All of Eco's references are to works in Italian:

- "Gorni 1990: ch. VII" = Guglielmo Gorni, *Lettera nome numero: L'ordine delle cose in Dante* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990)
- "Busi (2004)" = Giulio Busi, "La Qabbalah second Dante," in *Il Sole-24 Ore* (Milan: October 17, 2004), online at http://www.ilsole24ore.com/
- "Debenedetti Stow's (2004) book" = Sandra Debenedetti Stow, *Dante e la mistica ebraica* (Florence: Giuntina, 2004).

Also in Italian: Giorgio Battisoni, *Dante, Verona e la cultura ebraica* (Florence: Giuntina, 2004).

[26] Refer to Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy, 1280-1510: A Survey* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 7-8.

- Mirsky, Mark J. *Dante, Eros, and Kabbalah* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

  "My speculations on Dante and the erotic vibrations of the *Commedia* recalled to me the reading I had done in the *Zohar*, where dreams speak of knowledge of God through a spiritualized sex. I began to wonder whether Hell, Paradise, and Heaven in Dante were constructed out of similar ideas.

  "Moses de Leon, the reputed author of the *Zohar*, was dependent on Maimonides. Dante's philosophical tutor, Thomas Aquinas, was a careful student of the twelfth-century Jewish philosopher. Shlomo Pines, in the introduction to his translation of Maimonides' *The Guide of the Perplexed*, speculates on the basis of a designation of the prophet Moses in the *Inferno* that Dante had read Maimonides in Latin translation. The Neoplatonism of the thirteenth century underlay both the new mysticism of the Kabbalists and the dreams of the poets of Sicily and Bologna—texts that sought to draw together philosophic and erotic longing.

  "It was to Dante's advantage to know and absorb the lessons of the Kabbalah."

  (*Dante, Eros, and Kabbalah*—pp. 18-19)

- Stow, Sandra Debenedetti. "Abraham Abulafia's Impact on Arts of Memory and European Culture," in *How Jewish Mystical Thinking Shaped Early Modern Europe: Cabbalistic Influences on Shakespeare, Cervantes, Rabelais and Others*, edited by Yona Dureau (Lewiston – Queenston – Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2014), pages 83-120.

  "I will confine my argument to the description of the use of mental images by the Stilnovisti and Dante and to its comparison to the role mental images fulfill in Jewish mysticism, especially in the system of the Spanish kabbalist, Abraham Abulafia." (—page 85)

- _____. "The Modality of Interaction between Jewish and Christian Thought in the Middle Ages: The Problem of Free Will and Divine Wisdom in Dante Alighieri and Menahem Recanti as a Case Study," in *Interaction between Judaism and Christianity in History, Religion, Art and Literature*, edited by M. Poorthius, J. Schwartz, and J. Turner (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009), pages 165-217.

ABNER OF BURGOS (ca. 1270-1347 or 1348)

PAULUS [PABLO] DE HEREDIA (ca. 1405-ca. 1490)

There were some pre-Renaissance expressions of Christian *cabala* among the Spanish *conversos* in the late 1200s which continued until the expulsion of the late 1400s. There is not a whole lot in the English literature available on these early Spanish Cabalists, *e.g.*, Abner of Burgos (Christian name: Alfonso of Valladolid) and Paulus de Heredia.

On both Abner and Paulus:

- Scholem, Gershom. "The Beginnings of the Christian Kabbalah," in *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and Their Christian Interpreters*, edited by Joseph Dan (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1997), pp. 17-51.[27]

  While the focus of the article is Pico, Scholem discusses Burgos (pp. 26-29) and de Heredia (pp. 30-35) with mention of Pico's contemporary Abraham Farissol (p. 35).[28]

On Abner of Burgos:

- Sadik, Shalom. "Abner of Burgos," in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2014), especially ¶ 2 of § 1, "Life," and notes 2, 3, and 4, at http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/abner-burgos/
- _____. "When Maimonideans and Kabbalists Convert to Christianity," in *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 145-167; see especially pp. 149-155.

  "This article examines how three major Jewish leaders who converted to Christianity in medieval Spain—Abner of Burgos, Pablo de Santa Maria and Pedro de la Caballeria—viewed Maimonides and the kabbalists." (—ABSTRACT, page 145)
- Sirat, Colette. *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pages 308-312.

With Paulus de Heredia, we have entered the Renaissance chronologically, but Paulus was not part of the Florentine circle that inaugurated the traditional emergence—or "first wave"—of Christian *cabala*. He did, however, leave his mark.

A pair of letters in Hebrew, purportedly written by Tanna Nehuniah ben Hakanah, were "discovered"—more likely forged—translated into Latin, and commented upon by Paulus: THE EPISTLE OF SECRETS [*Iggeret ha-Sodot* OR *Epistola de secretis*] and THE DECLARATION OF TRUTH (published 1487 or 1488). These letters were put into English from Paulus' Latin by Rodney G. Dennis (Oxford: The Jericho Press, 1998); regrettably, Paulus' commentary is not included in Dennis' translation.

The Epistle represents "the first recognizable work of Christian kabbalah." It got wide exposure through being quoted in the works of Franciscan theologian Petrus Galatinus, which, in turn, influenced Athanasius Kircher (see below, §§ PETRUS GALATINUS and ATHANASIUS KIRCHER). It is worth noting, though, that Paulus' *cabala* consists largely of (1) quotes from non-existent kabbalistic works (*e.g.*, *Galerazaya*,[29] which Paulus attributed to "Rabbi Haccados," namely Rabbi HaKadosh) and (2) distorted or fake quotes from real kabbalistic sources, such as the *Zohar*.

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[27] This article was originally published in German: "Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der Christlichen Kabbala," in *Essays Presented to Leo Baeck in the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (London: East and West Library, 1954); then in French: "Considerations sur l'Histoire des debuts de la Kabbale chrétienne," in *Kabbalistes Chrétiens* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1979).

See Saverio Campanini, "Some Notes on Gershom Scholem and Christian Kabbalah," in *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought: Gershom Scholem (1897-1982): In Memoriam*, volume 2, edited by Joseph Dan (Jerusalem: Mandell Institute of Jewish Studies, 2007), English section, pages 13*-33* (the asterisks indicate "English section").

[28] On Abraham Farissol, see David B. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew: The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol* [MONOGRAPHS OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE, no. 6] (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1981—distributed by Ktav Publishing House, New York).

[29] Paulus' invented *Galerazaya* should not be confused with the mid-sixteenth-century work, *Galya Raza*, "written under the influence of dreams, visions, and illuminations possessing the power of celestial revelation" by an anonymous author. See Rachel Elior, "The Doctrine of Transmigration in *Galya Raza*," in *Essential Papers on Kabbalah*, ed. Lawrence Fine (New York – London: New York University Press, 1995), pp. 243-269.

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LODOVICO LAZZARELLI (1447-1500)

Lodovico Lazzarelli "played a central role in the rediscovery of Renaissance hermetism by Italian scholars since 1938; but he was entirely marginalized by [Frances] Yates and his name fell into oblivion after the 1960s" (—Wouter Hanegraaff, *Lodovico Lazzarelli*..., p. 2).

"Lazzarelli's integration of Jewish kabbalistic elements in a Christian-hermetic treatise [i.e., *Crater Hermetis*] makes him into one of the earliest pioneers of Christian kabbalah after Pico" (Wouter Hanegraaff, "Lazzarelli, Lodovico" in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, VOLUME II, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005).

Lodovico Lazzarelli (1447-1500): The Hermetic Writings and Related Documents, Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Ruud M. Bouthoorn [MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE TEXTS AND STUDIES, Volume 281] (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), contains all of Lazzarelli's Hermetic writings and a handful of "Related Documents" in Latin and English on facing pages. Hanegraaff provides a full introduction which at once criticizes Yates' conclusions regarding Renaissance Hermeticism and discusses Lazzarelli's life, development, and connections with Giovanni "Mercurio" da Correggio.

Also look for

- Beitchman, Philip. § RADICAL CABALA on Lazzarelli's *Crater Hermetis*, in *Alchemy of the Word*, pp. 117-120.
- Churton, Tobias. § LODOVICO LAZZARELLI – BORN-AGAIN GNOSTIC, in *The Golden Builders: Alchemists, Rosicrucians, and the First Freemasons* (Lichfield: Signal Books, 2002; rpt Boston – York Beach: Weiser Books, 2005), pp. 49-54.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter. "Sympathy for the Devil: Renaissance Magic and the Ambivalence of Idols," in *Esoterica: The Journal*, Volume II (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2000), ed. Arthur Versluis: on-line at www.esoteric.msu.edu (in particular, pp. 21-30).
- Idel, Moshe. "Hermeticism and Judaism" (§ 5), in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (Washington: Folger Books, 1988), pp. 59-76, which discusses "the well-known initiation of Ferdinand of Aragon by Ludovico Lazarelli."
- ____. § LODOVICO LAZARELLI, in CHAPTER 11 of *Golem: Jewish Magical and Mystical Traditions on the Artificial Anthropoid* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp. 175-177.
- Szönyi, György E. "A Christian-Hermetic-Judaic Initiation into the Mysteries: Lodovico Lazzarelli's *Crater Hermetis* (ca. 1493)," in *Initiation into the Mysteries: A Collection of Studies in Religion, Philosophy and the Arts*, edited by Anikó Daróczi, Enikö Sepsi, and Miklós Vassányi (Budapest – Paris, L'Hamattan Publishing/Éditions L'Harmattan, 2019), pp. 139-156.
- Walker, D. P. *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, pp. 64-72.

GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA (1463-1494)

Pico is often called the "Father of Christian Cabala" due to the incorporation of *kabbalah/cabala* into his grand synthesis of religion and philosophy of 1486, known as the *900 Theses*.

One impressive study deals with Pico's contact with *kabbalah* in great detail: *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, by Chaim Wirszubski (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), which discusses Pico's sources and, in particular, his mentor/ translator, the Sicilian convert Flavius Mithridates (see below: PICO'S MENTORS). Throughout, Pico's famous *Conclusiones Cabalisticæ* are drawn upon for analysis. The appendices to this book, of which there are twenty-three, cover points of doctrine and history connected with Pico's knowledge and development of *cabala*. It is interesting to note that Pico's main sources for *kabbalah* were Abraham Abulafia, Joseph Gikatilla, and Menahem Recanati, and that Recanati's writings contain numerous quotes from the *Zohar*. One drawback to Wirszubski's fine work: One needs to know Latin to read all the extracts from Pico and his translated sources.

See also Wirszubski's articles:

- "Giovanni Pico's Companion to Kabbalistic Symbolism," in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to Gershom G. Scholem…* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press – Hebrew University, 1967).
- "Giovanni Pico's Book of Job," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume 32 (London: The Warburg Institute – University of London, 1969).

For a complete edition of Pico's *Theses* with an annotated English translation, see Stephen A. Farmer's *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486), The Evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems* (Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Texts, 1998).

A translation of Pico's *Conclusiones Cabalisticæ* (extracted from the *900 Theses*) appears in Arthur E. Waite's *Holy Kabbalah* on pp. 445-452 (cited above in § FOUR HISTORIANS).

In English, also see Pico's *On the Dignity of Man* [aka *Oration on the Dignity of Man*], *On Being and the One, [and] Heptaplus*, translated by Charles Glenn Wallis, Paul J. W. Miller, and Douglas Carmichael respectively, with an introduction by Paul J. W. Miller [THE LIBRARY OF LIBERAL ARTS] (Indianapolis – New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965).

More recently published: *Pico della Mirandola, Oration on the Dignity of Man: A New Translation and Commentary*, eds. Francesco Borghesi, Michael Papio, and Massimo Riva (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), and Brian P. Copenhaver's sweeping *Magic and the Dignity of Man: Pico della Mirandola and His Oration in Modern Memory* (Cambridge: Belnap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019), which contradicts conventional notions regarding Pico's famous speech in the richest study on Pico's reception and reputation to date. Copenhaver includes a translation of Pico's *Oration* as APPENDIX A. This book greatly expands on Copenhaver's article, "The Secret of Pico's *Oration*: Cabala and Renaissance Philosophy," in *Midwest Studies in Philosophy*, Volume XXVI: RENAISSANCE AND EARLY MODERN PHILOSOPHY, eds. Peter A. French and Howard K. Wettstein (Boston – London: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp. 56-81.[30]

Another recent comprehensive study is Sophia Howlett's *Re-evaluating Pico: Aristotelianism, Kabbalism, and Platonism in the Philosophy of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola* [CRITICAL POLITICAL THEORY AND RADICAL PRACTICE] (Basingstoke: Springer International/Palgrave Macmillan, 2021). Howlett opens her conclusion,

> Pico's vision of a solitary journey home to God, with no return, sets him apart from his philosophical contemporaries whether Ficino's Golden Wits searching for the new Golden Age or Savinarola's piagnoni [lit. *whiners*, i.e., Savinarola's devotees] preparing for a communal end-time. He is the proponent of a

[30] My KNOTS & SPIRALS: "Pico della Mirandola: Notes on the Emergence of Christian Cabala" (2010) derives much of its argument from Copenhaver's earlier work on Pico:

- at HERMETIC KABBALAH: http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/KS/index.php
- at ACADEMIA.EDU: https://www.academia.edu/33244459/Knots_and_Spirals_I_Pico_della_Mirandola

> theological philosophy based on exceptionalism and the mystical journey of the one to the One. (—Howlett, page 209)[31]

Find also *Pico's HEPTAPLUS and Biblical Hermeneutics* by Crofton Black (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2006), "the first full-length study of" Pico's "commentary on the creation narrative of Genesis," in which "Pico adopted an esoteric hermeneutic stance characteristic of Neoplatonic and kabbalistic exegesis..." (—from the back cover of the book). Note, however, Giulio Busi's reservations about "traces of less than mature scholarship" in Black's study (*Aries*, Volume 8, Number 1 [Leiden: Brill, 2008], pp. 91-92).

For a consideration of Pico's kabbalistic sources—and for a fine, albeit brief, general account—refer to Giulio Busi's article, "'Who Does Not Wonder at this Chameleon?' The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola," in *Hebrew to Latin, Latin to Hebrew: The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism* [BERLIN STUDIES IN JUDAISM, 1], edited by Giulio Busi (Berlin: Institut für Judaistik, Freie Universität Berlin/Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2006). Also refer to "Pico's Hebrew Studies," *i.e.*, § 2 of CHAPTER 1 in Crofton Black's *Pico's* HEPTAPLUS..., noted above, and *The Library of Pico della Mirandola* by Pearl Kibre (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1966).

Further on Pico (listed chronologically):

- Blau, Joseph Leon. *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala...* (1944), CHAPTER II, "The Phoenix of His Age," pages 17-30 *et passim*.
- Roth, Cecil. *The Jews in the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1959; rpt. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965), CHAPTER SIX, "With the Humanists of Florence," pp. 111-136
- Yates, Frances. *Giordano Bruno...* (1964), CHAPTER V, "Pico della Mirandola and Cabalist Magic," pages 84-116.
- _____. *The Occult Philosophy...* (1979), CHAPTER II, "The Occult Philosophy in the Italian Renaissance: Pico della Mirandola," pages 17-22.
- Idel, Moshe. "The Magical and Neoplatonic Interpretations of the Kabbalah in the Renaissance," in both (1) *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Bernard Dov Cooperman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); and (2) *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, ed. David Ruderman (New York: New York University, 1992).
- Mebane, John S. *Renaissance Magic & the Return of the Golden Age: The Occult Tradition & Marlowe, Jonson, & Shakespeare* (Lincoln – London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989): CHAPTER 3, "Pico della Mirandola: Christian Cabala, Theurgy, and Universal Reformation."
- Manuel, Frank E. *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 1992): § PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA AND HIS JEWISH MENTORS, pages 37-44.
- Reichert, Klaus. "Pico della Mirandola and the Beginnings of Christian Kabbala," in *Mysticism, Magic, and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism*, eds. K. E. Grozinger and Joseph Dan (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995).
- Mahoney, Edward P. "Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Elia del Medigo, Nicoletto Vernia and Agostino Nifo," in *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: Convegno internazionale di Studi nel Cinquencentesimo Anniversario della Morte (1494-1994)*, a cura di Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Firenze: Leo S. Editore, 1997).
- Copenhaver, Brian. "Number, Shape, and Meaning in Pico's Christian Cabala: The Upright *Tsade*, the Closed *Mem*, and the Gaping Jaws of Azazel," in *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe*, eds. Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999).
- Thumfart, Alexander. "Readings on the Cabbala: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola," in *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the 20th Century* [PROCEEDINGS OF THE 6TH EAJS CONGRESS, Toledo 1998], Volume II: *Judaism from the Renaissance to Modern Times*, eds. Judit Targarona Borrás & Angel Sáenz-Badillos (Leiden – Boston - Köln: Brill, 1999).
- Vanden Broecke, Steven. *The Limits of Influence: Pico, Louvin, and the Crisis of Renaissance Astrology* [MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SCIENCE, VOLUME 4] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2003).
- Campanini, Saverio. "Talmud, Philosophy, and Kabbalah: A Passage from Pico della Mirandola's *Apologia* and its Source," in *"The Words of a Wise Man's Mouth are Gracious" (Qoh 10,12)* [FESTSCHRIFT FOR GÜNTER STEMBERGER ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 65TH BIRTHDAY], ed. Mauro Perani (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2005), pp. 429-448.

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[31] Note that Howlett previously published *Marsilio Ficino and His World* (Basingstoke: Springer International/Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

- Dougherty, M. V. "Pico's *Heptaplus* and Biblical Hermeneutics" (review of Crofton Black's *Pico's* HEPTAPLUS *and Biblical Hermeneutics*—noted above), in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Volume 60, Number 2 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007).
- Idel, Moshe. *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* [THE KOGOD LIBRARY OF JUDAIC STUDIES 5] (London – New York: Shalom Hartman Institute – Continuum, 2007): Chapter 5, § 1. GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA AND SONSHIP, pp. 507-514.
- Stuckrad, Kochu von. "Christian Kabbalah and Anti-Jewish Polemics: Pico in Context," in *Polemical Encounters: Esoteric Discourse and Its Others*, eds. Olav Hammer and Kocku von Stuckrad [ARIES BOOK SERIES: TEXTS AND STUDIES IN WESTERN MYSTICISM, Vol. 6] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).
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  Celestial Intelligences, beautifully designed by Peter Uccello, includes a number of Uccello's illustrations, the most assertive of which have nothing to do with the subject matter of the book, except, perhaps, in the mind of the artist. They produce a distraction and seem an ill-fitted indulgence.
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  Gianfrancesco was the nephew of Giovanni, our subject. He penned the only contemporary account of the famed but short-lived "Prince of Concordia." As in Copenhaver's *Magic and the Dignity of Man* (see above, p. 21), this volume contains Pico's *Oration*, though here both the original Latin and Copenhaver's English of are shown on facing pages. Also, as in Copenhaver's previous volume, there is an appendix of "Selections from Pico's *900 Conclusions*.

Also see ADDENDUM A: ITEMS OF INTEREST: "Couliano: *Eros and Magic*," "Idel: *Ascensions...*," "Idel: 'Prisca Theologia...,'" "Kristeller," "Maxwell-Stuart," "Quispel," "Schmidt-Biggemann," "Wind," and "Zinberg."

For an excellent bibliography—more extensive than mine here and periodically updated—listing both translations and studies, refer to "Pico in English: The Works of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) with a "List of Studies and Commentaries," Compiled by M. V. Dougherty," online at http://www.mvdougherty.com/pico.htm.

PICO'S MENTORS

Flavius Mithridates (Christian name: Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada – flourished 1450-1500):

A project under the general editorship of Giulio Busi offers a selection of Flavius Mithridates' translations of kabbalistic works as commissioned by Pico: THE KABBALISTIC LIBRARY OF GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA – VOLUMES 1 through 5: Torino: Nino Aragno Editore; VOLUME 6: Castiglione delle Stiviere: Fondazione Palazzo Bondoni Pastorio.

- VOLUME 1: *The Great Parchment: Flavius Mithridates' Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, ed. Giulio Busi, with Simonetta Bondoni and Saverio Campanini (2004)—a text, not treated by Wirszubski in *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, which has been all but unknown until recently.[32]
- VOLUME 2: *The Book Bahir: Flavius Mithridates Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, ed. Saverio Campanini (2005).
- VOLUME 3: *Menahem Recanati: Commentary on the Daily Prayers – Flavius Mithridates' Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, edited with introduction and notes by Giacomo Corazzol (2008)—the only English-language source for any of Recanati's writings, accompanied by a full introduction on Recanati and his works.
- VOLUME 4: *Yosef Giqatilla: The Book of Punctuation – Flavius Mithridates' Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, edited with introduction and notes by Annett Martini (2010).
- VOLUME 5: *The Gate of Heaven – Flavius Mithridates' Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Translation*, edited with introduction and notes by Susanne Jurgan and Saverio Campanini with a Text on Pico by Giulio Busi (2012)—not the work by Gikatilla. "[P]robably written in Italy around the end of the 14th century by an author unknown to us" (—p. 11).
- VOLUME 6: *Four Short Kabbalistic Treatises*, Ašer ben David, Peruš Šem haMeforaš / Isaac ben Jacob ha-Kohen, 'Inyan Gadol / two Commentaries on the Ten Sefirot, *Flavius Mithridates' Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, edited by Saverio Campanini (2019).

For brief reviews of Corazzol's *Menahem Recanati* and Martini's *Yosef Giqatilla*, see ADDENDUM B of the present paper (the URL for the ADDENDA is given at the head of this paper).

On Mithridates' translations, see also

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Further regarding Mithridates and Pico, along with Wirszubski's *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter*... (noted above), refer to CHAPTER 4 of David B. Ruderman's *World of a Renaissance*

[32] On the "Great Parchment," *i.e.*, the *Yeriah Gedolah*, see the articles by Ezra Brand: "The *Yeriah Gedolah*: An Allusive Rendering of the Sefirot" and "Towards Decoding *Ha-Yeriah ha-Gedolah* (The Great Parchment), a Cryptic 14th Century Italian Kabbalistic Text," both of which can be found at
https://www.academia.edu/search?utf8=%E2%9C%93&q=yeriah+gedolah
The latter can also be found at The Seforim Blog: https://seforimblog.com/2019/07/ha-yeriah-ha-gedolah/

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Jew: The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1981).

Mithridates' *Sermo de Passione Domini*, a sermon on the Passion delivered before Pope Sixtus IV, Good Friday, 1481, was edited with notes and commentary by Chaim Wirszubski (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1963). The text is in its original Latin; the 76-page introduction is in English, though most citations are in Latin. Wirszubski shows that the thrust of Mithridates' sermon derives, unacknowledged, from Raymundus Martini's *Pugio Fidei* (DAGGER OF FAITH, ca. 1280). Wirszubski points out, however, that in the *Sermo* there is "a shift from refutation of Judaism to proof of Christianity" (—Frances Yate's review of Wirszubski's edition of *Sermo*, "Flavius Mithridates," which is CHAPTER 7 of *Renaissance and Reform: The Italian Contribution*, *COLLECTED ESSAYS*, VOL. II [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983]).

List of kabbalistic works translated by Mithridates at the behest of Pico della Mirandola, ca. 1486 (*incomplete*):

[**black**] = **THE KABBALISTIC LIBRARY OF GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA [KL*]**
[blue] = cited in Wirzsubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*

- Abulafia - *Liber Combinationum* "Book of Permutations"
- Abulafia - *Liber de secretis legis* – "Book of the Secrets of the Torah" – *Sitrei Torah*
- Abulafia - *Liber Redemptionis* "Book of Redemption" – *Sefer Ge'ulah*
- Abulafia - *Summa brevis Cabaale que intitulatur Rabi Ieude*
- **Ašer ben David, *Peruš Šem haMeforaš* [KL[6]]**
- Axelrad - *Liber Corona nominis bonis* - "Book of the Crown of the Good Name"
- Azriel - *Quaestiones super de decem Numerationibus* - "Questions on the Ten Numbers (*Sefirot*)"
- *Comentum Sepher Iesire*
- *Corona Nominis*
- *De Proportione Divinitatis – Ma'areket ha-'Elohut*
- ***Gate of Heaven* [KL[5]]** – also cited in Wirzsubski
- **Gikatilla - *Expositio secretorum punctuationis – Sefer ha-Niqqud* [KL[4]]**
- Gikatilla - *Portae Iustitiae* – "Gates of Justice" – *Sha'are Tzedek*
- ***Great Parchment* [KL[1]]**
- **Isaac ben Jacob ha-Kohen, 'Inyan Gadol [KL[6]]**
- *Libellus de expositione nominis Tetragrammaton* - "Brief Explanation of the Name Tetragrammaton"
- *Libellus de expositione tredecim proprietatum* - "Brief Explanation of the Thirteen Properties"
- *Libellus de secretis legis manifestandis edicto a sancto doctore* - "Brief Secrets of the Torah Manifesting the Edict of the Holy Teacher"
- ***Liber Bahir* - "Book of Brightness" [KL[2]]**
- *Liber de radicibus vel terminis Cabala* - "Book of Roots and Bounds" – *Sefer ha-Šorašim*
- ***Peruš 'al 'Eser Sefirot* I & II [KL[6]]**
- Recanati – "Commentary on the Pentateuch" [translation lost]
- **Recanati - *Liber de secretis Orationum et Benedicinum Cabale* - "Book of the Secrets of Prayer..." (*Perush ha-Tefillot*) [KL[3]]**
- *Shaar ha-shamayim*

Yohanan ben Isaac Alemanno (ca. 1435-ca. 1505):

The word that always seems to turn up in descriptions of Alemanno is *eclectic*. He drew on a range of medieval sources, from Maimonides to Averrös, metaphysics to magic, rationalism to mysticism. Through his contact with the Florentine Academy, he left his mark on the development of Christian *kabbalah*.

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- Idel, Moshe. "The Anthropology of Yohanan Alemanno: Sources and Influences," in *Topoi: An International Review of Philosophy*, vol. 7, no. 3 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1988), pp. 201-210.
- _____. *Absorbing Perfections: Kabbalah and Interpretation* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2002): APPENDIX 6, III. COSMIC BOOK AND ASTROLOGY IN RENAISSANCE FLORENCE, pp. 487-492
- *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism: Pillars, Lines, and Ladders* (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2005): CHAPTER 5, "The Neoplatonic Path for Dead Souls: Medieval Philosophy, Kabbalah and Renaissance," which begins with a discussion of Neoplatonic Arabic texts then takes the reader through early *kabbalah* and the *Zohar* to Alemanno, Pico, Reuchlin, and Bruno.
- _____. "Hermeticism and Judaism," in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (Washington: Folger Books, 1988).
- _____. *Kabbalah in Italy, 1280-1510: A Survey* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2011).
  Chapter 14. "R. Yohanan ben Yitzhaq Alemanno," pp. 177-191.
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- _____. § R. YOHANAN BEN ISAAC ALEMANNO, in *Golem: Jewish Magical and Mystical Traditions on the Artificial Anthropoind* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp. 167-175.
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- _____. "THE SONG OF SOLOMON'S ASCENTS" BY YOHANAN ALEMANNO: LOVE AND HUMAN PERFECTION ACCORDING TO A JEWISH COLLEAGUE OF PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA. Ph.D. dissertation (Berkeley: University of California, 1976).

  In *The Song of Solomon's Ascents* (SHIR HA-MA'ALOT LI-SHLOMO), "drawing from the most diverse sources, Alemanno both defined his conception of the complete wise man and praised an historical figure as the model for Jewish virtue in fifteenth-century Italy. The *Song of Solomon's*

Ascents is, in addition, a compendium of the syncretistic teachings of Alemanno, one of the eminent Jewish teachers of his time, and a figure notable to investigators of the Florentine Platonists as Pico's consultant on Hebrew letters after 1488." (—pp. 2-3) ... Along with background material, Lesley offers a detailed (153-page) summary of *The Song of Solomon's Ascents* stating, "The length, embellishment and verbosity of Alemanno's Hebrew composition precluded making a translation. ... [I]t is to be hoped that pruning can better expose the sense and structure of the original." (—p. 2)

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- _____. "On the Wisdom of Language—Yohanan Alemanno on the Word of God and the Simulacrum of Creation" (pp. 25-43), and "Hylomorphich Time—Yohannan Alemanno on Form, Matter, and the Days of Creation" (pages 99-116), in *The Beginning of the World in Renaissance Jewish Thought: MA'ASEH BERESHIT in Italian Jewish Philosophy and Kabbalah, 1492-1535* [SUPPLEMENTS TO THE JOURNAL OF JEWISH THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY, volume 27] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2016).
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  Chapter 2, § A VISIT TO FLORENCE (pp. 44-51) discusses Yohanan Alemanno and his kabbalistic pursuits, Pico della Mirandola's contact with him, and "the misuse of Kabbalah for Christian missionizing."

Elijah del Medigo (ca. 1458-ca. 1493):

While del Medigo was an authority on Aristotelian philosophy, his writings suggest that he was a strict Averroist. And though he is known primarily for his expertise in philosophy, he had a deep knowledge of rabbinic works.

It is interesting to note the list of books that del Medigo recommended to Pico della Mirandola. In spite of his being a critic of *kabbalah*—both Jewish and Christian—del Medigo provided a well-chosen set of titles that targeted Pico's desire to learn the fundamentals of *kabbalah*:

> "...the *Zohar*, Yishaq of Acco's *Me'irot 'enayim*, Yosef Giqatilla's *Sa'are orah*, the *Commentary to the Torah* by Menahem Recanati, the *Ma'areket ha-Elohut*, and one (or more) unspecified *Commentaries to the Sefer yesirah* ... the most evident omission being Avraham Abulafia's works."
>
> —Giulio Busi, "'Who Does Not Wonder at this Chameleon?' The Kabbalistic Library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola," in *Hebrew to Latin, Latin to Hebrew: The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism* [BERLIN STUDIES IN JUDAISM, 1], edited by Giulio Busi (Berlin: Institut für Judaistik, Freie Universität Berlin / Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2006), pages 172-173.

Yet del Medigo disputed the antiquity of *kabbalah* and the *Zohar* and did not believe that Shimon bar Yochai was the author of it on the basis of the anachronisms it contains. Further, del Medigo was critical of Pico for blending "occult" doctrines from *kabbalah* and magic with Neoplatonic philosophy.

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  Bland discusses del Medigo's remarks on Kabbalah and its adherents found in four of his works, one of which (his commentary to Averroes' *De substantia orbis*) was originally composed in Latin for Pico's benefit.
- Frank, Daniel H. and Leaman, Oliver (eds). *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 416-420: § THE PERSISTENCE OF MEDIEVAL JEWISH ARISTOTLIANISM IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE: ELIJAH DEL MEDIGO.
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JOHANNES REUCHLIN (1455-1522)

Johannes Reuchlin, whose main sources for *kabbalah* were the writings of Menachem Recanati (*Commentary on the Torah*, *Commentary on the Daily Prayers*) and Joseph Gikatilla (*Sha'are Orah*, *Ginnat 'Egoz*), wrote two books on *cabala*.

The first, *De verbo mirifico* (1494), speaks of the "wonder-working word," YHShVH, the miraculous name of Jesus derived from the *tetragrammaton* of the Old Testament, YHVH, with the letter *shin* added in its midst. Refer to Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann's "History and Prehistory of the Cabala of JHSVH," In *Hebrew to Latin, Latin to Hebrew: The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism* [BERLIN STUDIES IN JUDAISM, 1], ed. Giulio Busi (Berlin: Institut für Judaistik, Freie Universität Berlin – Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2006), 223-241.

The second, *De arte cabalistica* (1516), is a broader, more informed excursion into various kabbalistic concerns, which appeared in English (translated by Martin and Sarah Goodman) in 1983 (New York: Abaris Books, Inc.); this translation was reprinted with a new introduction by Moshe Idel in 1993 (Lincoln: Bison Books, University of Nebraska Press) as *On the Art of the Kabbalah*.

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  Nineteen historic personages figure into Oberman's discussion. Along with Luther, Calvin, and Erasmus, we find Reuchlin and his rival Johannes Pfefferkorn. Oberman writes (p. 29), "The modern picture of Reuchlin as a friend of the Jews, for all its accessibility, simply does not stand up. Reuchlin was firmly convinced of the collective guilt of the Jews...."
- Idel, Moshe. § JOHANNES REUCHLIN in CHAPTER 11 of *Golem: Jewish Magical and Mystical Traditions on the Artificial Anthropoid* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp. 177-179.
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Refer to ADDENDUM A, ITEMS OF INTEREST: "Idel: 'Kabbalah, Hierogryphicity and Hieroglyphs,'" "Maxwell-Stuart," "Percival," "Schmidt-Biggemann," and "Zinberg."

Reuchlin's list of kabbalistic texts in *De arte cabalistica* : id est, de divinae revelationis, ad salvtiferam Dei, et formarvm separatarum contemplationem traditae, symbolica receptione, libri III, [Basileae? : Ex officina H. Petrina?, 1572?-73?—first published: 1517], pp. 13^{v}-14^{v}:

1. *On the Creation*, i.e., *Sefer Yezirah*
2. *Zohar*
3. *Ha Bahir*
4. "Abraham Abulafia's books on Kabbalah"
5. "Ramban's distinguished commentaries" (Rabbi Moses ben Nahman, Nahmanides)
6. "the commentaries of Rabbi Moses ben Nahman's "very learned pupil," Rabbi Menahem ben Benjamin Recanati"
7. Rambam, *Guide of the Perplexed* (Rabbi Moses ben Maimon, Maimonides)
8. Joseph Gikatilla, *The Gates of Righteousness*, *The Gate of Light*, *The Nut Garden*
9. Sa'adia in Asia, *Articles of Belief* [= *Beliefs and Opinions*] (Sa'adia Gaon)
10. Abraham Ibn Ezra, *The Mystery of the Law*, *The Unity*
11. "a book of Rabbi Hamai bar Hanina ... and another ... called *Speculations*"
12. Azriel of Gerona, *Explanation of Holiness*
13. Rabbi Akiva, *Names* and *Explanation of the Alphabet*
14. Rabbi Ama, *The Gate of Mysteries* of Psalm 19
15. Azriel of Gerona, *On Mysteries*, *Book of Abstruse Questions*, and *Little Book of the Cabala*
16. Azriel of Gerona, *On the Way Faith and Atonement*
17. Rabbi Joseph Albo, *The Roots*
18. Rabbi Judah Halevi, *Alkuzari* [= *Kuzari*]
19. Jacob Cohen, commentary on *Sefer Yezirah*, including Rabbi Isaac [ben Samuel], *Explanation of the Name of God*
20. Todros ben Joseph Abulafia, on "the ten Cabalistic enumerations"

Some sources for Reuchlin that do not appear on his list:

- (anon.) *Ruach Chen – Spiritus gratiae* [= *Spirit of Grace*]
- (anon.) *Hacadma*
- Rabbi Levi ben Gersom, "on the difference between Gabriel and Michael"
- Paulus de Heredia, *Be-Sefer Igeret ha-Sodot* [= *Book of the Epistle of Secrets*]
- *Jerusalem Targum*
- *Targum Jonathan*

JACQUES LEFÈVRE D'ÉTAPLES (ca. 1455-1536)

"Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples can be regarded as one of the most versatile editors of classical works of philosophy and religion from the learned world of French humanism" (—E. Oosterwijk-Ritman, '*Drink from this Fountain*', page 13). Along with his many editions of philosophical works, Lefèvre compiled a volume of Llull's "thoughts," penned a defense of Reuchlin, and wrote on natural magic and *cabala*. While he remained a Roman Catholic, he is considered a forerunner of Reformation thought in France. He was, indeed, accused by the Sorbonne faculty of theology of being "a Lutheran."

As for the narrow selection of English sources addressing Lefèvre on magic and *cabala*, find the following:

- Copenhaver, Brian P. "Lefevre d'Etaples, Symphorien Champier, and the Secret Names of God," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume Forty (London: The Warburg Institute – University of London, 1977).

  > "Here my intention is simply to shed light on the significance and depth of the work [i.e., Lefevre's *De magica naturali*] by studying Lefevre's development of one Cabalist theme—the secret names of God—in the final chapters of book two of *De magica naturali*" (p. 119).

  Copenhaver asserts that *De magica naturali* (1492-94) was the first description of *cabala* in Renaissance France as a correction to François Secret's contention that Symphorien Champier's *Ars parva Galeni* (1516) was "la premiere presentation de la kabbale par un François" (in *Les Kabbalistes Chretiens de la Renaissance* [Paris: Dunod, 1964] p. 152).
- '*Drink from this Fountain*': *Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. Inspired humanist and dedicated editor*, "an exhibition to honour Frans A. Janssen, retired director and at present member of the Board...," text and catalogue: Theodor Harmsen (Amsterdam: Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, 2004).
- Evans, Kathryn LeFevers. *DE MAGIA NATURALI, ON NATURAL MAGIC*, BY JACQUES LEFÈVRE D'ÉTAPLES: COINCIDENCE OF OPPOSITES, THE TRINITY, AND *PRISCA THEOLOGIA*, MA thesis (San Marcos: California State University, 2006): CHAPTER III, "Methodology *&* *Book II* on Christian Kabbalah," pages 59-113.
- Kieckhefer, Richard. "Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Conception of Natural Magic," in *La magia nell'Europa moderna*, edited by Fabrizio Meroi and Elisabetta Scapparone (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2007), pages 63–78.
- Thorndike, Lynn. *History of Magic and Experimental Science* [HISTORY OF SCIENCE PUBLICATIONS, New Series IV] (New York: Columbia University Press). VOLUME IV. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (1934; 4th printing 1966).

  Chapter LX, "Magic in Dispute, II: Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, Reuchlin, Trithemius"
- Walker, D. P. *The Ancient Theology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972).
  CHAPTER 3. "The Ancient Theology in Sixteenth-Century France," §§ I-VI, pages 63-110.

PETRUS GALATINUS [*or* PIETRO COLONNA GALATINO] (ca. 1460–ca. 1540)

The Franciscan convert Galatinus compiled *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* [ON THE SECRETS OF CATHOLIC TRUTH], 12 volumes, ([Ortona]: Impressum vero Orthonae maris, summa cum diligentia per Hieronymum Suncinum, 1518, and Basel: Johann Herwagen, 1561) for the purpose of showing that "Judaism before Christ *was* Christianity" (—Beitchman, *Alchemy…*, p. 120). *De arcanis…* offers excerpts from the *Zohar*, and it quotes and defends Reuchlin's *De arte cabalista*. *De arcanis…*, in fact, presents a dialogue between Reuchlin and Belgian theologian and controversialist Jakob van Hoogstraeten (ca. 1460-1527). It also introduces passages from Paulus de Heredia's *Epistola de secretis*, in particular those from the spurious kabbalistic text *Galerazaya* by the fictional Rabbenus Haccados (see page 19 above). *De arcanis…*, however, is more generally based on the cabalistic *Apocalypsis nova* (Veneto, ca. 1500), attributed to one Amadeus of Portugal (= Amadeo Menez da Sylva—ca. 1431-1482), but even more on Dominican Friar Raymundus Martini's handbook for missionizers, *Pugio fidei* (DAGGER OF FAITH—composed ca. 1280),[33] and Porchetto de Salvatici's *Victoria adversus impios Hebraeos* (VICTORY OVER THE IMPIOUS HEBREWS—1303, printed in Paris, 1520).

In English, we find mostly shreds here and there; however, see

- Beitchman, Philip. *Alchemy of the Word*, pp. 120-121 *et passim*.
- Hamilton, Alisair. *The Apocryphal Apocalypse: The Reception of the Second Book of Esdra (4 Ezra) from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* [OXFORD-WARBURG STUDIES] (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) CHAPTER 2, "Prophecy and Kabbalism," especially pp. 49-53.
- Leftley, S. A. MILLENARIAN THOUGHT IN RENAISSANCE ROME WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PIETRO GALATINO (c.1464-c.1540) AND EGIDIO DA VITERBO (c. 1469-1532) ([UK]: University of Bristol, 1996).
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- _____. "The Early Christian Kabbalists and the Tetragrammaton," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), pages 329-331.

In French:

- Gorny, Leon. *La Kabbale* (Paris: Pierre Belfond, 1977), § PIERRE GALATIN, pp. 159-160.
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- Secret, F[rançois]. *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964), § AUGUSTIN GIUSTINIANI ET PIERRE GALATIN, pp. 102-105 *et passim*.
- _____. *Le Zôhar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Durlacher, 1958), § II, "Le Zôhar dans le *Psalterium* de Giustiniani et dans le *De Arcanis catholicae veritatis* de Galatin," pp. 30-34.

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[33] Refer to Syds Wiersma, "The Dynamic of Religious Polemics: The Case of Ramond Martin (ca. 1220-ca. 1285), in *Interaction between Judaism and Christianity in History, Religion, Art and Literature*, edited by M. Poorthius, J. Schwartz, and J. Turner (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009), pages 197-217; and Harvey J. Hames, "Reason and Faith: Inter-religious Polemic and Christian Identity in the Thirteenth Century," and Görge K. Hasselhoff, "Self-definition, Apology, and the Jew Moses Maimonides: Thomas Aquinas, Raymundus Martini, Meister Eckhart, Nicholas of Lyra," both in *Religious Apologetics – Philosophical Argumentation*, edited by Yossef Schwartz and Volkhard Krech (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), pages 285-316.

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THE PROBLEM OF LEONE EBREO'S *DIALOGHI*

A BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH A SELECTION OF QUOTES

Was Leone a philosopher, a Jewish philosopher, or simply a writer with a philosophical background? That question remains open to debate.
—Giuseppe Veltri, *Renaissance Philosophy in Jewish Garb* (2009), page 61

Yehudah (or Judah) Abravanel (or Abrabanel) (ca. 1460-ca. 1530), called Leone Ebreo (Leon Hebraeus, Leo the Hebrew), was the son of Isaac Abravanel (1437-1508), a highly-regarded philosopher and exegete.

> [Yohanan] Alemanno, Pico, [Isaac] Abravenel and Ebreo were all involved in the same intellectual and social circles, and they seem to have mutually influenced each other.
> —Brian Ogren, *The Beginning of the World...*, page 3.[34]

Ebreo is best known for his *Dialoghi d'amore* (DIALOGUES ON LOVE), written around 1500. The *Dialoghi* were included in Pistorius' Latin compendium *Artis cabalisticæ...*, TOMUS I (Basle: 1587) (see below, page 66). Because they appeared in what was ostensibly a *cabalistic* digest, the *Dialoghi* greatly contributed to the Christian impression of *kabbalah* and unduly categorized Ebreo as a *kabbalist*—hence the inclusion of Ebreo in our line of "Christian interpreters."

There are two English translations of the *Dialoghi*:

- *The Philosophy of Love (Dialoghi d'Amore)*, translated into English by F. Friedeberg-Seeley and Jean H. Barnes, with an introduction by Cecil Roth (London: The Soncino Press, 1937).
- *Dialogues of Love* [THE LORENZO DA PONTE ITALIAN LIBRARY], translated by Cosmos Damian Bacich and Rossella Pescatori; introduction and notes by Rossella Pescatori (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

Indications of the problems surrounding Ebreo's *Dialoghi* are reflected in the quotes from the sources listed.

[Abravanel, Judah] Ebreo, Leone. *The Philosophy of Love (Dialoghi d'Amore)*, translated into English by F. Friedeberg-Seeley and Jean H. Barnes, with an introduction by Cecil Roth (London: The Soncino Press, 1937); page 406 [*P* = Philo speaking]:

> *P.* You know that the corporeal world proceeds from the incorporeal as the true effect from its cause and creator. None the less the corporeal does not inherit the perfection of the spiritual, and you may see how defective is the body compared with the mind. And if you find many imperfections in the body such as dimension, division and, in certain cases, mutation and corruption, you must not therefore conclude that these defects pre-exist in the intellectual causes, but that they are in the effect only in so far as it falls short of the cause. Do not, therefore, believe that the plurality, division and diversity in earthly things pre-exists in the Ideal knowledge of them, for that which is one and indivisible in the divine intellect is multiplied ideally relative to the parts of the world produced by it, and in relation to these parts the Ideas are many, although one and indivisible with the divine intellect.

Excerpts of the Soncino translation are posted on the Internet at
http://www48.homepage.villanova.edu/emmet.mclaughlin/Renaissance%20Philosophy.htm

Part A	(pp. 205-229)
Part B	(pp. 246-276)
Part C	(pp. 298-355)
Part D	(pp. 354-413)
Part E	(pp. 414-468)

[34] Cited in full below.

Baron, Salo Wittmayer *A Social and Religious History of the Jews: Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion 1200-1650*, VOLUME XIII: INQUISITION, RENAISSANCE, AND REFORMATION (New York – London: Columbia University Press/Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1969), p. 193-194.

> Immediately upon publication it [*Dialoghi 'dAmore*] was accepted as a mojor contribution to Renaissance philosophy. It was so remarkable an example of non-sectarian philosophy that, were it not for the author's name, one might mistake it for the work of a non-Jew.

Beitchman, Philip. *Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998); page 145:

> Cabala in Leo the Hebrew's widely known book *On Love* has had the reputation of being a matter of image rather than substance, blending into a genre of Neoplatonic love poetry, with a tincture of mysticism—accounting for its popularity, in several languages, during the Renaissance and after.

Copenhaver, Brian P. "Doubt and Innovation," in *The Columbia History of Western Philosophy*, edited by Richard H. Popkin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); page 320:

> Having read Ficino and Leone Ebreo, Bruno decided that the hero's love is a frenzy for what cannot be had but must always be pursued in a philosophical chase through sense, reason, and mind, ever approaching but never attaining the light of the One.

_____. FOREWORD to *Dialogues of Love* (Toronto: 2009—noted above); page xiv:

> Judah [Abravanel] could have known this text [*Zohar* (1:4a, 2:7b, 3:21b)]—and many others that might illuminate his *Dialogues*—either from the *Zohar* itself or, more likely, from the Zoharic commentary on the Pentateuch written around 1300 by Menahem Recanati. In the case of the Cabala, however, God lives nowhere but in the details, in the intricate threads of symbols and images from which the Cabalists weave their *midrashim*. General associations, such as those suggested above between the *Sefirot* and the major agents of Judah's cosmology, are often possible but never conclusive.

Davidson, Herbert. "Medieval Jewish Philosophy in the Sixteenth Century," in *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Bernard Dov Cooperman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); page 125:

> The label "Renaissance" is often affixed to Leone Ebreo's philosophic activity. Although perhaps applicable to Leone when considered as a litterateur, the label is highly doubtful where the strictly philosophic sections of his work are concerned; and for that matter, it is debatable whether the label "Renaissance" has any legitimate application at all for the history of European philosophy, whether anything in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European thought deserves to be singled out as distinctively "Renaissance" philosophy. ...
>
> When Leone first treats the subject of the dependence of the universe on its cause, his discussion is wholly circumscribed by what he had learnt from Avicenna and Averroes.

Dethier, Hubert. "Love and Intellect in Leone Ebreo: The Joys and Pains of Human Passion; Reflections on his Critical Panpsychism and Theory of 'Extraordinary Reason,'" in *Neoplatonism and Jewish Thought*, edited by Lenn E. Goodman (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992); page 353:

> Ordinary (practical) reason fluctuates between extremes, its goal being the preservation of life; extraordinary (contemplative) reason disregards normal conventions of prejudice and often leads to alienation and self-sacrifice. Comprising both disinterested love and the desire to "acquire" or "attain" the beloved, its ambivalence is personified in the figure of Sophia*, the reluctant mistress of the *Dialogues*. The ordinary reasonableness of the day to day world is challenged here by the radical intransigence of a higher love, which bears with it a higher standard of reason. The philosophically exalted blend of love and desire is the source of Philo's* paradoxical desire to both live and die. (Dethier's parentheses.)

* The three *Dialoghi* are the conversations between Philo, the "lover," and Sophia, the "beloved," ≈ WISDOM.

Gibbons, B. J. *Gender in Mystical and Occult Thought: Behmenism and its Development in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); page 71:

> An important source of Christian Cabalism was Leone Ebreo's *Dialoghi d'amore*, a popular work throughout sixteenth-century Europe. The *Dialoghi* themselves are closer to Neoplatonism than Jewish Cabalism, but they were thereby able to convey Cabalist ideas in a way accessible to Renaissance Christian intellectuals.

Gluck, Andrew L. *Judah Abrabanel's Philosophy of Love and Kabbalah*, with a foreword by Menachem Kellner (Lewiston-Queenston-Lampeter: The Edwin Mellon Press, 2012); page 624:

> Regarding Kabbalah, however, whatever obvious resemblances exist might perhaps have been the result of common influences rather than direct dependence, though he was definitely knowledgeable about and interested in Kabbalah. His explicit questioning of the legitimacy of kabbalistic tradition is somewhat jarring alongside his apparently implicit assumption regarding the legitimacy of other esoteric traditions (such as the Hermetic one). In fact, it seems strange that he should specifically mention Kabbalah at all since so many other influences are left unacknowledged. That might indicate a special fondness for or interest in Kabbalah or it might reveal an especially critical stance towards it.

Hughes, Aaron. "Judah Abrabanel," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta (Winter 2005 Edition); on-line at http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2005/entries/abrabanel/:

> … given the evidence, an Italian original for the work seems most likely since (1) all the manuscripts, including Mariano Lenzi's edition of 1535, are in Italian; (2) it seems that Judah had lived in Italy for close to twenty years by the time that he wrote the *Dialoghi* (more than enough time for someone to gain an intimate knowledge of Italian, especially someone proficient in Latin and Spanish vernaculars); (3) neither later Jewish authors, e.g., Azaria de'Rossi, nor non-Jewish authors, e.g., Tullia d'Aragona, had any reason to suspect that it was written in a language other than Italian; (4) if we assume the later date of 1511-1512, many non-Tuscan Italian authors of this period called for the adoption of Tuscan as a literary language, owing primarily to the fact that this was the language of Petrarch (1304-1374) and Boccaccio (1313-1375); and, (5) as for the question of the Tuscan dialect of the work, many Italian printers of the early sixteenth century "Tuscanized" Italian according to set criteria. Moreover, many Jewish authors in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries increasingly resorted to Romance vernaculars in order to attract a Jewish audience (including *conversos* and ex-*conversos*), which no longer understood Hebrew.

Idel, Moshe. "The Myth of the Androgyne in Leone Ebreo's *Dialoghi d'Amore* and its Cultural Implications," in *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts*, Volume Fifteen, edited by Daniel Abrams and Avraham Elqayam (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2006); pages 78-9, 80:

> In this article I will deal with the encounter between a Spanish Jewish thinker, Leone Ebreo (Judah Abravanel), and the Platonic and Neoplatonic corpus translated and interpreted by Marsilio Ficino. As important as the Spanish background was for his thought and for his modes of acculturation in the Florentine Renaissance, it was the exposure to new material that sparked the creativity that culminated in Ebreo's *Dialoghi d'Amore*. The more inertial culture of Spain of that period could not induce such an intellectual achievement. Nevertheless, and this is the main point in my discussion below, the Spanish background served at times as a grid for reading of even a seminal Platonic theme.
>
> Leon Ebreo's book *Dialoghi d'amore* is one of the few major Jewish philosophical contributions to European thought written in the Middle Ages; it was written and printed in several Romance languages decades before a Hebrew translation was made and printed. … Ebreo's book can be defined as the most accomplished Neoplatonic treatise in Judaism after ibn Gabirol's *magnum opus Fons Vitae*, composed because of his encounter with Florentine Renaissance.

_____. *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* (London – New York: Continuum, 2007): Chapter 5, § 2. NON-CHRISTOLOGICAL SONS IN RENAISSANCE JEWISH THINKERS, page 515:

> … Ebreo combines a Neo-Platonic emanational view of the emergence of reality with a view that resorts to sexual imagery even when discussing the highest entities, an approach that may reflect some form of kabbalistic theosophy. Though Ebreo was not a Kabbalist, at times he nevertheless used kabbalistic views in his book. Hence, he was conceived of as a Kabbalist, his book was printed in a collection of kabbalistic books entitled *Ars Cabalistica*, and he is quoted as a Kabbalist.

Ivry, Alfred. "Remnants of Jewish Averroism in the Renaissance," in *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Bernard Dov Cooperman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); page 247:

> Ebreo is, however, more of an Aristotelian, and more of an Averroist, than he would care to admit. Despite his insistence on the significance of love as a causal principle for the workings of the universe, he is hard-pressed to offer a definition or description of love which is essentially different from that of the intellect.

Kodera, Sergius. "The Idea of Beauty in Leone Ebreo (Judah Abravanel)," in *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period*, edited by Maria Diemling and Giuseppe Veltri (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009); page 329:

> Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the *Dialoghi* is the consistency with which Leone enacts the idea that beauty, and the ravishment concomitant with it, is the necessary product of all human mental activities. As God created man in his image, the perception of beauty is a crucial issue, for the love generated by these mental images is modeled on the affection of the Godhead for His Creation.

Lesley, Arthur M. "The Place of the *Dialoghi d'amore* in Contemporaneous Jewish Thought," in *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, edited by David B. Ruderman (New York/London: New York University Press, 1992); page 170 and 174:

> The posthumous success of the [*Dialoghi*] with a wide audience, in Italian, Latin, Spanish, and French, tends to obscure the question of why it was written in Hebrew, for a Jewish audience, over thirty years before its publication in Italian.
>
> Yehuda Abravanel, as a learned physician with eminent clients, as a member of a wealthy, well-placed family, as an exile from Portugal and Spain, and as the son of the outstanding biblical commentator and leader of the Spanish Jews, was a candidate for influence among Jews in Italy.

_____. "Proverbs, Figures and Riddles: The *Dialogues of Love* as a Hebrew Humanist Composition," in *Midrashic Imagination: Jewish Exegesis, Thought, and History*, edited by Michael Fishbane (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993); page 204-5:

> The *Dialogues of Love* by Yehuda Abravanel has attracted more attention from historians of Jewish philosophy than its influence on later Jewish thought deserves. ...
>
> The *Dialogues of Love* combines a variety of discourses that had not previously been juxtaposed in a single text: the full curriculum of Maimonidean philosophy, neoplatonism based on an acquaintance with authentic texts of Plato, astrology, Spanish Kabbalah, classical mythology, the entire body of Midrash and Jewish Bible commentary, and humanist rhetoric.

McGinn, Bernard. "Cabalists and Christians: Reflections on Cabala in Medieval and Renaissance Thought," in *Jewish Christians and Christian Jews* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 138] (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994); pages 17-18 and 21-22:

> Finally, Judah Abravanel (Leone Ebreo) had some contact with Pico [della Mirandola] between 1492 when Leone arrived in Naples as an exile from Spain and Pico's death in 1494. The extent of this acquaintance is difficult to determine, but may well have had an effect on Leone's masterwork, the *Dialoghi d'amore*. ...
>
> The *Dialoghi* are among the most remarkable products of Renaissance thought, arguably the most systematic and penetrating account of that favorite Renaissance theme, the nature and role of love. ... [T]wo aspects of his [Leone's] presentation deserve note here because of the light they cast on the new situation in which [Jewish] Kabbalah found itself due to the challenge presented by [Christian] Cabala. First, the communication of a good deal of Kabbalah in a work probably written in the vernacular (and therefore accessible even to Gentiles) was surely unusual. Second, and more important, Leone's mingling of Kabbalah with a wide range of other systems of thought—pagan, Christian and Jewish—is, as Moshe Idel has stressed, a new phenomenon among Jews at the end of the fifteenth century.* Shlomo Pines said that Leone transformed Plato into a Kabbalist.**

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* Idel, Moshe. "The Magical and Neoplatonic Interpretations of the Kabbalah in the Renaissance," page 108, in *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque*, edited by David B. Ruderman (New York: New York University, 1992).

** Pines, Shlomo. "Medieval Doctrines in Renaissance Garb? Some Jewish and Arabic Sources of Leone Ebreo's Doctrines," page 369, in *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Bernard Dov Cooperman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

Novoa, James Nelson. "Leone Ebreo's *Dialoghi d'amore* as a Pivital Document of Jewish-Christian Relations in Renaissance Rome," in *Hebraic Aspects of the Renaissance: Sources and Encounters*, edited by Ilana Zinguer, Abraham Melamed, and Zur Shalev (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2011); page 76.

> From Lenzi's dedicatory letter we know that the *Dialoghi* were published posthumously. What state the text of the work was in when Leone was alive, his role in its transmission, his possible interactions with early readers and editors of the work are, of course, a matter of speculation and archival and textual evidence does not, so far, shed any definitive light on these matters. Nevertheless, the unprecedented interest in a work by a Sephardic Jew in the first three decades of the sixteenth century, which involved prominent members of the Sienese community in Rome, southern Italian prelates, prestigious printers, expert copyists, the most important humanists and *literati* of the moment, as well as some key figures in the impassioned debate as to what language should be the norm for literacy and cultural expression in Renaissance Italy, is not to be understated by any means.

Ogren, Brian. "Leone Ebreo on *Prisca sapienta*: Jewish Wisdom and the Textual Transmission of Knowledge" (pages 181-194), in *Umanesimo e cultura ebraica nel Rinascimento italiano*, a curi di Stefano U. Baldassari and Fabrizio Lelli (Firenze: Angelo Pontecorboli Editore, 2016), page 194.

> As far as the textual evidence in the *Dialoghi* shows, Leone was neither a Jewish Hermetic thinker nor a secret kabbalist. There is also no evidence that Leone was imbibing any insight from the *Zohar*. At most, Leone was a Jewish Platonist, and part of his project was to reconcile Plato and the Bible, as filtered through Rabbinic Judaism. To read Hermes and the Kabbalists too deeply into his thought is to transform it, in a similar manner in which he transformed both the thought of Plato and the narrative of the Bible.

_____. "On the Wisdom of Beauty—Leone Ebreo on Art and Creation" (pages 77-96), and "Chaos and Divine Spirit—Leone Ebreo on Greek Mythology, Jewish Love, and Gendered Creation of the Universe" (pages 151-168), in *The Beginning of the World in Renaissance Jewish Thought: MA'ASEH BERESHIT in Italian Jewish Philosophy and Kabbalah, 1492-1535* [SUPPLEMENTS TO THE JOURNAL OF JEWISH THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY, volume 27] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2016); page 81.

> Like his father Isaac and the rest of his older contemporaries discussed here [Pico della Mirandola and Yohannan Alemanno], Leone indeed has recourse to the classical pairing of "the beginning" with Wisdom; but unlike all of them, he seems to have completely neutralized the kabbalistic elements involved in the discussion.

Peri, Hiram (Heinz Pflaum). "Leone Ebreo, Renaissance Philosopher," in *Studies in Jewish Thought: An Anthology of German Jewish Scholarship*, edited by Alfred Jospe (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981); page 277 and 278:

> The philosophy of Leone Ebreo contained in the *Dialogues* does not represent a system; its structure is not architectonic but organic. It is the unfolding of an idea through the totality of that which exists: the idea of love as the principle of being and as an ethical-religious norm. ...
>
> The era still had not attained an all-embracing framework of experience to give material support and substance to the concept of the world. Hence all philosophers of the Italian Renaissance are bold, contentious, unsystematic, contradictory, vague, fanciful, rich in ideas, and yet lacking one central idea. In the midst of this chaotic deluge of ideas, Leone Ebreo occupies a unique place. He is still sufficiently a son of the Middle Ages to be able to believe in the possibility of achieving a universal philosophy, yet also close enough to the spirit of modernity to be able to replace the rigid, spherically graduated cosmos of medieval speculation with a vital world structure held together by emotion. Thus Leone's conception of the world took from Scholasticism the hierarchical structure of the doctrine of emanation; from the spirit of the new era it derived the concept of ensoulment through the universal principle of love; from Judaism it drew the speculative ingredients (the theory of attributes, the doctrine of creation, eschatology); and from Plato it adopted the theory of ideas.

Roth, Cecil. "With the Humanists of Florence" = CHAPTER SIX of *The Jews in the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959); page 133:

> There is a controversy of long standing regarding the language in which the work was written. There is no reason why the erudite court physician, after ten years' residence in Italy, should not have been able to express himself in Italian. But the *Dialoghi* read a little stiffly, and there is reason to doubt that this is the primary text: indeed, in a letter of 1543, the editor's friend Claudio Tolomei wrote that the published version in Italian fell

short of the original clarity. A strong case may be made out for imagining that they were written in Hebrew, of which language the author had a complete mastery, as his poems show; but in that case the original has been lost, for the Hebrew version now extant is palpably a translation—possibly from the pen of Leone Modena. Modern Spanish authorities patriotically endeavor to win the original work (though not the published Spanish versions) for the language of the country from which its author had been ejected. But there is another possibility. The natural medium in which a Spanish Jew of the period would have expressed himself on a non-Hebraic subject was Ladino, or Castilian written in Hebrew characters. There is in fact in the British Museum a manuscript of the *Dialoghi* of this sort which, though not contemporary, may conceivably represent the author's original text.

Silberschlag, Eisig. *From Renaissance to Renaissance: Hebrew Literature from 1492-1970* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1973); page 44:

The alleged conversion of Leone Ebreo to Christianity is a calumny which was probably invented by one of his publishers in order to avoid persecution or to attract buyers for *Dialoghi d'Amore* or both.

Sirat, Collette. *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); page 408:

[Ebreo's *Dialoghi d'amore* are] not a work of Jewish philosophy, but a book of philosophy written by a Jew.

Veltri, Guiseppe. "*Philo* and *Sophia*: Leone Ebreo's Concept of Jewish Philosophy," in *Cultural Intermediaries: Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy*, edited by David B. Ruderman and Giuseppe Veltri (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 2004); page 55—also CHAPTER THREE of Veltri's *Renaissance Philosophy in Jewish Garb: Foundations and Challenges in Judaism on the Eve of Modernity* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009); page 60:

Julius Guttmann* maintained that Leone should be regarded as the "only truly Jewish Renaissance philosopher," an opinion shared by Carl Gebhardt,** who saw in him the last truly Jewish philosopher before Spinoza, even a precursor of the latter's pantheistic vision.

* Guttmann, Julius. *Die Philosophie des Judentums* (Munich 1933; reprint, Wiesbaden, 1985)
** Gebhardt, Carl (ed.) *Leone Ebreo: Dialoghi d'amore, hebraische Gedichte* (Heidelberg, 1929)

Waite, A. E. *The Holy Kabbalah* (New Hyde Park: University Books, 1960); pages 429-430:

The interest in Leo the Hebrew can be only of a mystical kind, and it is on this basis presumably that he was included by Pistorius in his ambitious and unfinished attempt to engarner the signal treatises of Kabbalism. Even so, it is difficult to see that such a text has any title to a place among the Secret Tradition of Israel. We look in vain for the essential doctrines of Jewish philosophy … [T]here is only one direct reference to the Kabbalah in the whole three hundred folio pages which the dialogues occupy in Pistorius…

Yavneh, Naomi. "The Spiritual Eroticism of Leone's Hermaphrodite," in *Playing with Gender: A Renaissance Pursuit*, edited by Jean R, Brink, Maryanne C. Horowitz, and Allison Coudert (Urbana – Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991); pages 86 & 87:

To those of us who have learned about Renaissance Neoplatonism principally by studying Ficino, perhaps the most striking feature of Leone's *Dialoghi* is its depiction of a dualistic cosmos governed by a system of universal hermaphrodism: Whereas eros is the *copula mundi* of Neoplatonic cosmology, Leone explicitly depicts that *copula* as heterosexual copulation. … [T]he heterosexual emphasis of the *Dialoghi* reflects it roots in the Hebraic tradition.

Zinberg, Israel. *A History of Jewish Literature,* Part Five: ITALIAN JEWRY IN THE RENAISSANCE ERA, translated from the Yiddish by Bernard Martin (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College / New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1974); page 17:

Isaac Abravanel insists in one of his letters that his elder son, Jehudah, is "doubtless the major thinker of the present generation" [*Otzar Nehmad*, II, 58], and Jehudah himself declares proudly in his previously mentioned poem ["*Telunah Al Ha-Zeman*"]: "My keen thought surpasses that of all the scholars of Edom, who were like grasshoppers in my sight; I went to their schools and none of them could compare with me." It must be admitted that Abravanel did not greatly exaggerate his importance.

JOHANNES TRITHEMIUS (*nee* Johann Heidenberg) (1462-1516)

Trithemius' "magical theology" was indebted to *cabala*, particularly as declared by Pico della Mirandola. Trithemius absorbed not only *cabala*'s angelic magic and rituals, which utilized divine names, but also its ciphers and cryptological methods. Scholarly debate over the beliefs and intentions of Trithemius comprise the discussion in the final chapter of Noel L. Brann's book, *Trithemius and Magical Theology: A Chapter in the Controversy over Occult Studies in Early Modern Europe* [SUNY SERIES IN WESTERN ESOTERIC TRADITIONS], (Albany: State University of New York, 1999).

For a comprehensive treatment of Trithemius, find Brann's book, *The Abbot Trithemius – 1462-1516: The Renaissance of Monastic Humanism* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT, Volume 24] (Leiden: E, J. Brill, 1997).

Trithemius' most significant text, *The Steganographia of Johannes Trithemius*, BOOK I, has been translated by Fiona Tait and Christopher Upton, with BOOK III (translated by Dr J. W. H. Walden) and an extract from a commentary (from BOOK IV of *Cryptomenytices et cryptographia*) by Gustavus Selenus (also translated by Dr J. W. H. Walden), edited with an introduction by Adam McLean (Edinburgh: Magnum Opus Hermetic Sourceworks [No. #12], 1982), which is, alas, no longer available from McLean's Alchemy Website (https://alchemywebsite.com/).[35]

Supplementing the translations of *The Steganographia* is Wayne Shumaker's *Renaissance Curiosa* [MEDIEVAL & RENAISSANCE TEXTS & STUDIES, Volume 8] (Binghamton: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), CHAPTER III: "Johannes Trithemius and Cryptography."

Also find

- PART 1, § 3 MAGIC, PSEUDEPIGRAPHY, PROPHECIES AND FORGERIES IN TRITHEMIUS' MANUSCRIPTS. FROM CUSANUS TO BOVELLES? in Paola Zambelli's *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).
- CHAPTER LX, "Magic in Dispute, II: Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, Reuchlin, Trithemius," in Lynn Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, VOLUME IV (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934).

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[35] The Alchemy Web Bookshop description of *The Steganographia of Trithemius*, (https://alchemywebsite.com/bookshop/mohs12.html):

> The *Steganographia* of Trithemius (the great occult teacher of both Agrippa and Paracelsus) was written at the end of the fifteenth century, and became one of the most influential and notorious of occult texts throughout the sixteenth and seventeen th centuries. It works on two levels - as a grimoire or book of conjuration of spirits, and simultaneously as a code book - and contains lists of spiritual messengers associated with the divisions of space and time, a Cabalistic Angel magic. The Steganographia which circulated secretly in manuscript during the 16th century was highly valued. John Dee, whose Enochian system of angelic magic was influenced by the *Steganographia*, noted that 'One Thousand Crowns' had been offered for a copy of this work. On one level it reveals ways of encoding secret information in outwardly innocent texts, and thus the publication of this item will have a considerable impact upon our view of the ways in which the esoteric orders of the 16th and 17th centuries may have conveyed information and preserved their secrets.
>
> This volume includes Books I and III of the *Steganographia*, together with an extract from Gustavus Selenus' *Cryptomenytices et Cryptographiae*, providing an analysis of the method of encoding in the *Steganographia*.

FRANCESCO GIORGI [or FRANÇOIS GEORGES DE VENISE] (1467-1540)

Francesco Giorgi (*or* Zorzi) "has been considered a central figure in sixteenth-century Christian Kabbalah both by his contemporaries and by modern scholars. … After Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, who was the founder of the Christian Kabbalah, Zorzi can claim second place," writes Giulio Busi in "Francesco Zorzi: A Methodical Dreamer," in *The Christian Kabbalah*, edited by Joseph Dan (Harvard College Library, 1997).

Giorgi's major work, *De harmonia mundi*, "a massive and curious book, all Hermetic, Platonic, Cabalistic, and Pinchian,"[36] has been given detailed—albeit messy—treatment in *Francesco Giorgio's* DE HARMONIA MUNDI by Yona Dureau (Lewiston – Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2011). The publisher's description of the book is misleading, for this work is not a straightforward "translation from the original Latin of Francesco Giorgio's *De Harmonica* (*sic*) *Mundi* that establishes its connections to Christian Cabbala in the early Renaissance" as touted by the Mellen Press website. Dureau's forty untitled appendices offer facsimiles of key passages from Giorgi's Latin text (Venice: 1525) and English translations of these, along with translations from Guy Lefevre de la Boderie's French version of *L'Harmonie du Monde* (Paris: 1582); such facsimiles and translations (without Guy's French) are also interspersed through the book.

A CD is included, *Voces Harmoniae Mundi/Choirs of Harmony*—"to listen to while reading"—which features "music from Zorzo's (*sic*) time and dreams."

On Giorgi (listed chronologically):

- Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic* (1958), pp. 112-119.
- Wirszubski, Chaim. "Francesco Giorgio's Commentary on Giovanni Pico's Kabbalistic Theses," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtaud Institutes*, VOL. 37 (London: The Warburg Institute, 1974).
- Yates. *Occult Philosophy* (1979), CHAPTER IV, "The Cabalist Friar of Venice: Francesco Giorgi," pp. 29-36, and CHAPTER XII, "Shakespeare and Christian Cabala: Francesco Giorgi and *The Merchant of Venice*," pp. 127-133.
- Swietlicki, Catherine. § GIORGI in CHAPTER 1 of *Spanish Christian Cabala* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 20-22.
- Schmidt-Biggemann, Wilhelm. CHAPTER 6, § 8, GIORGIO VENETO'S (1460-1540) *HARMONIA MUNDI*, *Philosophia Perennis* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 189] (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004).
- Getachew, Alex. "Zorzi's Venetian Attack on Renaissance Science," in *EIR Online: An Online Almanac from Executive Intellignce Review*, Volume 4, Issue Number 51 (December 2005—Founder and Contributing Editor Lyndon H. LaRouch, Jr.), pp. 50-2, at http://www.larouchepub.com/eiw/public/2005/2005_50-52/2005-51/pdf/box12_49.pdf
- Campanini, Saverio. "Francesco Giorgio's Criticism of the *Vulgata*: *Hebraica Veritas* or *Mendosa Traductio*?" in *Hebrew to Latin, Latin to Hebrew: The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism* [BERLIN STUDIES IN JUDAISM, 1], ed. Giulio Busi (Berlin: Institut für Judaistik, Freie Universität Berlin / Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2006).
- _____. "Shaping the Body of the Godhead: The Adaptation of the Androgynous Motif in Early Christian Kabbalah," in *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period*, eds. M. Diemling and G. Veltri (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009).
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "The Early Christian Kabbalists and the Tetragrammaton," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), pages 338-342.

Readers of French, refer to the chapters on Giorgi in François Secret's works:

- *Hermetisme et Kabbale* (LEZIONI DELLA SCUOLA DI STUDI SUPERIORI IN NAPOLI 15, Napoli: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, 1992). The first three chapters (of five) are on Giorgi.
- *Le Zôhar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Durlacher, 1958), SECTION IV, "Les Problemata tirés du *Zôhar* par Francisco Giorgio" (pp. 43-46).
- *Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964), § FRANÇOIS GEORGES DE VENISE (pp. 126-140).

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[36] Eugenio Garin, *History of Italian Philosophy*, vol 1, translated from the Italian and ed. Giorgio Pinton (Amsterdam – New York: Editions Rodopi B. V., 2008), p. 39.

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CARDINAL EGIDIO DA VITERBO [*or* GILLES DE VITERBE] (1469–1532)

Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo was the author of two cabalistic works: *On the Hebrew Letters* and *Scechina*, published as *Libellus de litteris hebraicis; Scechina*, Testo critico latino con e inediti a cura di François Secret, two volumes (Roma: Centro Internazionale di studi Umanistici, 1959).

On the Hebrew Letters is da Viterbo's summary of *Sefer ha-Temunah*, BOOK OF THE FIGURE (*i.e.*, the *figure*, or *shape*, of the Hebrew letters), a treatise that speaks on the *shemitot*, the seven thousand-year cycles which correspond to the seven lower *sefirot*, often cited by the early kabbalists of the Gerona circle.

Viterbo's later *Scechina* is "much longer and more comprehensive in its treatment of Cabalistic themes [than *Libellus de litteris hebraicis*]"—ref. Joseph L. Blau's review of Secret's edition of da Viterbo in *Renaissance News*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Hanover: Dartmouth College Library for the Council of Learned Societies, Winter 1961).

In English, see (listed chronologically)

- O'Malley, John W. *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study of Renaissance Thought* [STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND REFORMATION THOUGHT, volume 5] (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968)—in particular CHAPTER II, "Several Renaissance Traditions," and CHAPTER III, "Scripture and the Cabala."
- Baron, Salo Wittmayer. *A Social and Religious History of the Jews: Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion 1200-1650*, VOLUME XIII: INQUISITION, RENAISSANCE, AND REFORMATION (New York – London: Columbia University Press/Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1969), pp. 176 & 196.
- Swietlicki, Catherine. § EGIDIO DA VITERBO in CHAPTER 1 of *Spanish Christian Cabala* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 22-25.
- Olin, John C. "Egidio da Viterbo's Address to the Fifth Lateran Council, May 3, 1512," in *Catholic Reform from Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent, 1495-1563: An Essay with Illustrative Documents and a Brief Study of St. Ignatius Loyola* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1990), pages 47-60.
- Martin, Francis X. *Friar, Reformer, and Renaissance Scholar: Life and Work of Giles of Viterbo 1469-1532*, with a foreword by John O'Malley, ed. John E. Rotelle. [THE AUGUSTINIAN SERIES, volume 18] (Villanova: Augustinian Press, 1992).
- Leftley, S. A. MILLENARIAN THOUGHT IN RENAISSANCE ROME WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PIETRO GALATINO (c. 1464-c. 1540) AND EGIDIO DA VITERBO (c. 1469-1532) (Ph.D. dissertation, [UK]: University of Bristol, 1996)
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "First Beginnings: Egidio da Viterbo and the Kabbalistic Context of Syriac Studies at the Time of the Fifth Lateran Council," in Wilkinson's *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).
- Smith, Wolfgang. "The Wisdom of Christian Kabbalah," in *Sophia: The Journal of Traditional Studies*, Volume 13, Number 2 (Oakton [VA]: The Foundation for Traditional Studies, Winter 2007-2008); see in particular pages 58-65.
- Stein Kokin, Daniel. "Entering the Labyrinth: On the Hebrew and Kabbalistic Universe of Egidio da Viterbo, in *Hebraic Aspects of the Renaissance: Sources and Encounters*, eds. Ilana Zinguer, Abraham Melamed, and Zur Shalev (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2011).
- Copenhaver. Brian; and Stein Kokin, Daniel. "Egidio da Viterbo's *Book on Hebrew Letters*: Christian Kabbalah in Papal Rome," in *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 67, No. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), pages 1-42.

Egidio's *Commentarium ad mentum Platonis*, in Latin, has been published as *Giles of Viterbo – The Commentary on the Sentences of Petrus Lombardus*, ed. Daniel Nodes (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010). Nodes' twenty-four-page introduction is in English.

Some enduring sources on Egidio are François Secret's works:

- *Le Zôhar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Durlacher, 1958), "La traduction d'extraits du *Zôhar* par Gilles de Viterbe," pp. 34-42.
- *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964), pp. 106-126.

AGOSTINO (*or* AUGUSTINO) GIUSTINIANI (1470-1536)

Undoubtedly acquainted with the "kabbalistic circle" which included Egidio da Viterbo and Pietro Galatino, Dominican Agostino Giustiniani, a noble Genovese scholar of Greek and Hebrew, compiled *Psalterium hebraeum, Graecum, arabicum, et chaldaeum, cum tribus Latinis interpretationibus et glossis* [THE PSALTER OF HEBREW, GREEK, ARABIC, AND CHALDEAN, WITH THREE LATIN INTERPRETATIONS AND GLOSSES] (Genoa, 1516). THE PSALTER included the original Hebrew and Latin translations from the kabbalistic works of R. Isaac ibn Avi Sahulah[37] and Abraham Abulafia.

Giustiniani drew on Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* and *De arte cabalistica* for his cabalistic writings, which may, in part, have been the source of *cabala* for Leone Ebreo.

Alas, Giustiniani receives but passing notice in English-language books, one of the lengthiest being in Robert Wilkinson's *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007—pages 55-57). And find Wilkinson's occasional mentions of Giustiniani in *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Polyglot Bible* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).

See also the reference to Giustiniani in Valentina Izmirlieva's *All the Names of the Lord: Lists, Mysticism, and Magic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) as "a well-known Christian Kabbalist" (page 200, note 42).

Finally, find Saverio Campanini's article, "A Neglected Source on Asher Laemmlein and Paride di Ceresara: Agostino Giustiniani," in *European Journal of Jewish Studies*, Volume 2, Issue 1 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008), pages 89-110.

Readers of French

- Gorny, Leon. *La Kabbale: Kabbale juive et cabale chrétiennes* (Paris: Pierre Belfond, 1977), pp. 158-159.
- Secret, François *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964), § AUGUSTIN GIUSTINIANI ET PIERRE GALATIN, pp. 99-102, *et passim*.
- _____. *Le Zôhar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Durlacher, 1958), § II, "Le Zôhar dans le *Psalterium* de Giustiniani et dans le *De Arcanis catholicae veritatis* de Galatin," pp. 30-34.

[37] Sahulah (1244-after 1281), a friend of Moses de Leon, wrote the famous book of fables, *Meshal ha-Kadmoni*, in which Sahulah quotes the Zohar, § *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*. *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* is not, however, a kabbalistic work.

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ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)

Quite a few researchers have speculated on Dürer's connections with the Jews and *cabala*, but none has presented the idea as bluntly as Zhenya Gershman in "Dürer's Enigma: A Kabbalistic Revelation in *Melancholia § 1*, in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* [NEW SERIES], Volume 18, Number 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

The section heading, "Dürer's *Melancholia § 1* as a Tribute to Pico's Legacy," places the *oeuvre* from which Dürer's *cabala* arose. Gershman follows the lead of Frances Yates' "suggestion that *Melancholia § 1* was philosophically linked to 'Christian Cabala as understood by Pico, Reuchlin, and Agrippa'" (Gershman, p. 221, citing Yates' *Occult Philsophy*, p. 69).

Note the brief report on Gershman's "Dürer's Art of Revelation: Revelation of Dürer's Art," presented May 27, 2016, at the Masonic Center in Santa Monica ›
http://www.projectawe.org/events/2016/5/16/drers-art-of-revelation-revelation-of-drers-art

Bronstien, Léo. *Kabbalah and Art* (Hanover – London: Brandeis University Press, 1980).

> In this book [Bronstein] discovers ground common to Jewish mysticism and non-Jewish painters from Giovanni di Paolo in the fifteenth century to Paul Klee in the twentieth.
>
> —endflap

Other artists that Bronstein considers: Ambrogio Lorenzetti (14th century), Giorgione (15th century), Dosso Dossi and Titian (16th century), Giovanni Battista Piranesi (18th century), Degas (19th century), Picasso and Matisse (20th century).

> "Art is the shelter of justice." I heard myself saying it once. The point—the spark hidden in the rock—the finite circle of Kabbalah's meditation, the never-finished line of Kabbalah's meditation, and the finite circle=the never-finite line in Paul Klee's birth of an arrow spark, arrow-directive, are one and the same "root of roots."
>
> Art is the secret metaphysical Woman, the Shekhinah, the Shekhinah, the secret metaphysical Woman is art: a frail, delicate and distant, erect, tenacious passionate winter rose in distant Spain—a frail, delicate, distant erect and tenacious argument...
>
> Who was it, suddenly coming toward me? "Is that you, Giovanni?" I said. "What are you doing here, Giovanni di Paolo, a total stranger here?"
>
> GIOVANNI DI PAOLO
>
> "I heard a great roar. It came from where you are. I knew what it was, and so, my memory attracting me, I went there. A stranger, true, I am now of here and now. I heard a great roar—cataclysmic descent? ascent?—of the elements. I heard again the formation, through fire, air, water and solid dust, of the cosmos and of the soul."
>
> —*Kabbalah and Art*, page 61

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JEAN THÉNAUD (ca. 1480-1542)

Franciscan Jean Thénaud, "voyager and cabalist," was the author of *La saincte et trescrestienne cabale* (THE HOLY AND VERY CHRISTIAN CABALA—1519, also called *La cabale métrifée*) and *Traité* (or *Traicté*) *de la cabale* (TREATISE ON THE CABALA—1521). Six-hundred lines of the former, in French, comprise APPENDIX D of J. L. Blau's *Christian Interpretation of the Cabala*. Thenaud's "Very Christian Cabala" is discussed in Blau's CHAPTER VII.

In his article, "Renaissance Kabbalah" (in *Modern Esoteric Spirituality*, edited by Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman, New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1995), G. Mallary Masters singles out Thenaud's *Traité de la Cabale chretienne* as "one very typical 'popularizing' treatise from early sixteenth-century France." After summarizing its contents, Masters reviews its sources, which amounts to a survey of the key figures of Renaissance *cabala*: Pico, Reuchlin, Agrippa, Ricci, and Giorgi (*or* Zorzi).

Further on the *Traité*, find Ian Christie-Miller's brief article, "The Decrypting of the Kabbalistic Value of Thirty-Seven," online at http://jec2.chez.com/christieart.pdf, and Christie-Miller's *72 in His Name: Reuchlin, Luther, Thenaud, Wolff, and the Names of Seventy-Two Angels* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2019).

Also see Robert J. Wilkinson's chapter, "The Early Christian Kabbalists and the Tetragrammaton," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), pages 337-338.

Readers of French: A critical edition of *Traicté de la Cabale*, annotated by Ian Christie-Miller in collaboration with François Roudaut, has been published (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007). There is also François Secret's discussion of Thénaud in *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964), pp. 153*ff*, and Leon Gorny's segment in *La Kabbale: Kabbale juive et cabale chrétiennes* (Paris: Pierre Belfond, 1977), pp. 191-196.

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PAUL RICIUS [or RICCI] (*fl.* 1506-1541)

"The years between [Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* and *De arte cabalistica*] also witnessed the appearance of a number of works by the learned convert Paul Ricius, the private physician of Emperor Maximilian, who took Pico's and Reuchlin's conclusions and added to them through an original synthesis of kabbalistic and Christian sources" (—Scholem, *Kabbalah*, p. 198). Ricius' four-volume *De cœlesti agricvltvra* was included in Johannes Pistorius' compendium, *Artis cabalisticæ* (Basileæ: per S. Henricpetri, 1587)

(See my outline of the contents of *Artis cabalisticæ* on page 66.)

A "complete translation" of "PAUL RICCI'S INTRODUCTION TO THE LORE OF THE CABALISTS OR ALLEGORIZERS" (*Pauli Ricii in cabalistarum seu allegorizantium eruditionem isagoge*, Augsburg: 1515) is presented in Blau's *Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (pp. 67-74). On this work, see Beitchman's *Alchemy of the Word*: § THE DISSEMINATION OF CABALA (p. 169), along with his numerous other references.

See also (listed chronologically)

- Swietlicki, Catherine. "Christian Cabala in the Renaissance," § THE RICCI BROTHERS, in *Spanish Christian Cabala* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 13-14
- Schmidt-Biggemann, Wilhelm. "Christian Kabbala: Joseph Gikatilla (1247-1305), Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), Paulus Ricius (d. 1541), and Jacob Böhme (1575-1624)," in *The Language of Adam / Die Sprache Adams* [WOLFENBÜTTELER FORSCHUNGEN, Band 84], ed. Allison Coudert (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999)
- Schmidt-Biggemann's *Philosophia Perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 189] (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), § 3.5. "Christian Cabala I: Giovanni Pico, Johannes Reuchlin, and Paulus Ricius," AND § 4.12. "Paulus Ricius' Cabalistic Cosmos"
- Black, Crofton. "From Kabbalah to Psychology: The Allegorizing *Isagoge* of Paulus Ricius, 1509-41," in *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, Volume 2, Number 2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Winter 2007), pages 136-173.
- Campanini, Saverio. "Shaping the Body of the Godhead: The Adaptation of the Androgynous Motif in Early Christian Kabbalah," in *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period*, eds. Maria Diemling and Giuseppe Veltri (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009).
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "The Early Christian Kabbalists and the Tetragrammaton," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), pages 325-327.

Readers of French, see § PAUL RICI in François Secret's *Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (pp. 87*ff*).

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GIULIO CAMILLO (1480-1544)

Giulio Camillo, colorful alchemist and philosopher, was both praised and scorned in his day. He is most noted for his work on Memory Theatre, *L'idea del theatro* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550), which serves as a window into the intellectual and spiritual urgencies of his era, for Camillo engages the full gamut of the "Hermetic-Cabalist" tradition.

For the few sources in English (listed chronologically), see

- Yates, Frances. *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966; rpt. 1994):
  VI. "Renaissance Memory: The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo"
  VII. "Camillo's Theatre and the Venetian Renaissance"
- Wenneker, Lu Beery. AN EXAMINATION OF *L'IDEA DEL THEATRO* OF GIULIO CAMILLO, Ph.D. diss. (University of Pittsburg, 1970).
- Maguire, Matthew. *The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo* (New York: [n.p.], ca. 1986).

  > "*The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo* asks the question: How is the motion of the memory connected with the motion of history? How is the personal political? It is the story of a man with perfect memory who is haunted by the memory of a murder he may have committed. As he searches his memory he is confronted by events that he denies. Amnesia begins to set in as his denials grow until the mind of a man who could focus his entire memory in a single moment is in danger of shattering. ... *The Memory Theatre* is structured as a play within a play within a play." (—*The Memory Theatre*..., pp. 2 and 3)

- Rossi, Paolo. *Logic and the Art of Memory: The Quest for a Universal Language*, trans. Stephen Clucas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), *passim*.
- Robinson, Kate. *A Search for the Source of the Whirlpool of Artifice: The Cosmology of Giulio Camillo* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press Ltd., 2006).

  > "There is evidence, however, that the cabbalah was not a subject that was wholly to absorb Camillo, and that he later felt that the references to it in *L'Idea del Theatro* were more like spice than the meat ot the work." (—Robinson, *A Search*..., page 26)

  Also see Robinson's brief "Giulio Camillo's *L'idea del teatro*," in *eSharp*, Issue 1 (University of Glasgow, Autumn 2003): MAGIC, at http://www.gla.ac.uk/research/az/esharp/issues/1/robinson/.
- Bolzoni, Lina. "Giulio Camillo's Memory Theatre and the Kabbalah," in *Hebraic Aspects of the Renaissance: Sources and Encounters*, eds. Ilana Zinguer, Abraham Melamed, and Zur Shalev (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2011).
- Uricchio, William. "A Palimpsest of Place and Past," in *Performance Research: A Journal of the Performing Arts*, Volume 17, Issue 3 (London: Taylor & Francis, 2012), pp. 45-49.
- Bolzoni, Lina. "The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo: Alchemy, Rhetoric, and Deification in the Renaissance," in *Lux in Tenebris: The Visual and the Symbolic in Western Esotericism*, edited by Peter Forshaw (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2016), pages 66-80.

Camillo's works were published in Italian as *L'idea del Teatro e altri scritti di retorica* (Turin: Edizioni RES, 1990). Lina Bolzoni has edited a Spanish version: *La Idea del Teatro* [BIBLIOTECA DE ENSAYO/ESSAY LIBRARY], translated by Jordi Raventos (Madrid: Ediciones Siruela SA, 2006 & 2010).

In Portuguese, find the illustrated *O Teatro da Memória de Giulio Camillo*, edited by Milton José de Almeida (Granja Viana/Cotia: Ateliê Editorial, 2005).

Readers of French, see SECTION V, "Giulio Camilio et le *Zôhar*," in François Secret, *Le Zôhar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Durlacher, 1958), pp. 49-51.

HEINRICH CORNELIUS AGRIPPA (1486?-1535)

Following on Pico, Lazzarelli, Giorgi, and Reuchlin was Trithemius' student, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim. His major work, *De occulta philosophia* (in three books), is a compendium of occult sciences. Agrippa's account of *cabala* is found in Book III, coupled as it is with medieval angelology and demonology and the magic connected with these.

There is a fine edition of the 1651 English translation by one "J.F."[38] prepared by Donald Tyson, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1993; 2nd hardcover edition: 2018), where *De occulta philosophia* is rightly referred to as "The Foundation Book of Western Occultism." Indeed, no other book has contributed more to the Western magical-occult tradition than the three books of *De occulta philosophia*—with their companion, the pseudo-Agrippan "Fourth Book," which is a tract on ceremonial magic in the same spirit as the three *true* books. See Robert Turner, translator, *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, edited, with commentary, by Stephen Skinner (London: Askin Publishers, 1978; rpt Berwick [ME]: Ibis Press, 2005), OR *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy: The Companion to the Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, edited and annotated by Donald Tyson (Woodbury: Llewellyn Publications, 2009).

Tyson's edition of *De occulta philosophia* supplements Agrippa's text with a substantial amount of well-researched support material covering such topics as "Practical Kabbalah," "The Sephiroth," "Magic Squares," "Geomancy," and others, in eight appendices, which makes this particular edition a valuable reference book.

De occulta philosophia in English, including the "spurious" fourth book, can be viewed on-line at Joseph Peterson's TWILIT GROTTO, www.esotericarchives.com/agrippa/index.html, and at the MSU LIBRARIES DIGITAL AND MULTIMEDIA CENTER: search "Author" › "Agrippa" at http://www.lib.msu.edu/branches/dmc/digital.

A new English translation of *De occulta philosophia* from the original Latin was inaugurated with *Three Books of Occult Philosophy: Book One, A Modern Translation* (ACADEMIC EDITION), translated by Eric Purdue, preface by Christopher Warnock (Renaissance Astrology, 2012—note Warnock's critique of "Donald Tyson's Annotated Edition" on page 5). This eventually grew into a complete translation of all three volumes as *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, translated from the original Latin edition of 1533 by Eric Purdue (Rochester [VT]: Inner Traditions, 2021).

There are several inexpensive CreateSpace versions of *Three Books…*, *e.g.*:

- *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, ed. Kevarin Dollison (CreateSpace, 2012)—paperback and Kindle.
- *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (CreateSpace/Mystical World Reprints, 2015)—paperback.
- *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (Complete and Uncensored Version) (CreateSpace/Monadic Deva Press, 2018)—paperback. "[T]he spelling has been modernized and archaic words changed to modern versions, without losing any of the original meaning."

To study Agrippa, one might start with Blau's *Christian Interpretation…* (CHAPTER VI, "The Fantastic Cabala"), Yates' chapters on Agrippa in *Giordano Bruno…* (CHAPTER VII) and Yates' *Occult Philosophy…* (CHAPTERS V & VI).

Then see (listed chronologically),

- Nauert, Charles G. "Magic and Skepticism in Agrippa's Thought," in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 18 (Lancaster - New York: Journal of the History of Ideas, Inc., 1957), pages 161-182.

[38] See below, SOME SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PRINTED WORKS ON CHRISTIAN CABALA IN ENGLISH, for the complete text of the title page of the 1651 English edition of *De occulta philosophia*—page 99.

- Walker, D. P. *Spiritual and Demonic Magic* (1958), pp. 90-6.
- Nauert, Charles G. *Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought* (ILLINOIS STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES 55, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965); on Agrippa's cabalistic sources, pp. 129-136.
- Keefer, Michael H. "Agrippa's Dilemma: Hermetic 'Rebirth' and the Ambivalences of *De vanitate* and *De occulta philosophia*," in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press/Renaissance Society of America, 1988), pp. 614-653
- Mebane, John S. *Renaissance Magic & the Return of the Golden Age: The Occult Tradition & Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare* (Lincoln – London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989): CHAPTER 4, "Cornelius Agrippa and the Dissemination of Renaissance Magic."
- van der Poel, Marc G. *Cornelius Agrippa: The Humanist Theologian and His Declamations* (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill, 1997).
- Beitchman, Philip *Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), § 2. "The Secret of Agrippa," pp. 65-113 (see my comments on p. 11)
- Lehrich, Christopher I. *The Language of Demons and Angels: Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2003) = HERMETIC HERMENEUTICS: LANGUAGE, MAGIC, AND POWER IN CORNELIUS AGRIPPA'S '*DE OCCULTA PHILOSOPHIA*,' Volumes One and Two (Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000).
- Nauert, Charles G. "Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim" in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, principal editor: Edward N. Zalta, (Stanford: The Metaphysics Research Lab, CSLI, Stanford University, 2007)—online at http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/agrippa-nettesheim/
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. "Better than Magic: Cornelius Agrippa and Lazzarellian Hermetism," in *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Summer 2009), pp. 1-25.
- Kopmels, Aida. Cornelius Agrippa: OCCULT LANGUAGE AND HOW TO CONNECT TO THE DIVINE (B.A. Thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2012).
- Keefer, Michael. "Cornelius Agrippa's Double Presence in the Faustian Century," in *The Faustian Century: German Literature and Culture in the Age of Luther and Faustus*, edited by Jim Van der Laan and Andrew Weeks (New York: Camden House, 2013), pp. 67-91.
- Putnik, Noel. "To Be Born (Again) from God: Scriptural Obscurity as a Theological Way Out fro Cornelius Agrippa," in *Obscurity in Medieval Texts*, edited by Lucie Doležalová, Jeff Rider, and Alessandro Zironi [MEDIUM AEVUM QOUTIDIANUM, SONDERBAND XXX] (Krems: Charles University [Prague]/Czech Science Foundation, 2013), pp. 145-156.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. "Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa" = CHAPTER 5 of *The Occult World*, edited by Christopher Partridge (Abingdon – New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 92-98.
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "The Tetragrammaton in Renaissance Magic and among the Later Christian Kabbalists," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 416-418.
- Putnik, Noel. "Agrippa's Cosmic Ladder: Building a World with Words in the *De Occulta Philosophia*," in *Lux in Tenebris: The Visual and the Symbolic in Western Esotericism*, edited by Peter Forshaw (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2016), pp. 81-102.

The van der Poel and Lehrich books complement each other nicely: The former concentrates on Agrippa's philosophical and theological thought *via* his correspondence, orations, and declamations (i.e., *De incertitudine et vanite...*, *De nobilitate et præcellentia fœminei sexus*, etc.); the latter focuses on *De occulta philosophia*. The bibliographies in van der Poel and Lehrich are immensely useful: see van der Poel (pp. 277-280) for a complete list of Agrippa's works, and Lehrich (pp. 240-243): WORKS ON AGRIPPA.

Particularly on matters of Agrippa's biography, van der Poel and Lehrich defer to Nauert as supplemented by the numerous articles of Paola Zambelli, only a few of which are in English:

- "Magic and Radical Reformation in Agrippa of Nettesheim," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976) and *Articles on Witchcraft* II (New York – London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992)
- "Scholastic and Humanist Views of Hermeticism and Witchcraft," in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (Washington: Folger Books, 1988) = PART I, CHAPTER TWO of *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance: From Ficino, Pico, Della Porta to Trithemius, Agrippa, Bruno* [STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE TRADITIONS, VOLUME CXXV] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).
- "Agrippa as an Author of Prohibited Books" = PART II of *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance*.

There is also "Agrippa and Occult Philosophy" in Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Volume V: THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY (New York – London: Columbia University Press, 1941[1st ed], 1966[4th ed]), pp. 127-138.

Online, see Henry Morley's *Life of Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, Doctor and Knight, Commonly Known as a Magician*, 2 volumes (London: Chapman & Hall, 1856), several versions of which have been digitized by Google: INTERNET ARCHIVE > http://archive.org/search.php?query=life%20of%20henry%20cornelius%20agrippa.

PHILLIPUS THEOPHRASTUS AUREOLUS BOMBASTUS VON HOHENHEIM *known as* PARACELSUS (1493-1541)

Another student of Trithemius, Paracelsus, is generally—and correctly—associated with alchemy. The term *cabala* can be attached to him only in its broadest, most inexact sense, *i.e.*, referring to astronomical and magical practices.

On or by Paracelsus (listed chronologically):

- Waite, Arthur Edward (ed.) *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Paracelsus*, in two volumes (London: James Elliot and Co., 1894; rpt. New Hyde Park: University Books, 1967).
- Stoddart, Anna M. *The Life of Paracelsus: Theophrastus von Hohenheim 1493-1541* (London: John Murray, 1911).
- Stillman, John Maxson. *Theophrastus Bombastus Von Hohenheim Called Paracelsus: His Personality and Influence As Physician, Chemist and Reformer* (London – Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1920).
- Sigerist, Henry (ed.) *Four Treatises of Theophrastus Von Hohenheim Called Paracelsus*, translated, with introductory essays by C. Lillian Temkin, George Rosen, Gregory Zilboorg, and Henry E Sigerist (Baltimore – London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941; rpt 1996).
- Pachter, Henry M. *Magic into Science: The Story of Paracelcus* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1951)
- Pagel, Walter. *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* (Basil: S. Karger Publications, 1958; 2nd revised edition, 1984).
- *Paracelsus: Selected Writings*, ed. Jolande Jacobi, translated by Norbert Guterman [BOLLINGEN SERIES XXVIII] (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).
- Webster, Charles. "Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine," in *Articles on Witchcraft* II (New York – London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992), pp. 183-216.
- Schipperges, Heinrich. "Paracelsus and His Followers," in *Modern Esoteric Spirituality*, eds. Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman [Volume 21 of *WORLD SPIRITUALITY: AN ENCYCLOPEDIC HISTORY OF THE RELIGIOUS QUEST*] (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1995). Pp. 154-185.
- [Paracelsus.] *The Archidoxes of Magic* translated by Robert Turner, 1655 (London: Askin, 1975; rpt. Kila: Kessinger Publishing Company, 1997).
- Weeks, Andrew. *Paracelsus: Speculative Theory & the Crisis of the Early Reformation* [SUNY SERIES IN WESTERN ESOTERIC TRADITIONS] (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997)
- Grell, Ole Peter (ed.) *Paracelsus: The Man and His Reputation, His Ideas and Their Transformation*. (Leiden: Brill, 1998).
- Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas (ed.) *Paracelsus: Essential Readings* [WESTERN ESOTERIC MASTERS] (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 1999).
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- Ball, Philip. *The Devil's Doctor: Paracelsus and the World of Renaissance Magic and Science* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006).
- Weeks, Andrew. *Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, 1493-1541): Essential Theoretical Writings* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).
- Goodrick-Clarke, Nicolas. "Alchemy, Paracelsus, and German *Naturphilosophie*," = CHAPTER 4 of *The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

- Webster, Charles. *Paracelsus: Medicine, Magic and Mission at the End of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
- Hedesan, Georgiana. "The Mystery of *Mysterium Magnum*: Paracelsus's Alchemical Interpretation of Creation in *Philosophia ad Atheniensis* and Its Early Modern Commentators," in *Hidden Truths from Eden: Esoteric Readings of Genesis 1-3*, eds. Caroline Vander Stichele and Susanne Scholtz [SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE SEMEIA STUDIES; number 76] (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), pp. 145-166.
- Weeks, Andrew. "Paracelsus" = CHAPTER 6 in *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 99-106.

On the Internet: *Paracelsus, Five Hundred Years: Three American Exhibitions*, with introductory material by Allen G. Debus at www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/paracelsus/paracelsus_1.html > "Some Readings on Paracelsus"; *and* THE ZURICH PARACELSUS PROJECT [ENGLISH SECTION], online at http://www.paracelsus.uzh.ch/index.html.

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ARCHANGELUS OF BURGO NOVO (*or* ARCANGELO DA BORGONUOVO)

(d. ca. 1570)

Franciscan monk Archangelus is reported to have died at a very old age (in Bologna). Like Pico, he studied Hebrew—and most likely *kabbalah*—under Flavius Mithridates. He learned Hebrew and Christian esotericism from Franceso Giorgi as well, and studied the works Reuchlin.

Archangelus' *Dechiaratione sopra il nome di Giesv, secondo gli Hebrei cabalisti, Greci, Caldei, Persi, & Latini* יהוה ישו ... in three books [DECLARATION UPON THE NAME OF JESUS ACCORDING TO THE CABALISTIC HEBREWS, GREEKS, CHALDEANS, PERSIANS, & LATINS ...] (Ferrara: Francesco Rossi, 1557), develops ideas introduced in Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico*.

Late in his life, Archangelus wrote a lengthy commentary on—and defense of—Pico's *900 Theses*: *Cabalistarum selectiora, obscvrioráqve dogmata a Ioanne Pico* ... [SELECT OBSCURE CABALISTIC DOGMATA FROM GIOVANNI PICO ...] (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi, 1569); this is probably his last work.

A section of *Cabalistarum selectiora...*, *Interpretationes in selectiora obscurioáq[ve] cabalistarum dogmata*, appears in Johannes Pistorius' *Artis cabalisticae*, tomus I (Basil, 1587).

Dechiaratione sopra il nome di Giesu, in Italian, can be viewed at Archive.org ›
https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_cQRUI3aSbBQC
or purchased as a leatherbound book from Generic (2019).

Cabalistarum selectiora..., in Latin, can also be accessed at Archive.org ›
https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_5aKmXIvCK24C
or purchased as a leatherbound book from Generic (2019), where the author is listed as either "Archangelus de Burgonovo" or "Giovanni Pico della Mirandola."

Alas, there is not a whole lot in English on Archangelus save the brief Appendix C, "Archangelus of Borgo Nuovo," (on his identity) in Joseph L. Blau's *Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), pp. 119-120, and mentions-in-passing in Blau and elsewhere.

JOHANN ALBRECHT WIDMANSTETTER [*or* WIDMANSTADT] (1506-1557)

> One of the most remarkable of the foreign humanists working in Italy at this time [1529-1555] was the German, Johann Albrecht Widmanstadt, later Chancellor of Lower Austria and Rector of the University of Vienna, who went far beyond the rudiments of Jewish scholarship and enjoyed the advantage of instruction by a number of distinguished teachers.
>
> —Cecil Roth, *The Jews of the Renaissance* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), p. 148.

> As a young man he knew of Reuchlin. ... [I]n Naples... he met Pico della Mirandola's teacher of Kabbalah, Rabbi Dattilus [or Dattilo], and it was here that Widmanstetter's kabbalistic education began. ... [Egidio da Viterbo] invited Widmanstetter to Rome to further his Arabic and kabbalistic studies"
>
> —Robert J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007), CHAPTER FIVE "The Scholars of the *editio princeps*: Widmanstetter" (quotes from pp. 137-9; see §§ WIDMANSTETTER AS A KABBALIST and THE ANNOTATIONS, pp. 162-169).

With guileless irony, Widmanstetter

> warned his coreligionists that "from the Kabbalah of the Jews will spring, as from a Trojan horse, an infinite number of startling opinions which will serve as weapons for attack upon the Church of Christ."
>
> —Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews: Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion 1200-1650*, VOLUME XIII: INQUISITION, RENAISSANCE, AND REFORMATION (New York – London: Columbia University Press/Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1969), p. 180.

Scholem reiterates Widmanstetter's warning in "The Beginnings of Christian Kabbalah" (in *The Christian Kabbalah*, ed. Joseph Dan, [Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1997]), noting,

> Widmanstadt's criticism shows, at least on this particular point, an unusual understanding both of the kabbalah's true character, and of the ambiguity inherent in the Christian kabbalist project, especially when, as in Pico's case, that project was grounded in a belief in syncretism as a positive value.

Widmanstetter's critique of Dattilus is quoted by Scholem in "The Beginnings of Christian Kabbalah" (p. 19).

References to Widmanstetter appear in Wilkinson's *Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).

See also Maximilian de Molièr, "Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter's Recension of the *Zohar*," in *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts*, Volume Forty-One, edited by Daniel Abrams (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2018), pp. 7-52.

Readers of French can refer to the segment of Secret's *Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964) on Widmanstetter, pp. 121-123.

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GUILLAUME POSTEL (1510-1581)

Guillaume Postel produced a Latin translation of the *Sefer Yezirah* and penned some comments on it. "In addition, he translated the *Bahir*, part of a commentary of Menahem of Recanati, and a part of the *Bereshith Rabba*." (—Marion Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel*, p. 85—cited in detail below). Postel also translated portions of the *Zohar*, receiving guidance in understanding them from an unlikely tutor: an illiterate woman, though something of a sixteenth-century Mother Teresa (perhaps in both the best and worst senses), called Madre Zuana, or Mother Johanna—the "Venetian Virgin." At various times, Postel identified her as mother of the world, the *shekhinah*, and the second messiah. Marion Kuntz writes, "As [Postel] worked on his translation of the *Zohar*, he became ever more convinced that the restitution of all things as interpreted by his Mother Johanna was confirmed not only in the 'most divine and rare books of the *Zohar*,' but also in the books of the ancient [Jewish] interpreters..." (—Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel*, p. 84). Alas, none of Postel's translations has been published.

On Postel, in chronological order:

- Butler, Geoffrey. "William Postel, World Peace through World Power" = CHAPTER III of *Studies in Statecraft, being Chapters, Biographical and Bibliographical, mainly on the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920); APPENDIX D. "A Bibliography of William Postel."
- Bouwsma, William. "Postel and the Significance of Renaissance Cabalism," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. XV (Lancaster – New York: City College, 1954); reprinted in *A Usable Past: Essays in European Cultural History* by William J. Bouwsma (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
- _____. *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510-1581)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957).
- Kuntz, Marion L. *Guillaume Postel: Prophet of the Restitution of All Things—His Life and Works* (The Hague – Boston – Hingham: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1981).
- McGinn, Bernard. "Cabalists and Christians: Reflections on Cabala in Medieval and Renaissance Thought," in *Jewish Christians and Christian Jews*, eds. R. H. Popkin and G. M. Weiner (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1993); McGinn's article also covers Pico and includes a brief section on the period before him, back into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, discussing in particular the converted Jew Petrus Alfonsi.
- Åkerman, Susanna. "The Gothic Kabbala: Johannes Bureus, Runic Theosophy, and Northern European Apocalypticism," in *The Expulsion of the Jews: 1492 and After*, eds. Raymond B. Waddington and Arthur H. Williamson (New York – London: Garland Publishing, 1994), the final section: GUILLAUME POSTEL AND THE ROSICRUCIAN LION.
- _____. *Rose Cross over the Baltic: The Spread of Rosicrucianism in Northern Europe* (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 1998), CHAPTER FOUR, "Quaternions and Dew: Postel and the Rosicrucians," pp. 173-184.
- Kuntz' article, "The Original Language as a Paradigm for the *restitution omnium* in the Thought of Guillaume Postel," in *The Language of Adam / Die Sprache Adams* [WOLFENBÜTTELER FORSCHUNGEN, Band 84], ed. Allison Coudert. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999.
- Novelist, historian, and semiotics specialist Umberto Eco devotes some pages to Postel in *The Search for the Perfect Language* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1995), a book which offers much of interest regarding Christian Europe's approaches to *kabbalah* and the Hebrew tongue. On all of this, also see James Knowlson, *Universal Language Scheme in England and France 1600-1800* (Toronto – Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1975), and Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory: The Quest for a Universal Language*, translated and with an introduction by Stephen Clucas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- Kuntz' collection, *Venice, Myth and Utopian Thought in the Sixteenth Century: Bodin, Postel and the Virgin of Venice* (VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES CS668, Aldershot – Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2000; of the 8 articles on Postel, 6 are in English, 2 in Italian).
- Petry, Yvonne. *Gender, Kabbalah and the Reformation: The Mystical Theology of Guillaume Postel (1510-1581)* [STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND REFORMATION THOUGHT, Volume XCVIII] Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004. This is an improved version of Petry's Ph.D. dissertation: GENDER, KABBALAH AND THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION: A STUDY OF THE MYSTICAL THEOLOGY OF GUILLAUME POSTEL (1510-1581) (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1997).

- Schmidt-Biggemann, Wilhelm. *Philosophia Perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 189] (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004): CHAPTER 7. The Return of Time, § 3. Origenism, d) "The Unification of All Religions: Guillaume Postel's (1510-1581) Synergetic *Apokatastasis*."
- Schmidt-Biggemann, Wilhelm. "Political Theology in Renaissance Christian Kabbalah: Petrus Galatinus and Guillaume Postel," in *Hebraic Political Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Jerusalem: Shalem Press, 2006), pp. 286-309.
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "Northern Scholars: The Role of Postel in the Antwerp Polyglot" = CHAPTER 4 of *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).
- _____. "The Scholars of the *editio princeps*: Postel," in *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).
- Brach, Jean-Pierre. "Son of the Son of God: the feminine Messiah and her progeny, according to Guillaume Postel (1510-1581), in *Alternative Christs*, edited by Olav Hammer (Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 113-130.
- _____. "Spiritual Authority and the Transmission of Knowledge in Christian Kabbalah: The Case of Guillaume Postel (1510-81)," in *Constructing Tradition: Means and Myths of Transmission in Western Esotericism*, ed. Andreas B. Kilcher (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 303-321.
- Wheeler, Brannon. "Guillaume Postel and the Primordial Origins of the Middle East," in *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 244-263.
- Weiss, Judith. "The Quality of Guillaume Postel's First *Zohar* Latin Translation," in *Accademia: Revue de la Société Ficin*, XV (Paris: La Société Ficin, 2013), pp. 63-82.
- Meroz, R[onit]; and Weiss, J[udith]. "The Source of Guillaume Postel's 1553 Zohar Latin Translation," in *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2 (Malden – Chichester / Oxford: The Society for Renaissance Studies and John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2014), pages 247-260.
- Weiss, Judith. "A Journey encompassing Jerusalem: Some Remarks on Guillaume Postel and Abraham Ben Eli'ezer Ha'Levi," in *Capitals of European Esotericism and Transcultural Dialogue: Real Place and Imaginary Topographies* [*Capitales de l'ésotérisme européen et dialogue des cultures*] (Paris: Orisons, 2014), pp. 91-97 [pp. 151-161].
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "The Early Christian Kabbalists and the Tetragrammaton," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), pages 335-337.
- Weiss, Judith. "Guillaume Postel's 'Idea of the Zohar,'" in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, NEW SERIES, vol. 19, no. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 248-263.

Readers of French, refer to the works on Postel written or edited by François Secret:

- *Bibliographie des manuscripts de Guillaume Postel* (Genève: Droz, 1970).
- *Guillaume Postel, 1510-1581: et son interpretation du candelabra de Moyse en hébreu, latin, italien et française*, avec une introd. et des notes par François Secret (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1966).
- *Guillaume Postel: apologies et rétractions; manuscrits inédits publiés avec une introd. et des notes par François Secret* (Nieuwkoop, B. de Graaf, 1972).
- *Le Zôhar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Durlacher, 1958), SECTION VI, "Les traduction du *Zôhar* de Guillaume Postel" (pp. 51-78) and APPENDIX I, "Préface de Postel à sa traduction du *Zôhar* sur la Genèse" (pp. 104-114).
- *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964), § GUILLAUME POSTEL, pp. 171-186, and § L'ÉCOLE DE GUILLAUME POSTEL, pp. 187-217.
- *Postel revisité: Nouvelles recherches sur Guillaume Postel et son milieu* (Paris: S.E.H.A./Milan: Archè, 1998).
- *Postelliana: Guillaume Postel: édités par François Secret* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1981).

Also in French,

- Gorny, Leon. *La Kabbale* (Paris: Pierre Belfond, 1977), § GUILLAUME POSTEL, pp. 197-206, and § L'ÉCOLE DE GUILLAUME POSTEL, pp. 225-238.
- Lestringant, Frank. "Kabbale et cosmographie, de Guillaume Postel à Jacques d'Auzoles- Lapeyre," in *Hebraic Aspects of the Renaissance: Sources and Encounters*, eds. Ilana Zinguer, Abraham Melamed, and Zur Shalev (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2011).

TERESA OF ÁVILA (1515-1582)

Teresa of Ávila was born into noble family with a *converso* background. She became a Carmelite nun. A theologian, reformer, and mystic, she was beatified in 1614 by Pope Gregory XV, heralded as a "Doctor of the Church." Aspects of Teresa's mysticism are thought to have been influenced by early Jewish mysticism (*i.e.*, the *hekhalot* literature) and *kabbalah*.

See the following works:

- Burgeson, Sujan Jane. MYSTICAL SYMBOLISM IN TERESA OF AVILA AND CLASSICAL KABBALAH (Ph.D. dissertation, Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union, 1997).

  Teresa of Avila's *Interior Castle* is analyzed against (i) the *merkabah* tradition, (ii) Abraham Abulafia's "ecstatic" kabbalah, and (iii) the classical (theosophical) kabbalah of the *Zohar* and Gikatilla's *Sha'are Orah* (Gates of Light).

  Refer to *The Interior Castle* by Teresa of Avila, translated by Mirabai Starr (New York: Riverhead Books, 2003) and *Entering Teresa of Avila's INTERIOR CASTLE: A Reader's Companion* by Gilliam T. W. Ahlgren (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 2005)

- Green, Deirdre. *Gold in the Crucible: Teresa of Avila and the Western Mystical Tradition* (Longmead: Element Books, Ltd., 1989).

  Before Green's 1984 article, "St Teresa of Avila and Hekhalot Mysticism" (in *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*, vol. 13, no. 3), "the Jewish elements in [Teresa's] book the *Interior Castle* had not been noticed" (p. 85)—or, at least, not developed beyond passing mention.

- Swietlicki, Catherine. *Spanish Christian Cabala: The Works of Luis de León, Santa Teresa de Jesus, and San Juan de la Cruz* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986).

  Spanish Christian Cabala deals with, sixteenth-century manifestations of Christian *cabala* in Spain. While Swietlicki's book might not generally be thought of as a primer on *cabala*, it does contain a good overview of the Renaissance period as its opening chapter, which could help those approaching this subject for the first time to get their bearings. Swietlicki goes on to summarize "The Diffusion of the Christian Cabala in Renaissance Culture" in Chapter 2, giving a country-by-country account, covering Italy, France, England, and Spain. She then details the *cabala* of Santa Teresa de Jesus (of Avila, 1515-1582), Fray Luis de Leon (1528?-1591), and San Juan de la Cruz (1542-1591).

JOHN DEE (1527-1608)

In *Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age*, Frances Yates calls John Dee a "Christian Cabalist." Indeed, Dee seems to have drawn his *cabala* fully from Christian sources, primarily Reuchlin, Agrippa, and Postel.

There is a well-developed literature on Dee—quite a few more items than are listed here—including his own writings in reprint as well as studies of his work and influence. First, note the references above in § FOUR HISTORIANS: FRANCES YATES.

Publications and reprints include these works by Dee:

- Meric Casaubon's presentation of Dee material: *A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Years between Dr. John Dee and Some Spirits* (London: 1659; rpt. London: Askin, and Glasgow: Antonine Publishing Company, 1974; rpt. New York: Magickal Childe Publishing, 1992; rpt. Kila: Kessinger Publishing, n.d.).

  A "completely new & reset edition" of *A True and Faithful Relation...* published as *Dr John Dee's Spiritual Diaries (1583-1608)*, ed. Stephen Skinner (Singapore: Golden Hoard Publishing, 2011); supplemented by Skinner's *Key to the Latin of Dr John Dee's Spiritual Diaries* (Singapore: Golden Hoard Publishing, 2012), "a full translation of the more than 50,000 words printed in Latin in Dee's *Diaries*."

  Further, there is *The Complete Mystical Records of Dr. John Dee* – TRANSCRIBED FROM THE 16TH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS DOCUMENTING DEE'S CONVERSATIONS WITH ANGELS, compiled and edited by Kevin Klein, 3 volumes (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 2020).

  A discussion of *A True and Faithful Relation...* appears in Wayne Shumaker's *Renaissance Curiosa* [MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE TEXTS AND STUDIES, Volume 8] (Binghamton: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), CHAPTER I: "John Dee's Conversations with Angels."

- *The Enochian Evocation of Dr. John Dee*, edited by Geoffrey James (Gillette: Heptangle Books, 1984) = *The Enochian Magick of Dr. John Dee* (St. Paul, Llewellyn Publications, 1984/1994).
- *The Heptarchia Mystica of John Dee*, ed. Robert Turner (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1983/1986).
- *The Secrets of John Dee*, introduction and commentary by Gordon James (Edmonds: Holmes Publishing Group, 1995)
- *Hieroglyphic Monad*, translated by J. W. Hamilton-Jones (London: John M. Watkins, 1947; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1975; rpt. Edmonds: Sure Fire Press, 1986; rpt. York Beach, Red Wheel/Weiser, 2000—at TWILIT GROTTO, http://www.esotericarchives.com/dee/monad.htm).

  The best edition is perhaps still that of C. H. Josten: "A Translation of John Dee's 'Monas Hieroglyphica' (Antwerp, 1564), with Introduction and Notes," in *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry*, volume XII, numbers 2 & 3 (Cambridge, 1964), pages 84-221, which shows the original on pages facing the translation.

  Jim Egan's translation is online at http://newporttowermuseum.com/resources/Monas-Hieroglyphica-in-English.pdf. This version was put into print in 2014 as *Sacred Symbol of Oneness*. Egan rendered his translation from the original 1564 Latin text, in the process consulting previous versions, including the Hamilton-Jones and Josten translations listed above.

  An attractive edition has been produced by Ouroboros Press, offering a new translation from the Latin by Teresa Burns and Nancy Turner with an introduction and extensive notes by Teresa Burns (Seattle: Ouroboros Press, 2021). The publisher claims that this is "the most complete edition."

- *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery: Original Sourcebook of Enochian Magic* FROM THE COLLECTED WORKS KNOWN AS *MYSTERIORUM LIBRI QUINQUE*, ed. Joseph H. Peterson (York Beach: Weiser Books, 2003).

  Five Books... is a welcome new edition of *Mysteriorum Libri Quinque: Five Books of Mystical Exercises of John Dee / An Angelic Revelation of Cabalistic Magic and other Mysteries Occult and Divine / revealed to Dr. John dee and Edward Kelly A.D. 1581 – 1583*, with a preface by Elias Ashmole [MAGNUM OPUS - HERMETIC SOURCEWORKS SERIES, 20], a hand-bound, typescript edition of BL MS. Sloane 3188 by Adam McLean, in a limited run of 250 copies in 1985, which is now almost impossible to find.

- *John Dee: Essential Readings*, selected and introduced by Gerald Suster (Wellingborough [GB]: Crucible, 1986; reprinted, Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2003).
- At Joseph Peterson's TWILIT GROTTO, www.esotericarchives.com/dee/index.html, selected writings:
    - *Five Books of Mystery* (*Mysteriorum Libri Quinque*)
    - Earliest versions of Angelic or "Enochian" script
    - *Mysteriorum Liber Sextus et Sanctus* (*Liber Loagaeth*)
    - *Index Verborum* of the "Angelic Language" from *Liber Loagaeth*
    - *Compendium Heptarchiae Mysticae*
    - *De Heptarchia Mystica*
    - *Tuba Veneris* (THE TRUMPET OF VENUS)
    - *Tabula bonorum angelorum invocationes*
    - "The Holy Table" engraving from Casaubon's *True and Faithful Relation*
    - *Monas Hieroglyphica* [—the J. W. Hamilton-Jones translation]
    - An excerpt from C. H. Josten's translation of *Monas Hieroglyphica*
    - "A Letter Containing a most briefe Discourse Apologeticall"
    - Meric Casaubon, *A True and Faithful Relation* (excerpts)

An interesting supplement to the Dee magical material is Stephen Skinner and David Rankine's *Practical Angel Magic of Dr John Dee's Enochian Tables*, TABULARUM BONORUM ANGELORUM INVOCATIONES [SOURCEWORKS OF CEREMONIAL MAGIC – Volume 1] (London: Golden Hoard Press, 2004): "...the present manuscript is a working expansion of the *Book of Invocation or Calls*, the last of the four manuscripts found in Dee's secret chest." (—p. 37) "The two manuscripts transcribed in Part 3 of this book are Sloane MS 307 and Sloane MS 3821, both from the British Library." (—p. 53) It is strongly suggested that the author of the "extensive expansion" was one Thomas Rudd (1583-1656), whose manuscripts are also featured in volumes 2 and 3 of SOURCEWORKS OF CEREMONIAL MAGIC: *Keys to the Gateway of Magic: Summoning the Solomonic Archangels & Demon Princes* AND *The Goetia of Dr Rudd: Angels and Demons*. Add to these Colin D. Campbell's *Magic Seal of Dr. John Dee: The Sigillum Dei Aemeth* (York Beach: Teitan Press, 2009), which presents the history of Dee's *sigillum*, suggests corrections which might be made, then shows how it can be put to ritual use.

About Dee (listed chronologically, from 1968)

- Deacon, Richard. *John Dee: Scientist, Astrologer & Secret Agent to Elizabeth I* (London: Frederick Muller, 1968).
- French, Peter. *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972; rpt. 1984)—*Cabala* is referred to in passing throughout.
- Clulee, Nicholas H. *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1988)—*Cabala* is most often mentioned in Clulee's discussion of Dee's *Monas hieroglyphica*. It is pointed out that Dee believed that he had superseded the "vulgar linguistic discipline" of Hebraic *kabbalah* with his own "real" *kabbalah*.
- Turner, Robert. *Elizabethan Magic: The Art of the Magus* (Longmead: Element Books Ltd, 1989)—The chapters on Dee in Turner's book treat the Enochian magical art and the resulting "angelic manuscripts." Connections to *cabala* are not discussed.
- James, Geoffrey. *Angel Magic: The Ancient Art of Summoning and Communicating with Angelic Beings* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1995)—James refers to the principle based on Hebrew *cabala* "which says that the name of an object is inextricably linked with that object. To know the true name of something is to be able to control it completely." (p. 16)
- Harkness, Deborah. *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)—*Cabala* is dealt with throughout; see in particular CHAPTER 5, "'The True Cabala': Reading the Book of Nature," which describes "angelic cabala and explains how it is similar, and dissimilar, to the Jewish and Christian cabala of the early modern period." (—p. 5)
- Håkansson, Hakan. *Seeing the Word: John Dee and Renaissance Occultism* [UGGLAN MINERVASERIEN, 2] (Lund: Lunds Universitet, 2001)—Dee's uses of *Cabala* are discussed in numerous sections toward the middle of *Seeing the Word*, in particular pp. 170-199.

- Woolley, Benjamin. *The Queen's Conjuror: The Science and Magic of Dr. John Dee, Advisor to Queen Elizabeth I* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2001)—CHAPTER IX opens with a brief account of Dee's exploration of "a new field of research: the Cabala."
- Szőnyi, György E. *John Dee's Occultism: Magical Exaltation through Powerful Signs*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004)—See pp. 90-104, where there is a "sketchy outline of the cabala" within a segment called PICO'S ECOMIUM OF *EXALTATIO*.
- Clucas, Stephen (ed). *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE HISTORY OF IDEAS (= INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES), 193]. Dordrecht: Springer, 2006—Refer in particular to PART THREE: DEE AND THE OCCULT SCIENCES (in which the lead article is Karen De Léon-Jones' "John Dee and the Kabbalah"), PART FOUR: DEE'S CONVERSATION WITH ANGELS, and Stephen Clucas' "Recent Works on John Dee (1988-2005): A Select Bibliography" [of works since Clulee's *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*].
- Egan, Jim. *The Meaning of the Monas Hieroglyphica with regards to Geometry* (Newport: Cosmopolite Press, 2010), available online at the NEWPORT TOWER MUSEUM website > http://newporttowermuseum.com/resources/3-The-Meaning-of-the-Monas-Hieroglyphica-with-regards-to-Geometry.pdf
- Parry, Glyn. *The Arch-Conjuror of England: John Dee*. (New Haven - London: Yale University Press, 2011). See especially CHAPTER 5, "The Kabbalah of Creation."
- Louv, Jason. *John Dee and the Empire of Angels: Enochian Magick and the Occult Roots of the Modern World* (Rochester [VT]: Inner Traditions, 2018).

For a review of Harkness, Håkansson, Woolley, and Szulakowska, see György E. Szonyi, "John Dee and Early Modern Occult Philosophy," in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, NEW SERIES, vol. 2, no. 1 (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2002); also in *Literature Compass* 1, RE 110 ([England]: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pages 1-12.

Significant short works, articles, and chapters on Dee (listed chronologically, from 1921):

- James, M[ontague] R[hodes]. *Lists of Manuscripts Formerly Owned by Dr. John Dee*, with preface and identifications (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921).
- Butler, E. M. *Myth of the Magus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948; rpt. 1979), PART II, CHAPTER IV, § (a) *Dee and Kelley* (pp. 160-172), and Butler's *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949; rpt Cambridge: 1979 and University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), PART II, CHAPTER VI, § (a) *The Magic Crystal* (pp. 258-281).
- Clulee, Nicholas H. "John Dee's Mathematics and the Grading of Compound Qualities," in *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the History of Alchemy and Chemistry*, vol. XVIII (Cambridge, 1971); reprinted in *Alchemy and Early Modern Chemistry* (cited immediately above).
- Walton's earlier piece, "John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*: Geometrical Cabala," in *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the History of Alchemy and Chemistry*, vol. XXIII (Cambridge, 1976); reprinted in *Alchemy and Early Modern Chemistry: Papers from Ambix*, ed. Allen G. Debus (Huddersfield: Jeremy Mills Publishing, 2004).
- Walton's article on Dee and Fludd, "Hermetic Cabala and the Monas Hieroglyphica and the Mosaicall Philosophy," online in ESSENTIA: JOURNAL OF EVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT IN ACTION, vol. 2 (Summer 1981), at http://homepages.ihug.com.au/~panopus/essentia/essentiaii2.htm.
- Clulee's "At the Crossroads of Magic and Science: John Dee's Archemastrie" and Mordechai Feingold's "Occult Tradition in the English Universities of the Renaissance: A Reassessment," in *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 57-71 and 73-94.
- Clulee's "Astrology, Magic, and Optics: Facets of John Dee's Natural Philosophy" and Samuel Clyde McCulloch's "John Dee: Elizabethan Doctor of Science and Magic," both of which are in *Articles on Witchcraft* II (New York – London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992), pp. 2-50 and 118-131.
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- Clucas, Stephen. "'Non est legendum sed inspicendum solum': Inspectival Knowledge and the Visual Logic of John dee's *Liber Mysteriorum*," in *Emblems and Alchemy*, edited by A. Adams and S. J. Linden (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1998), pages 109-132; reprinted in Clucas' compendium *Magic, Memory and Natural*

Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Surrey – Burlington: Ashgate, 2011)—hereafter *Magic, Memory and Natural Philosophy*.

- Szulakowska, Urszula. "John Dee's Alchemy of Light: The *Monas Hieroglyphica* and the Cabbalah" and "John Dee's Conceptual Architecture and 'Zographie' in an Alchemical Context," which are CHAPTERS FIVE and SIX of Szulakowska's *Alchemy of Light: Geometry and Optics in Late Renaissance Alchemical Illustration* [SYMBOLA ET EMBLEMATA – *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Symbolism*, VOLUME X] (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
- Clulee's "*Astronomia inferior*: Legacies of Johannes Trithemius and John Dee," in *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*, eds. William R. Newman and Anthony Grafton. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2006).
- Stephen Clucas' "Enthusiasm and 'Damnable Curiosity': Meric Casaubon and John Dee," in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, edited by R. J. W. Evans and A. Marr (Altershot: Ashgate, 2006), pages 131-148; reprinted in *Magic, Memory and Natural Philosophy* (2011).
- Clucas' "John Dee's Angelic Conversations and the *Ars Notoria*," in *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), pp, 231-273.
- CHAPTER 3 of Christopher Lehrich's *Occult Mind* (Ithaca – London: Cornell University Press, 2007) discusses Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*.
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- Clucas, Stephen. "Pythagorean Number Symbolism, Alchemy, and the Disciplina Noua of John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*, in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, VOLUME 10, NUMBER 2 (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010).
- Stuckrad, Kocku von. "Scientific Encounters" = CHAPTER SEVEN of *Locations of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Esoteric Discourse and Western Identities* [BRILL'S STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY 186] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010).
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- Eggert, Katherine. "How to Skim Kabbalah" = CHAPTER 3 of *Disknowledge: Literature, Alchemy, and the End of Humanism in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015): § JOHN DEE SKIMS KABBALAH, pages 126-134.
- Parry, Glyn. "John Dee" = CHAPTER 7 in *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 107-116.
- Saif, Liana. *The Arabic Influences on Early Mopdern Occult Philosophy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); CHAPTER 7. "The Magic and Astrology of John Dee" (pages 144-171).
- Szőnyi, György E. "Layers of Meaning in alchemy in John Dee's *Monas hieroglyphica* and its Relvance in a Central European Context," in *Latin Alchemical Literature of Czech Provenance*, edited by Tomáš Nejeschleba and Jiři Michalek (Olomuc: Palacky University, 2015), pp. 100-131.
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "The Tetragrammaton in Renaissance Magic and among the Later Christian Kabbalists," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), pages 418-421.
- Madziarczyk, John. *The Magitians Discovered: Excluded Chapters from the Discoverie of Witchcraft* (Seattle: Topaz House Publications, 2016): vol. 1, pp. 133-180 and vol. 3, pp. 139-192.

One source looming behind many of the published works on Dee is I. R. F. Calder's unpublished dissertation, JOHN DEE STUDIED AS AN ENGLISH NEOPLATONIST (London: University of London, 1952). Fortunately, this work is now available on-line at THE JOHN DEE SOCIETY site at www.johndee.org > click "Calder thesis."

Charlotte Fell Smith's *John Dee (1527-1608)* (London: Constable & Company Ltd, 1909) is also at this site: click "Charlotte Fell Smith book." Indeed, quite a bit of material on Dee is available on the Internet at not only THE JOHN DEE SOCIETY but also THE JOHN DEE PUBLICATION PROJECT (for Enochian material in particular) at www.john-dee.org

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ENOCHIAN MAGIC

Dozens of books have been written about Enochian magic as derived from Dee's work with Edward Kelley for the simple reason that the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn incorporated a portion of it into their teachings. The Golden Dawn's manner of *Enochia* was further developed by Aleister Crowley and subsequent authors and *magicians*, many of whom added elements which are quite alien to Dee's work even while omitting well-nigh half of Dee's original system.

For an accurate impression of Dee and Kelley's *entire* system, see Donald Tyson's *Enochian Magic for Beginners: The Original System of Angel Magic* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1997; Kindle, 2002). The title is misleading: Tyson's book is a thorough introduction, description, and appraisal—not really for beginners.

"Enochian" literature spinning off from the Golden Dawn's use of Dee material is extensive. Some examples:

- Crowley, Aleister; DuQuette, Lon Milo; and Hyatt, Christopher S. *The Enochian World of Aleister Crowley: Enochian Sex Magick* (Scottsdale: New Falcon Publications, 1991).
- DeSalvo, John. *Enochian Magic and the Higher Worlds: Beyond the Realm of the Angels* (Rochester – Toronto: Destiny Books, 2015).
- _____. *The Lost Art of Enochian Magic: Angels, Invocations, and the Secrets Revelaed to Dr. John Dee* (Rochester – Toronto: Destiny Books, 2010).
- DuQuette, Lon Milo. *Enochian Vision Magick: A Practical Guide to the Magick of Dr. John Dee and Edward Kelley* (Newburyport: Red Wheel/Weiser, 2019).
- Frater Yechidah. *Enochian Magic in Practice* (Dublin: Kerubim Press, 2016).
- _____. *Enochian Magic in Theory* (Dublin: Kerubim Press, 2012).
- Laycock, Donald C. *The Complete Enochian Dictionary: A Dictionary of the Angelic Language as Revealed to Dr. John Dee and Edward Kelley*, preface by Stephen Skinner (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1994; rpt. 2001).
- Leitch, Aaron. *The Essential Enochian Grimoire: An Introduction to Angel Magick from Dr. John Dee to the Golden Dawn* (Woodbury: Llewellyn Publications, 2014).
- Schueler, Gerald J. *Enochian Magic: A Practical Manual* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications: 1985).
- _____. *An Advanced Guide to Enochian Magick* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications: 1987).
- _____. *Enochian Physics: The Structure of the Magical Universe* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Pubs: 1985).
- Schueler, Gerald and Betty. *The Enochian Tarot: A New System of Divination for a New Age*, with paintings by Sallie Ann Glassman (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications: 1992).
- _____. *Enochian Yoga: Uniting Humanity and Divinity* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications: 1990).
- _____. *The Enochian Workbook: An Introduction to the Enochian Magical System*, presented in 43 easy lessons (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications: 1993).
- Zalewski, Chris. *Enochian Chess & the Golden Dawn: A Four-Handed Chess Game* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications: 1994).
- Zalewski, Pat. *Golden Dawn Enochian Magic* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications: 1990).

Egil Asprem offers a scholarly treatment of the developments of Enochian magic in *Arguing with Angels: Enochian Magic & Modern Occulture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012).

See also Anthony Holtberg's MA dissertation, ENOCHIAN ANGEL MAGIC: FROM JOHN DEE TO THE HERMETIC ORDER OF THE GOLDEN DAWN (University of Exeter, 2011).

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LUIS DE LEÓN (1527-1591)

JUAN DE LA CRUZ [JOHN OF THE CROSS] (1542-1591)

Luis de León and Juan de la Cruz flourished during the Spanish Golden Age, the era that produced Cervantes and El Greco. Both were likely "of converso stock." (—*Spanish Christian Cabala*, page 155).

Fray Luis, an Augustinian theologian and poet, knew Latin, Greek, and, most significant here, Hebrew. He "used Christian Cabala to bridge the Hebrew and Christian traditions." (—*Spanish Christian Cabala*, page 160).

In *The Strife of Tongues*, Colin Thompson notes that an

> accurate measure of the relationship between Fray Luis, Kabbalism and Jewish tradition is best obtained from assessing his debt to the most popular of the Christian Kabbalists, Galatinus and his *De arcanis veritatis*. (—page 165)

Thompson adds that Galatinus and the Christian interpreters of *kabbalah* whom he admired (*i.e.*, Paul of Burgos,[39] Pico della Mirandola, and Egidio de Viterbo),

> are not concerned with Kabbalah in itself, but with how it may be useful to Christians. (*ibid.*)

Indeed, Thompson opens his segment, FRAY LUIS AND KABBALISTIC THOUGHT,

> Fray Luis was fundamentally a Hebrew scholar fascinated by textual and linguistic detail, not for its own sake, but as the basis on which accurate interpretations of Scripture could be made and Christians have their knowledge of the Bible enriched.

Juan de la Cruz became a Carmelite under the tutelage of Teresa of Avila. Like Teresa, Friar Juan was posthumously declared a Doctor of the Church (by Pope Benedict XIII, 1726), and became known as the "Mystical Doctor."

Catherine Sweitlicki's book, *Spanish Christian Cabala*, offers a well-developed speculation on the influence of the *Zohar* on San Juan's thought.

On Luis de León:

- Thompson, Colin P. *The Strife of Tongues: Fray Luis de León and the Golden Age of Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "The Early Christian Kabbalists and the Tetragrammaton," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), pages 348-349.

On both Luis de León and Juan de la Cruz as "Christian kabbalists," see

- Swietlicki, Catherine. *Spanish Christian Cabala: The Works of Luis de León, Santa Teresa de Jesus, and San Juan de la Cruz* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986).

[39] Born Solomon ha-Levi, Paul of Burgos, or Pablo de Santa Maria (1351-1435), was a wealthy rabbinical scholar who converted in 1391. After his conversion, in his role as an Archbishop and Lord Chancellor, he set to persecuting the Jews, limiting their rights to the extent that they had virtually no way of earning enough to maintain their lives—unless they too converted.

JEAN BODIN (1530-1596)

Bodin was a more accomplished Hebraist than most around him, including his older contemporary Guillaume Postel. In his works, especially *Colloquium heptaplomeres de rerum sublimium arcanis abditis* (COLLOQUIUM OF THE SEVEN ABOUT THE SECRETS OF THE SUBLIME—1588), Bodin cites a wide range of Jewish sources, including the Talmud, Maimonides, and the *Zohar*. Of the seven fictional discussants of the *Colloquium*, the most prominent—and portrayed as the most learnèd—is a Jew named Salomon Barcassius, "whose bearing and erudition command general respect and who argues that the religion of Moses, the most ancient, remains superior to all others" (—Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff* [Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 1992], p. 55). The "others" are a rich Venetian host, a convert from Catholicism to Islam, a Calvinist, a Lutheran, a skeptic, and a "deist."

The *Colloquium* was put into English by Marion Leathers Kuntz (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975; rpt. University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

Note Kuntz' articles in her collection, *Venice, Myth and Utopian Thought in the Sixteenth Century: Bodin, Postel and the Virgin of Venice* (full bibliographic details above in § POSTEL):

(1) "The Home of Coronaeus in Jean Bodin's *Colloquium*"
(2) "Structure, Form and Meaning in the *Colloquium Heptaplomeres* of Jean Bodin"
(3) "Harmony and the Heptaplomeres of Jean Bodin"
(4) "The Concept of Toleration in the *Colloquium Heptaplomeres* of Jean Bodin."

See also

- Pines, S[hlomo]. "The Jewish Religion after the Destruction of the Temple and State: The Views of Bodin and Spinoza," in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History Presented to Alexander Altmann on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, eds. Siegried Stein and Raphael Loewe ([Tuscaloosa]: Published in Association with The Institute of Jewish Studies, London: University of Alabama Press, 1979), pages 215-234.
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "The Tetragrammaton in Renaissance Magic and among the Later Christian Kabbalists," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), pages 424-426.

Bodin is also known for his rants against witchcraft and his condemnation of Pico and Agrippa "for attempting to use Cabala for transitive magic" (—John S. Mebane, *Renaissance Magic* [Lincoln – London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989], p. 97). Refer to Yates' *Occult Philosophy*, pp. 67-71, and Bodin's tract, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches* (*De la démonomanie des sorcirs*—1580), translated by Randy A. Scott, with an introduction by Jonathan L. Pearl (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995).

P. G. Maxwell-Stuart's *Occult in Early Modern Europe: A Documentary History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998) contains a handful of passages from Bodin: "on forms of divination," *Demonomaniae magorum* (1581, the Latin of the above-mentioned *Demon-Mania*), pp. 30-31; "spirits are innumerable," *Colloquium* (1596), p. 41; "the stars and geography," *Methodus Historica* (1576), pp. 94-95; "definition of a magician," *Demonomaniae magorum*, p. 122; "on the extraordinary possibilities of Kabbalistic interpretation," *Demono-maniae magorum*, pp. 147-148; "witches cannot fly through the air," *Colloquium*, pp. 177-178.

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JOHANNES PISTORIUS (1546-1608)

Pistorius served in the court of Karl II of Baden-Durlach. He was a doctor of medicine.

A restless Protestant, he drifted from Lutheranism to Calvanism, and finally wound up as a Catholic. In the Catholic Church, Pistorius held a number of offices.

Most important to our concern here is that Pistorius compiled an influential anthology of *cabalistic* writings:

> *Artis cabalisticae*, hoc est, Reconditae theologiae et philosophiae, scriptorvm : tomus I. In quo praeter Pavli Ricii theologicos & philosophicos libros sunt latini penè omnes et hebraei nonnulli praestantissimi scriptores ... opvs omnibvs theologis, et occvltae abstrvsae q've philosophiae stvdiosis pernecessarium ... ex D. Ioannis Pistorii. (Basileae : per Sebastianvm Henricpetri, M.D.XXCVII [1587])

This collection defined *cabala* in Christian Europe until, a century later, it was supplemented, or perhaps superseded, by *Kabbala denudata*, which in fact offers far more *kabbalah* than *cabala*, whereas Pistoius' compilation is a mix of the two.

Pistorius intended further volumes, but none was ever produced.

See Philip Beitchman, *Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), pp. 134-142, for a discussion of *Artis cabalisticae* and brief descriptions of the works it contains.

Contents of *Artis cabalisticae*:

- Pavli Ricii (Ricci, Riccius, or Riccio): *De coelesti agricvltvra* libri IIII
- Rabi Iosephi (Gikatilla): *De porta*, i.e., *Sha'are Orah*
- Leonis Hebraei (Leone Ebreo): *De amore dialogi tres*
- Ionnis Revchlini (Johann Reuchlin): *De arte cabalistica*, libri III; *De verbo mirifico*, libri III
- Archangeli Bvrgonovenisis (Archangelus of Borgo Nuovo): *Interpretationes in selectiora obscvrioáq cabalistarvm dogmata*
- Abrahami (Abraham the Prophet): De creatione & cabalistinis, hebraicè *Sepher ietzira*, liber

GIORDANO BRUNO (1548-1600)

According to Frances Yates, Bruno's *cabala* was derived primarily from Agrippa and remained rather dilute, being far less important to Bruno than his "Egyptianism" (see above: § FOUR HISTORIANS: FRANCES YATES • *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*).

> In his *Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo* he appears to be totally rejecting Cabala for his purely Egyptian insights, an attitude which accords with his highly unorthodox view of the history of *prisca theologia*, or *prisca magia*, in which, according to him, the Egyptians are not only earliest but best, and the Jews and Christians later and worse.
>
> (—*Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, p. 257)

Compare Yates' conclusions about Bruno with those in *Giordano Bruno and the Kabbalah: Prophets, Magicians, and Rabbis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) by Karen Silvia de Leon-Jones, who contends that Bruno's knowledge and development of the *kabbalah* were far more extensive than Yates suggests. In de Leon-Jones' words,

> Bruno does not merely present or discuss the *kabbalah*, he transforms it, manipulates it, makes it his own, does it. (—*Giordano Bruno and the Kabbalah*, p. 5)

Note, however, the objections of David Harari in "Was the Author of *Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo* a Kabbalist?" (in *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts*, Volume Four, eds. Daniel Abrams and Avraham Elqayam, Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 1999). Responding to de Leon-Jones' *Giordano Bruno and the Kabbalah*, Harari suggests that Leone Ebreo was the author of *Cabala del cavallo pegaseo*, not Bruno, thus pulling the rug out from under de Leon-Jones' thesis.[40]

The text in question, *Cabala del cavallo pegaseo* (THE CABALA OF PEGASUS)—attributed as it usually is to Bruno—has been translated and annotated by Sidney L. Sondergard and Madison U. Sowell (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2002): "The Brunist persona Saulino lectures on the Sefirot early in the first dialogue of the *Cabala* ... a kabbalistic system derived primarily from Cornelius Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*..." (—p. xxx).

Another Bruno dialogue has been put into English: *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, translated and with an introduction by Arthur D. Imerti, foreword by Karen Silvia de Leon-Jones (Lincoln – London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

Other Bruno works in translation:

- *The Heroic Enthusiasts (Gli eroici furori): An Ethical Poem*, Part the First, translated by L. Williams, with an introduction, complied chiefly from David Levi's "Giordano Bruno, o La religione del persiero" (vol. 1 – London: G. Redway, 1887-1889; vol. 2 – London: B. Quaritch, 1889).

  This title, translated as *The Heroic Frenzies*, can be found at Joseph Peterson's ESOTERIC ARCHIVES, at http://www.esotericarchives.com/bruno/home.htm, along with ten other Bruno works in Latin. Peterson reproduces the translation of Paulo Eugene Memmo, Jr. (1964).
- *CAUSE, PRINCIPLE AND UNITY and Essays on Magic*, eds. Richard J. Blackwell and Robert de Lucca... [CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- *Cantus Circaeus: The Incantation of Circe* TOGETHER WITH *The Judiciary* BEING THE *Art of Memory*, translated by Darius Klein (Seattle: Ouroboros Press, 2009).

[40] On Leone Ebreo, see THE PROBLEM OF LEONE EBREO'S *DIALOGHI*.

There is also Scott Gosnell's seven-volume series of translations, *The Collected Works of Giordano Bruno* (available in paperback and Kindle):

1. *De Umbris Idearum: On the Shadows of Ideas & The Art of Memory*, translated an introduced by Scott Gosnell (HISTORY IN THOUGHT SERIES, Volume I) (Huginn, Munnin & Co., Publishers/CreateSpace, 2013).
2. *On the Infinite, the Universe and the Worlds: Five Cosmological Dialogues* (GIORDANO BRUNO COLLECTED WORKS— HISTORY IN THOUGHT SERIES, Volume II), translation and introduction by Scott Gosnell (Huginn, Munnin & Co., Publishers/CreateSpace, 2014).
3. *Four Works on Lull: On the Compendious Architecture of Ramon Lull, Lullian Lamps, Scrutiny of the Subjects, Animadversions*, translation and introduction by Scott Gosnell (GIORDANO BRUNO COLLECTED WORKS—Volume III) (Huginn, Munnin & Co., Publishers/CreateSpace, 2015).
4. *Thirty Seals & The Seal of Seals* (CreateSpace, 2016)
5. *On Magic* (CreateSpace, 2018)
6. *Thirty Statues: A Book of the Art of Memory & the Art of Invention* (CreateSpace, 2019)
7. *Song of Circe & On the Composition of Images: Two Books of the Art of Memory* (CreateSpace, 2020)

Studies on Bruno (listed chronologically, from 1950):

- Greenberg, Sidney. *The Infinite in Giordano Bruno, with a Translation of His Dialogue Concerning the Cause, Principle, and One* (New York: King's Crown Press/Columbia University Press, 1950).
- Singer, Dorothea Waley. *Giordano Bruno: His Life and Thought, with Annotated Translation of His Work,* ON THE INFINITE UNIVERSE AND WORLDS (New York: Henry Schuman, 1950).
- Feingold, Mordechai. "Occult Tradition in the English Universities of the Renaissance: A Reassessment," in *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Gosslin, Edward A. "Bruno's 'French Connection': A Historiographical Debate," in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe,* eds. Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (Washington: Folger Books, 1988).
- Shumaker, Wayne. "Giordano Bruno, *De magia, Theses de magia, De magia mathematica*," in *Natural Magic and Modern Science: FOUR TREATISES 1590-1657* (Binghamton: State University of New York/Center for Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989), pages 41-69.
- Bossy, John. *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991 & 2002).
- Mendoza, Ramon G. *The Acentric Labyrinth: Giordano Bruno's Prelude to Contemporary Cosmology* (Shaftesbury – Rockport – Brisbane: Element, 1995).
- Ordine, Nuccio. *Giordano Bruno and the Philosophy of the Ass*, translated by Henryk Baranski in collaboration with Arielle Sailber (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
- Clucas, Stephen. "*In Campo Fantastico*: Alexander Dicson, Walter Warner and Brunian Mnemonics," in *Giordano Bruno 1583-1585: The English Experience/L'esperienza inglese*, edited by M. Ciliberto and N. Mann (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1997), pages 37-59; reprinted in Clucas' *Magic, Memory and Natural Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Surrey – Burlington: Ashgate, 2011)—hereafter *Magic, Memory and Natural Philosophy*.
- _____. "*Amorem, artem, magiam, mathesim*: Brunian Images and the Domestication of the Soul," in *Zeitsprünge: Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit* 3 (1999), pages 5-24; reprinted in Clucas' *Magic, Memory and Natural Philosophy*.
- Gatti, Hilary. *Giordano Bruno and Renaissance Science* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).
  Gatti treats Bruno the scientific thinker and mathematician rather than Bruno the "Hermetic Magus"—the title Frances Yates gave him.
- Rossi, Paolo. "The Imaginative Logic of Giordano Bruno" = CHAPTER 4 of *Logic and the Art of Memory: The Quest for a Universal Language*, translated and with an introduction by Stephen Clucas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

- Clucas, Stephen. "Giordano Bruno's *De imagininum, signorum et idearum compositione*: Art, Magic, and Mnemotechnics" in *Physis: rivista internazionale di storia della scienza* 38 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2001), pages 75-98; reprinted in Clucas' *Magic, Memory and Natural Philosophy*.
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- White, Michael. *The Pope and the Heretic: The True Story of Giordano Bruno, the Man Who Dared to Defy the Roman Inquisition* (New York: William Morrow, 2002; rpt Toronto: Perennial [HarperCollins], 2003).
- Ciliberto, Michael. "Bruno, Giordano (Filippo)," in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, Volume 1, edited by Wouter J. Hanegraaff *et al.* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 206-213.
- Lehrich, Christopher. *Occult Mind: Magic in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca – London: Cornell University Press, 2007), pages 25-47 and 84-91.
- Zambelli, Paola. "Bruno as a Reader of Prohibited Books" = PART III of *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance: From Ficino, Pico, Della Porta to Trithemius, Agrippa, Bruno* [STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE TRADITIONS, VOLUME CXXV] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).
- Clucas, Stephen. "Galileo, Bruno and the Rhetoric of Dialogue in Seventeenth-Century Natural Philosophy," in *History of Science* 46 (2008), pages 405-429); reprinted in Clucas' *Magic, Memory and Natural Philosophy*.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. "Under the Mantle of Love: The Mystical Eroticisms of Marsilio Ficino and Giordano Bruno," in *Hidden Intercourse: Eros and Sexuality in the History of Western Esotericism*, edited by Wouter j. Hanegraaff and Jeffrey J. Kripal (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008), pages 175-207.
- Rowland, Ingrid. *Giordano Bruno: Philosopher/Heretic* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2008).

  > "In its multiple worlds, its combinations of Hebrew letters, and its interconnections, in addition to its affinities with the Neoplatonic interplay of darkness and light, Kabbalah bore an uncannily close relationship to the way of thinking that Giordano Bruno came to identify as the Nolan philosophy. Bruno's was certainly not a Christian Kabbalah; if anything it was more identifiably Jewish. Neither alternative would find any approval within the walls of San Domenico. As a student, Bruno restricted his energies to a less dangerous pursuit: the material exercise known as the art of memory."
  >
  > (—Rowland, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 61)

- Gatti, Hilary. *Essays on Giordano Bruno* (Princeton/Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2011).
- Blum, Paul Richard. *Giordano Bruno—An Introduction*, translated from the German by Peter Henneveld [VALUES IN ITALIAN PHILOSOPHY, 254] (Leiden/Amsterdam – New York: Brill/Rodopi [VALUE INQUIRY BOOK SERIES], 2012).

  Blum, on the *kabbalah* in *Cabala del cavallo pegaseo*, pages 61 and 62:

  > "But when Onorio recommends, 'if you are not willing to listen under the appearance of doctrine and science, then do it just for fun,' then not only the foolishness becomes a metaphor, and not only the malicious portrait of Aristotle becomes a fable, but rather the entire wisdom displayed throughout this dialogue becomes a narrative. Kabbalah becomes a cabal. The third dialogue which allegedly failed turns the entire work into an unfinished Kabbalah, a little preparatory and paradigmatic intrigue for beginners: 'Cabala parva, tironica, isagogica, microcosmica.'"
  >
  > "...Bruno regards the Jewish Kabbalah merely as another invitation to a general syncretism of religions or to the abolition of the historically and geographically diverse modes of expression within a universal philosophy."

- Dall'Igna, Antonio. "Is the Mysticism of Giordano Bruno a Form of Initiation?" in *Initiation into the Mysteries: A Collection of Studies in Religion, Philosophy and the Arts*, edited by Anikó Daróczi, Enikö Sepsi, and Miklós Vassányi (Budapest – Paris, L'Hamattan Publishing/Éditions L'Harmattan, 2019), pp. 207-220.

HEINRICH KHUNRATH (1560-1605)

Khunrath draws together Paracelcianism, alchemy, magic, and the *cabala* of Reuchlin, Agrippa, and Pistorius' *Artis cabalisticae* (Basil, 1587) in text and eleven engravings, eight of which are remarkably detailed, in his *Amphitheatrum sapientiæ æternæ, solis veræ* (Hamburg, 1595; Hanau, 1609).

A "definitive edition" was published as *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae – Schauplatz Der Ewigen Allein Wahren Weisheit*, edited by Carlos Gilly, Anja Hallacker, Hanns-Peter Neumann, and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann [CLAVIS PANSOPHIAE, 6] (Stuttgart: frommann-Holzboog Verlag e.K., 2013) [German/Latin]:

> "Complete reprint of the first print [Hamburg] 1595, as well as of the second and last print Hanau 1609. Includes a bibliography of Khunrath's prints and handwritings, an index of names and a concordance of both editions, as well as a transcript of an 18th-century German translation of the *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*." (—from the frommann-Holzboog website)

On Khunrath and his *Amphitheatrum sapientiæ æternæ*, listed alphabetically by author:

- Allen, Paul M. (comp/ed). *A Christian Rosenkreutz Anthology* (Blauvelt/Great Barrington: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1968, 1974, 1981, and 2000 [ARCHIVE EDITION]), pp. 273-292.
  The eleven plates from *Amphitheatrum...* are reproduced with explanations.
- Craven, J. B. *Doctor Heinrich Khunrath: A Study in Mystical Alchemy* from Craven's personal papers: University of Aberdeen Special Collections, ref. GB 231 MS 896/ 2; print version edited by Adam McLean (Glasgow: Hermetic Studies No. 1, 1997)—limited to 300 copies.
- Eggert, Katherine. "How to Skim Kabbalah," which is CHAPTER 3 of *Disknowledge: Literature, Alchemy, and the End of Humanism in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pages 110-116.
- Forshaw, Peter. "'Alchemy in the Amphitheatre': Some Consideration of the Engravings in Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom (1609)*," in *Art and Alchemy*, edited by Jacob Wamberg (Copenhagen: Museum Tuscalanum Forlag, 2006), pp. 195-220.
- _____. "Christian Kabbalah" in *The Cambridge Handbook of Western Mysticism and Esotericism*, edited by Glenn Alexander Magee (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), § 5. The Sigillum Dei in Heirich Khunrath's "*Christian-Cabalist*" Amphitheatre," pp. 150-151.
- _____. "Curious Knowledge and Wonder-working Wisdom in the Occult Works of Heinich Khunrath," in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, edited by R. J. W. Evans and Alexander Marr (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2006), pp. 107-129.
- _____. "'Paradoxes, Absurdities, and Madness': Conflict over Alchemy, Magic and Medicine in the Works of Andreas Libavius and Heinrich Khunrath," in *Early Science and Medicine* 13 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 53-81.
- _____. ORA ET LABORA: ALCHEMY, MAGIC, AND CABALA IN HEINRICH KHUNRATH'S *AMPHITHEATRUM SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ* (1609) (doctoral thesis, Birkbeck: University of London, 2003), in two volumes.
- _____. "Oratorium-Auditorium-Laboratorium: Early Modern Improvisations on Cabala, Music and Alchemy," in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010), pp. 165-195.
- Szulakowska, Urszula. *The Alchemy of Light* (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2000), CHAPTERS 8 and 9 are on the 1602 and 1604 editions of *Amphitheatrum sapientiæ æternæ*, respectively.
- Tahil Patricia (translator). *The Amphitheatre Engravings of Heinrich Khunrath*, [MAGNUM OPUS HERMETIC SOURCEWORKS SERIES, no. 7] (Edinburgh: Magnum Opus Hermetic Sourceworks, 1981).
  "... with extensive commentaries on these engravings, including material by J. B. Craven, Stanislas de Guaita, Papus and Johan Arndt." (—http://www.alchemywebsite.com/bookshop/mohs7.html)

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THE CONFLATION OF CABALA & ALCHEMY

Toward the end of his sub-chapter on Christian *cabala* (—*Kabbalah*, pp. 196-201), Gershom Scholem describes the blending of *cabala* and alchemy [my additions appear in brackets]:

> As early as the late 16th century [with, for example, **Paracelsus**] a pronounced trend had emerged toward the permeation of Christian Kabbalah with alchemical symbolism, thus giving it an oddly original character in its final stages of development in the 17th and 18th centuries. This mélange of elements typifies the works of **Heinrich Khunrath**, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ Æternæ* (1609), **Blaise de Vigenère** [1523-1596], *Traité du Feu* (1617), **Abraham von Frankenberg** [1593-1652], **Robert Fludd** (1574–1637), and **Thomas Vaughan** (1622–1666), and reaches its apogee in **Georg von Welling**'s [1655-1727] *Opus Mago-Cabbalisticum* (1735) and the many books of **F. C. Oetinger** (1702–1782), whose influence is discernible in the works of such great figures of German idealist philosophy as **Hegel** and **Schelling**. In yet another form this mixture reappears in the theosophical systems of the Freemasons in the second half of the 18th century [and on into the nineteenth century]. (—*Kabbalah*, p. 200)

Refer to

- Scholem's *Alchemy and Kabbalah* [= "Alchemie und Kabbala" in *Eranos Yearbook* 46 (1977)], translated from the German by Klaus Ottmann (Putnam: Spring Publications, 2006).
- Peter Forshaw's "Cabala Chymica or Chemia Cabalistica – Early Modern Alchemists and Cabala," in *Ambix*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (Cambridge: Society for the History of Alchemy and Chemistry, 2013), pp. 361-389.

See above:

- on Paracelsus, pages 52-53
- on Khunrath, page 70

See below:

- on Fludd, pages 76-77
- on Franckenberg, page 79
- on Vaughan, pages 85 & 105-1065
- on Oetinger, page 120
- on Hegel, page 129

For **Georg von Welling**'s *Opus Mago-Cabbalisticum et Theosophicum*, find the English translation by Joseph G. McVeigh, edited by Lon Milo DuQuette (San Francisco – Newburyport: Weiser Books, 2006).

> "The very book that moved the real-life Goethe and the fictional Faust was *Opus*, with its revelatory secrets of alchemy, astrology, and the history of magick as well as those of Rosicrucians, esoteric Freemasonry, the Illuminati, and the Golden Dawn." (—*Opus*..., back cover)

On **Schelling**:

- Benz, Ernst. "The Cabalistic Sources of the Romantic Philosophy of Nature" = CHAPTER IV of *The Mystical Sources of German Romantic Philosophy* (Allison Park: Pickwick Publications, 1983), pp. 47-58.
- Golan, Zev. "The Gates of Eden: God and Evil, Man and Evil (A Dialogue between Schelling, Luria and Maimonides)," = CHAPTER II of *God, Man and Nietzsche: A Startling Dialogue between Judaism and Modern Philosophers* (Bloomington: iUniverse, 2008), pp. 15-52.
- Schute, Christophe. "Ẓimẓum in the Works of Schelling," in *Iyyun: The Jerusalem Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 41 (Jerusalem: S. H. Bergman Center for Philosophical Studies of the Hebrew University, January 1992), pp. 21-40.

In French, on **Blaise de Vigenère** and his *Traicté dv fev et dv sel*... (Paris: Abel l'Angelier, 1618)

- Secret. *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (throughout).
- _____. *Le Zôhar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, pp. 83-88.
- *Traicte dv fev et dv sel* (full French text): http://livres-d-hermes.com/PDF/TDFEDS01.PDF

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564-1616)

Quite a few works discuss the occult in Shakespeare. Some examples:

- Frances Yates' *Occult Philosophy*..., CHAPTER XII, "Shakespeare and the Christian Cabala: Francesco Giorgi and *The Merchant of Venice*" and Yates' *Theatre of the World* (both titles mentioned above, § FOUR HISTORIANS)
- John S. Mebane's chapter "Magic as Love and Faith: Shakespeare's *The Tempest*," in *Renaissance Magic & the Return of the Golden Age: The Occult Tradition & Marlowe, Jonson, & Shakespeare* (Lincoln – London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989)
- Arthur Versluis' *Shakespeare the Magus* (St. Paul: Grail Publishing, 2001).
- György E. Szönyi's "Pastoral, Romance, Ritual and Magic in Shakespeare and *'The Winter's Tale,'*" in *Centers and Peripheries in European Renaissance Culture: Essays by East-Central European Mellon Fellows*, edited by György E. Szönyi and Csaba Maczelka (Szeged: JATE Press, 2012), pp. 105-120.

Two writers have given Shakespeare's connections with *kabbalah*, or *cabala*, book-length consideration: Daniel Banes and Yona Claire Dureau.

Regarding cabalistic influence upon "The Bard of Avon," Banes' *Shakespeare, Shylock and Kabbalah* (Silver Spring: Malcolm House Publications, 1978) begins with a discussion of John Dee and Robert Fludd to establish the existence of *cabala* in England.

Banes then goes on to the purpose of his book: "to identify some of the kabbalistic themes in *The Merchant of Venice*, and to relate them to antecedents in the literature of Kabbalah." From Banes' analysis, it would appear that Shakespeare was most indebted to Francesco Giorgi's *De harmonia mundi* (1525) *via* the French version of it rendered by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie (1578).[41]

Banes' earlier work, *The Provocative Merchant of Venice* (Silver Spring – Chicago: Malcolm House, 1975), begins with a dismissive critique of Charles and Mary Lamb's prose retelling of *The Merchant of Venice* and concludes with his own "vagrant speculations" regarding the dependence of this famous work upon the Kabbalah. Indeed, Banes sets up a variant *tree of life* showing correspondences between the *sefirot* and the play's *dramatis personæ*.

Banes' "commentary" on *The Merchant of Venice* is critiqued by Yates in *Occult Philosophy*..., CHAPTER XII.

We will use the chapter titles of Yona Dureau's *Christian Cabbalah Movement in Renaissance England & Its Influence on William Shakespeare* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009)—with a few notes—to compose our description of her work:

CHAPTER I. "Favourable Circumstances for the Development of Christian Cabbalah in England"

CHAPTER II. "Translators of Christian and Jewish Cabbalah and Their Relationship to Writing and Writers"

CHAPTER III. "The Impossible Quest for Lost Shakespeare"

CHAPTER IV. "The Metaphysics of Prophecies and Free Will in *Richard III*"

CHAPTER V. "*Julius Caesar*: Representation of History and the Talmudic Combination of Divine and Human Time" ... "...shows how *Julius Caesar* can be read according to seven levels of spiral time structures..." (—INTRODUCTION, p. 13)

[41] See Secret, *Le Zôhar*..., "Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie," pp. 80-83.

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CHAPTER VI. "*As You Like It* as a Kabbalist Teaching on the Impact of Sacred Study" … "…focuses on *As You Like It* and its intertextual connections with Cordovero's manuscript *Or Ne'erah*" (—INTRODUCTION, p. 13). CHAPTER VI opens

> Renaissance Europe bore the print of many trends and influences in the realm of esoteric teachings. It would probably be a comfortable hypothesis for the critic to look for Christian cabalistic elements in Shakespeare's plays, to support and complete the imaginary image of the playwright established by generations of critics. Yet, just as intellectuals sometimes turned to kabbalah with no clearly defined religious purpose, and probably mostly for primarily intellectual stimulation, Shakespeare's plays display a variety of influences. Some plays nevertheless are definitely more kabbalistical than others, some obviously influenced by the syncretic dimension of Christian Cabbalah. (—p. 197)

CHAPTER VII. "*Antony and Cleopatra* and Christian Cabbalah's Hercules"

CHAPTER VIII. "*Richard II*, the Cabbalistic Loss of the Crown and the Rise of the Antichrist, or the Failure of the Way of Milderness and the Forecast of the Way of Severity"

A chapter which is summarized in Dureau's INTRODUCTION (—p. 13), which "offers a reading of *Twelfth Night* in view of Christian Cabbalah's theory of death by the divine kiss," is missing from the book. Indeed, content descriptions in the INTRODUCTION conflate CHAPTERS IV and V and incorrectly number the chapters thereafter—indications at the outset of the pervasive sloppiness of this otherwise intriguing book.

Also refer to Katherine Eggert's "How to Skim Kabbalah" = CHAPTER 3 of *Disknowledge: Literature, Alchemy, and the End of Humanism in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015): § PROSPERO'S GOLEM, pages 143-156.

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JOHANNES BUREUS (1568-1652)

"Scandinavia was the land of the Hyperboreans who had migrated to the Baltic shores before the fall of the Tower of Babel and who therefore possessed the original, uncorrupted culture and spirituality of mankind."

> —Susanna Åkerman, "The Gothic Kabbala: Johannes Bureus, Runic Theosophy, and Northern European Apocalypticism," in *The Expulsion of the Jews: 1492 and After*, eds. Raymond B. Waddington and Arthur H. Williamson (New York – London: Garland Publishing, 1994), p. 177.

"The most striking of the theorists of the new Baltic imperium was Johannes Bureus."

> —*ibid.*, p. 178.

"[Bureus] is the most important non-Jewish Swedish Kabbalist. In Bureus's work older Gothism along with runic and linguistic research blended with his strong interest in all forms of esotericism: astrology, magic, alchemy, and above all the Kabbalah."

> —Thomas Karlsson, "Kabbalah in Sweden," in *Western Esotericism, Based on Papers Read at the Symposium on Western Esotericism Held at Åbo, Finland, on 15-17 August 2007*, ed. Tore Ahlbäck [SCRIPTA INSTITUTE DONNERIANI ABOENSIS XX] (Åbo/Turku: Donner Institute in Religious and Cultural History, 2008), p. 88.

Further on Bureus, see Åkerman's *Rose Cross over the Baltic: The Spread of Rosicrucianism in Northern Europe* (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 1998) and Stephen E. Flowers' *Johannes Bureus and Adalruna, Being a Study toward the Delineation of the Historical Movement toward the Northern Dawn*, Vol. I (Smithville: Rûna-Raven Press, 1998).

PAUL YVON (ca. 1570-1646)

Paul Yvon, sieur de Laleu, was a "French merchant-banker ... whose wealth allowed him a second existence as a mathematician, esoteric theologian, and self-styled messiah" (—Wilke, "Where Geometry Meets Kabbalah," page 179). He "claimed to have discovered, by a divine revelation [that] he experienced in 1614, the squaring of the circle and a new Judeo-Christian religion based on scientific intuition" (—Forshaw, *Lux in Tenebris*, INTRODUCTION, page 9). "Yvon blended the Hebraism of his Protestant upbringing with the millenarian tradition in the Catholic vein of Joachim of Fiore and Guillaume Postel" (—Wilke, page 188). He produced diagrams combining geometric figures and Hebrew letters, *e.g.*, a series of Geometric-Kabbalistic drawings in a "Letter to Father Anastaze" (1634).

The only source of information on this impossibly obscure "prophet"—in English, at any rate—is Carsten L. Wilke's genially sardonic "Where Geometry Meets Kabbalah: Paul Yvon's Esoteric Engravings," in *Lux in Tenebris: The Visual and the Symbolic in Western Esotericism*, edited by Peter Forshaw (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2016), pages 179-205.

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JOHN DONNE (1572-1631)

Within some of Donne's poetry there is evidence of *kabbalah/cabala*.

> The Cabala (or 'Kabbalah'), originally referring to a biblical oral tradition, is a body of Jewish theosophical doctrine, rich in poetical imagery and symbolism based on mystical interpretations of the written (or 'received') texts. It has at various times attracted and influenced both Jewish and non-Jewish poets and philosophers. The following essay traces the influence cabalistic concepts had on the poetry of John Donne (1572–1631). Some of his poems which embody his philosophy of love clearly show his familiarity with the cabalistic lore of the Zohar, the basic book of the Cabalists.
>
> —Beth S. Newman, ABSTRACT to "John Donne and the Cabala," in *Jewish Quarterly*, Volume 23, No. 1 (London: Jewish Literary Trust, 2013), pages 31-36.

This connection between the *Zohar* and the "philosophy of love" should sound familiar:

> When [Leone] Ebreo depicts Love as a force unifying human and divine, earthly and heavenly, the bodily and spiritual, and indeed the entire universe—when he celebrates "carnal desire as the universal moving force"—he echoes the *Song of Songs*, incorporates medieval Jewish kabbalah, and anticipates Donne's celebration of the sexual union of two lovers as enabling a connection with the divine, ordering a world that is otherwise disordered.
>
> —Achsah Guibbory, *Returning to John Donne* (London – New York: Routledge, 2015), page 62.

Also of interest in the present context:

- Albrecht, Roberta. *The Virgin Mary as Alchemical and Lullian Reference in Donne* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2005).

  > "This groundbreaking study demonstrates the profound influence of Ramon Lull (c. 1232-1316?) upon Donne. Albrecht traces Donne's ecumenical vision back to Lull, back to Pico della Mirandola, Lull's disciple, and back to the Jewish cabala, sources for both. She shows how Donne refashioned Lull's abstract version of Mary and, like Lull, used this Mary to include Muslims and Jews in the church universal."—publisher's description

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ROBERT FLUDD (1574-1637)

The *cabala* of Robert Fludd is a mixture of all sorts of stuff. Fludd did, however, expound upon the *sefirot* and the Hebrew letters in the second book of his *Summum Bonum* and charted their correspondences with the planets and holy names in *The Mosaicall Philosophy*. Cabalistic material appears as well in *Utriusque cosmi ... historia*. Interestingly, while Fludd claimed Menahem Recanati as his kabbalistic authority, his sources are more apparently Pico and Reuchlin (both of whom drew extensively, albeit selectively, from Recanati), and Agrippa.

Out of print and difficult to find these days is Adam McLean's edition of *The Mosaicall Philosophy: The Cabala of Robert Fludd* [MAGNUM OPUS HERMETIC SOURCEWORKS #2] (London: The Hermetic Research Trust, 1979), which reproduces Books 1 and 2 of the second section. Fortunately, the 1659 edition of *The Mosaicall Philosophy* has been reprinted—in full—by Kessinger Publishing Company (2003); *cabala* is given its most direct treatment in the second section: Book 2, starting at CHAP. II, pp. 171*ff* of the 1659 (= Kessinger) edition. There are subsequent reprints of this work, *e.g.* from EEBO/ProQuest (2011), Forgotten Books (2017), Pranava Books (2020).

Mosaicall Philosophy is discussed in the seventeenth chapter of J. B. Craven's *Dr. Robert Fludd: The English Rosicrucian, Life and Writings* (Kirkwall: 1902; rpt. Kila: Kessinger Publications, n.d.). Abridged versions of Fludd's preface to *Mosaicall Philosophy* and its chapter summaries are given in CHAPTER 8 of William H. Huffman's *Robert Fludd: Essential Readings* (London: Aquarian/Thorsons, 1992).

See further my description of *The Mosaicall Philosophy* below within SOME SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PRINTED WORKS ON CHRISTIAN CABALA IN ENGLISH, pp. 101-102.

Along with Craven's treatment of *Utriusque cosmi ... historia* in *Dr. Robert Fludd...*, CHAPTERS 9 through 13, sections of this work have been put into English:

- *Origin and Structure of the Cosmos*, text translated by Patricia Tahil, with an introduction by Adam McLean. (Edinburgh: Magnum Opus Hermetic Sourceworks, No. 13, 1982) = *Utriusque cosmi historia*, VOLUME I, TRACTATE 1, Books One and Two.
- *On the Divine Numbers and Divine Harmony*, translated by Charles Rainsfird, with an introduction by Adam McLean (Glasgow: Magnum Opus Hermetic Sourceworks, No. 24, 1997) = *Utriusque cosmi historia*, VOLUME II, TRACTATE 1, Books One and Two.

Alas, both of these works are out of print and used copies are rare and pricey.

ref. https://alchemywebsite.com/bookshop/Magnum_opus.html

Utriusque cosmi...historia, VOLUME I, TRACTATE 1, Book 1 (CHAPTERS 1, 4, 6-7, 9-10) and Book 2 (CONTENTS, CHAPTERS 1, 3-4, 6-8, 10, and 15) are given in Huffman's *Robert Fludd: Essential Readings* (noted above).

Alas, Fludd's most concentrated treatment of *cabala* within *Utriusque cosmi...historia* resides in VOLUME II, TRACTATE II, which has not, to the best of my knowledge, been put into English. See Craven's CHAPTERS 11-13 and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann's "Robert Fludd's Kabbalistic Cosmos" (listed immediately below).

On or by Fludd (listed chronologically, from 1902):

- the antique but adequate *Dr. Robert Fludd: The English Rosicrucian, Life and Writings*, by J. B. Craven (Kirkwall: 1902; rpt. Kila: Kessinger Publications, n.d.).
- Frances Yates' works, especially *Art of Memory* and *Theatre of the World* (see above, page 9).
- Josten, C. H. "Robert Fludd's 'Philosophicall Key' and His Alchemical Experiment on Wheat," in *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the History of Alchemy and Chemistry*, vol. XI (Cambridge, 1963); reprinted in *Alchemy and Early Modern Chemistry* (ed. Allen G. Debus—cited above).
- Fludd's writing, "The Rosicrucian Brotherhood," which is Book IV of *Summum Bonum*, in Paul M. Allen (ed.), *A Christian Rosenckreutz Anthology* (Blauvelt: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1968 and 2000), pp. 293-323.
- *Robert Fludd and His Philosophicall Key: being a transcription of the manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge*, with an introduction by Allen G. Debus (New York: History Publications, 1979; and Sagamore Beach: Watson Publishing International, 1979)—with a full BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY covering scholarship on Fludd to 1979.
- Godwin, Joscelyn. *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 1979).
- Moore, Tom. "The Temple of Music – Resonating images in the work of Robert Fludd," in *Parabola: Myth and the Quest for Meaning*, Volume 5, No. 2: MUSIC SOUND SILENCE (Brooklyn: Society for the Study of Myth and Tradition: May 1980), pp. 38-46.
- Walton, Michael T. "Hermetic Cabala and the Monas Hieroglyphica and the Mosaicall Philosophy," online in ESSENTIA: JOURNAL OF EVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT IN ACTION, vol. 2 (Summer 1981), at http://homepages.ihug.com.au/~panopus/essentia/essentiaii2.htm.
- *High Matter, Dark Language. The Philosophy of Robert Fludd (1547-1637)* – Catalogue for an Exhibition at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (London: Wellcome Institute, 1984).
- Westman, Robert S. "Nature, Art and Psyche: Jung, Pauli, and the Kepler-Fludd Polemic," in *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Huffman, William H. *Robert Fludd and the End of the Renaissance* (London – New York: Routledge, 1988)
- Szulakowska, Urszula. "Robert Fludd: The Divine Alchemy of the Eye of God," in *Alchemy of Light: Geometry and Optics in Late Renaissance Alchemical Illustration* [SYMBOLA ET EMBLEMATA – *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Symbolism*, VOLUME X] (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
- Schmidt-Biggemann, Wilhelm. "Robert Fludd's Kabbalistic Cosmos," in *Platonism at the Origins of Modernity: Studies on Platonism and Early Modern Philosophy*, eds. Douglas Hedley and Sarah Hutton [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 196]. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008).

  This article discusses the cabalistic content of *Utriusque Cosmi historia II: Tomi Secundi Tractatus secundus, Sectio prima: De Theosophico, Cabilistico et Physiologico utriusque mundi discursu* (Frankfort: 1621).
- Janacek, Bruce. "Robert Fludd, Natural Theology, and the Alchemical Debate of 1623" = CHAPTER 2 of *Alchemical Belief: Occultism in the Religious Culture of Early Modern England* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "The Tetragrammaton in Renaissance Magic and among the Later Christian Kabbalists," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), 432-439.
- Lüthy, Christoph. "What Does a Diagram Prove that Other Images Do Not? Images and Imagination in the Kepler-Fludd Controversy" = CHAPTER 9 of *Image, Imagination, and Cognition: Medieval and Early Modern Theory and Practice*, edited by Christoph Lüthy, Claudia Swan, Paul J. J. M. Bakker, and Claudia Swan (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 227-274.
- Godwin, Joscelyn. *The Greater and Lesser Worlds of Robert Fludd: Macrocosm, Microcosm & Medicine* (Rochester [VT]: Inner Traditions, 2019).

At THE ALCHEMY WEBSITE:

- "Titlepages to Robert Fludd's Books" at www.alchemywebsite.com/fluddtit.html
- articles on Fludd by M. W. Sharon and Ron Heisler → SCHOLARLY ARTICLES ON ALCHEMY at http://www.alchemywebsite.com/articles_scholarly_individuals.html
  - M. W. Sharon - Doctor Robert Fludd
  - Ron Heisler - Robert Fludd: A Picture in Need of Expansion
  - Ron Heisler - Michael Maier and England

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JACOB BÖHME (1575-1624)

THE PROBLEM OF LEONE EBREO'S *DIALOGHI* (pages 34-39 above) sets out an array of quotes from books and articles on Leone and his work which, on many points, contradict each other. A similar compilation could be arranged regarding Böhme and his connections to *kabbalah/cabala*. To illustrate, Gershom Scholem notes (—*Kabbalah*, p. 200),

> [S]tudents (as well as opponents) of Jacob Boehme had discovered the inner affinity between his own theosophical system and that of the Kabbalah, though there would seem to be no historical connection between them. In certain circles, particularly in Germany, Holland, and England, Christian Kabbalah henceforward assumed a Boehmian guise.

Yet, we read,

> Of those learn'd men that convers'd with [Böhme] in the greatest familiarity was one Balthasar Walther ... an apparent expert in kabbalistic tracts... who had poisoned Böhme's pious Lutheran thoughts with its teachings.

The latter is the assessment of the mid-seventeenth-century editor of Böhme's works ("Toruń edition," 1652-1674) cited by Leigh T. I. Penman in "A Second Christian Rosencreuz? Jakob Böhme's Disciple Balthasar Walther (1558-c.1630) and the Kabbalah. With a Bibliography of Walther's Printed Works," in *Western Esotericism, Based on Papers Read at the Symposium on Western Esotericism Held at Åbo, Finland, on 15-17 August 2007*, ed. Tore Ahlbäck [SCRIPTA INSTITUTE DONNERIANI ABOENSIS XX] (Åbo/Turku: Donner Institute in Religious and Cultural History, 2008).

With Böhme's "curious assertion concerning the globe [as opposed to *tablets*] of the covenant," T. I. Penman shows a bridge from Reuchlin (*De arte cabalistica*) *via* Walther to Böhme, who "could not speak Latin, let alone Hebrew, and therefore could have had no direct access to Reuchlin or his sources." (All quotes are from Penman's article. See *XL. Questions concerning the soule : propounded by Dr. Balthasar Walter, and answered by Jacob Behmen...*, London: Matth. Simmons..., 1647).

Here is a trim selection of sources on Böhme, somewhat biased toward our focus on *kabbalah/cabala*:

- Benz, Ernst. "The Cabalistic Sources of the Romantic Philosophy of Nature" = CHAPTER IV of *The Mystical Sources of German Romantic Philosophy* (= *Les Sources Mystiques de la Philosophie Romantique Allemande*), translated by Blair R. Reynolds and Eunice M. Paul [PITTSBURG THEOLOGICAL MONOGRAPHS, New Series, 6] (Allison Park: Pickwick Publications, 1983).

  > The sources outlined are the Spanish *conversos*, along with Llull, Pico, and Reuchlin. The philosophical recipients include Oetinger, Böhme, Saint-Martin (*via* Böhme), and Schelling (*via* Oetinger).

- Deghaye, Pierre. "Jacob Boehme and His Followers," in *Modern Esoteric Spirituality*, eds. Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman [*Volume 21 of* WORLD SPIRITUALITY: AN ENCYCLOPEDIC HISTORY OF THE RELIGIOUS QUEST] (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1995).

- Gibbons, B. J. *Gender in Mystical and Occult Thought: Behmenism and its Development in England* [CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN BRITISH HISTORY]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; paperback rpt. 2002.

  > "One of the more important sources of Behmenist thought on gender is to be found in the Jewish mystical tradition." (p. 69)

- Jones, Rufus M. *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1914; rpt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959): CHAPTERS IX, X, XI, and XII.

- O'Regan, Cyril. *Gnostic Apocalypse: Jacob Boehme's Haunted Narrative* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).

  See especially CHAPTER 9, "Kabbalah in Boehme's Discourse and its Valentinian Enlisting." O'Regan concludes—in *so* many words—that Böhme was more *kabbalah*-like than genuinely kabbalistic.

- Schmidt-Biggemann, Wilhelm. § 6. CHRISTIAN CABALAH II: JAKOB BÖHME'S DOCTRINE OF QUALITIES, and § 14. JAKOB BÖHME'S THEOLOGY OF CREATION in *Philosophia Perennis* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 189] (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004); pp. 117-128 and 187-192.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. "Jacob Böhme and Christian Theosophy" = CHAPTER 8 of *The Occult World*, edited by Christopher Partridge (Abingdon – New York: Routledge, 2015), pages 119-127
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "The Tetragrammaton in Renaissance Magic and among the Later Christian Kabbalists," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), pages 450-452.
- Gentzke, Joshua Levi Ian. "Imagining the Image of God: Corporeal Envisioning in the Theosophy of Jacob," in *Lux in Tenebris: The Visual and the Symbolic in Western Esotericism*, edited by Peter Forshaw (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2016), pages 103-129.
- Necker, Gerold. "'Out of Himself, to Himself': The Kabbalah of Jacob Böhme," in *Jacob Böhme and His World*, edited by Bo Anderson, Lucinda Martin, Leigh Penman, and Andrew Weeks (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2018), pages 197-220.
- Wolfson, Elliot R. "The Holy Cabala of Changes: Jacob Böhme and Jewish Esotericism," in *Aries – Journal for the Study of Westen Esotericism*, Volume 18, Number 1 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2018), pages 21-53.

  Aries vol. 18: no. 1 is devoted to Böhme. The other articles are

  - Hedley, Douglas. "Censuring the Teutonic Philosopher? Henry More's Ambivalent Appraisal of Jacob Böhme"
  - Edel, Susanne. "Compatibility of the 'Inner Light' of Mystics and Reason: Leibniz Engagement with Jacob Böhme"
  - Penman, Leigh. "The Broken Tradition: Uncovering Errors in the Correspondence of Jacob Böhme"

Perhaps the most instructive works on Böhme and his descendants, *e.g.*, John Pordage, Johann Georg Gichtel, Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (on Oetinger, see below, page 120), are Arthur Versluis' companion volumes, *Wisdom's Children: A Christian Esoteric Tradition* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999) and *Wisdom's Book: The Sophia Anthology* (St. Paul: Paragon House, 2000).

In German, see John Schültz, *Jakob Böhme und die Kabbalah: eine vergleichende Werkanalyse* (Frankfort am Main – New York: Peter Lang, 1993).

In the first section of Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggermann's *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, Band 2 (of 4), "the controversial question of Jacob Boehme's relationship to Kabbalah is dealt with and Abraham von Franckenberg [1593-1652], the most important and most independent Bohemian Kabbalist, is presented" (—frommann-Holzboog website).

Franckenberg combined alchemy, Pansophism, various forms of Christian mysticism, and *kabbalah*. His best-known—and weirdest—work is *Raphael oder Artzt-Engel* (Amsterdam: Jacob von Felsfen, 1676), which is a jumble of Paracelsus, Böhme, and *kabbalah* in the vein of the authors mentioned in CONFLATION OF CABALA & ALCHEMY above (page 71).

Unfortunately, there is next to nothing on Franckenberg in English.

JACQUES GAFFAREL (1601-1681)

Gaffarel's most famous work is *Curiositez inouïes sur la sculpture talismanique des Persans, horoscope des Patriarches et lecture des estoiles* [UNHEARD-OF CURIOSITIES CONCERNING TALISMANICAL SCULPTURE OF THE PERSIANS, THE HOROSCOPE OF THE PATRIARCHS, AND THE READING OF THE STARS], (French original: Paris: H. du Mesnil, 1629; English translation by Edmund Chilmead (sometimes attributed to "James Gaffarel"): London: G.D. for Humphrey Moseley, 1650).

Two of Gaffarel's works connect him more directly to *cabala*:

- *Abdita Divinae Cabalae Mysteria* [THE PROFOUND MYSTERIES OF THE DIVINE CABALA] (Parisiis: Ex Typographia Viduæ H. Blageart, 1625).
- *Codicvm cabbalisticorvm manuscriptorvm quibus est vsvs Ioannes Picvs comes Mirandvlanvs INDEX a Iacobo Gaffarello* (Parisiis: Ex Typographia Viduæ H. Blageart, 1651)—a catalogue of Pico's manuscript sources.

As Tiziano Anzuini notes in the ABSTRACT to "Mystical Experiences and Kabbalistic Wisdom in Jacques Gaffarel's Works,"[42]

> The Orientalist Jacques Gaffarel (1601–1681) was often mentioned, mostly as a literary forger, but rarely studied. As a matter of fact, all we know about his life deals with his youth, when he was Richelieu's librarian, interested in the Christian Kabbalah. … [In *Abdita Divinae Cabalae Mysteria*] Gaffarel merges together referred supernatural experiences, kabbalistic literature and Christian tradition, thus creating an original patchwork and seeking to ensure a deeper knowledge of the world as well as of the human being.

See *Jacques Gaffarel: Between Magic and Science*, edited by Hiro Hirai (Pisa – Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2014), which contains three papers in English:

- Forshaw, Peter. "Concealed Mysteries and Unheard-of Curiosities: Jacques Gaffarel's Defense of Celestial Writing and Divine Kabbalah," pages 13-26.
- Hirai, Hiro. "Images, Talismans and Medicine in Jacques Gaffarel's Unheard-of Curiosities," pages 73-84.
- Odgers, Juliet. "Resemblance and Figure in Garden and Laboratory: Gaffarel's Influence on John Evelyn," pages 85-108.

Refer also to Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, VOLUME VII, THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958; 2nd printing 1964), pp. 304-309; and Philip Beitchman, *Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), pp. 143-144.

Readers of French can search through François Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964), for the dozen-or-so mentions of Gaffarel.

All of Gaffarel's works mentioned above have been published—in French—in recent years.

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[42] Catalogue to the 7th International Conference of the European Society for the Study of Western Esotericism Western Esotericism and Consciousness: *Visions, Voices, Altered States* (University of Amsterdam, 2-4 July 2019), [page 4].

ATHANASIUS KIRCHER (1601-1680)

Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher is described by Frances Yates as "a most notable descendant of the Hermetic-Cabalist tradition founded by Pico." She also points out that "Kircher maintained the full Renaissance attitude to Hermes Trismegistus, completely ignoring Casaubon."[43] (It was Isaac Casaubon who, in 1614, through careful and thorough scholarship, showed that the *Hermetica* were "not the work of very ancient Egyptian priests but written in post-Christian times.") Kircher held similar erroneous attitudes toward *cabala* and Hebraica. See Yates' discussion in *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (pp. 416-423).

> As a Christian Cabbalist, [Kircher] sought to prove that Catholicity and Trinitarian faith could be consolidated, not weakened, by embracing all spheres and lines of knowledge.
>
> —Gary Trompf, "Introduction: Athanasius Kircher as Esoteric Thinker and the State of Kircher Scholarship," in *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, 'Germanus Incredibilis'* (cited below), p. xxii.

There are five illustrated works on Kircher:

- Godwin, Joscelyn. *Athanasius Kircher: A Renaissance Man in Search of Lost Knowledge* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1979)—the ubiquitous over-sized paperback.
- *Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680): Jesuit Scholar. An Exhibition of His Works in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University*, introduction and descriptions by Brian Merrill, which was originally published by The Friends of the Brigham Young University Library (Provo: 1989), and more recently reprinted by Martino Publishing (Mansfield Centre: 2003).
- Rowland, Ingrid D. *Ecstatic Journey: Athanasius Kircher in Baroque Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2000)

  An exhibition catalogue of "Kircher's amazing world of magic lanterns, volcanoes, fossils, flying cats, hieroglyphics, and practical jokes with the most serious of intentions." Also find Rowland's article, "Athanasius Kircher and the Egyptian Oedipus" (2004) at the University of Chicago's FATHOM ARCHIVE, online at http://fathom.lib.uchicago.edu/content.shtml.
- *The Great Art of Knowing: The Baroque Encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher*, ed. Daniel Stolzenberg (Stanford: Stanford University Libraries, 2001)

  A series of articles which serves as an exhibition catalogue to and celebration of Stanford's 1998 acquisition of all but one of Kircher's works in first editions. In connection with this, online see THE ATHANASIUS KIRCHER PROJECT AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY at http://kircher.stanford.edu/.
- Godwin, Joscelyn. *Athanasius Kircher's Theatre of the World: The Life and Work of the Last Man to Search for Universal Knowledge* (Rochester [VT]: Inner Traditions, 2009)

  A grand summary of previous studies on Kircher housed in a generously illustrated over-sized book. One is tempted here to resort to the old reviewer's cliché, "If you buy one book on...."

The Vulcanos: OR, Burning and Fire-vomiting Mountains Famous in the World (1669), which offers material "collected for the most part out of Kircher's *Subterraneous World*," has been reprinted by Kessinger Publishing (2009).

"[T]he long awaited masterwork on the great polymathic German Jesuit of the seventeenth century" has been published: *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, 'Germanus Incredibilis'* by John Edward Fletcher (1940-1992), with a selection of Kircher's unpublished correspondence and an annotated translation of his autobiography, edited for publication by Elizabeth Fletcher [*ARIES* BOOK SERIES 12] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2011).

Essays on Kircher are collected in *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything*, edited by Paula Findlen (New York – London: Routledge, 2004). See especially "Four Trees, Some Amulets, and the Seventy-two Names: Kircher Reveals the Kabbalah" by Daniel Stolzenberg. Also, refer to Stolzenberg's *Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013—a revision of Stolzenberg's Ph.D. dissertation, EGYPTIAN OEDIPUS: ANTIQUARIANISM, ORIENTAL

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[43] Yates makes similar comments about Robert Fludd.

STUDIES AND OCCULT PHILOSOPHY ON THE WORK OF ATHANASIUS KIRCHER [Stanford University, 2004]), in particular pp. 162-174 on Kircher's treatment of *kabbalah/cabala*.

There is also the entertaining "popular biography" of Kircher by John Glassie, *A Man of Misconceptions: The Life of an Eccentric in an Age of Change* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2012).

Kircher is discussed at some length in Umberto Eco's *Search for the Perfect Language* (Oxford – Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1995) and Eco's *Serendipities: Language and Lunacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998) in the third essay, "From Marco Polo to Leibniz: Stories of Intellectual Misunderstandings."

Make sure to read through Christopher Lehrich's *Occult Mind: Magic in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca – London: Cornell University Press, 2007), in particular pages 91-131. Then see

- Åkerman, Susanna. "Queen Christina's Esoteric Interests as a Background to Her Platonic Academies," in *Western Esotericism, Based on Papers Read at the Symposium on Western Esotericism Held at Åbo, Finland, on 15-17 August 2007*, ed. Tore Ahlbäck [SCRIPTA INSTITUTE DONNERIANI ABOENSIS XX] (Åbo/Turku: Donner Institute in Religious and Cultural History, 2008): § THE JESUIT MISSION IN STOCKHOLM AND ATHANASIUS KIRCHER, pp. 22-3
- Veltri, Giuseppe. "Mathematical and Biblical Exegesis: Jewish Sources of Athanasius Kircher's Musical Theory" = CHAPTER SIX of *Renaissance Philosophy in Jewish Garb: Foundations and Challenges in Judaism on the Eve of Modernity* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009)
- Godwin, Joscelyn. "Athanasius Kircher's Construction of the Hieroglyphic Tradition," in *Constructing Tradition: Means and Myths of Transmission in Western Esotericism*, ed. Andreas B. Kilcher (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010)
- Rowland, Ingrid D. "Athanasius Kircher's Guardian Angel," in *Conversations with Angels: Essays Towards a History of Spiritual Communication, 1100-1700*, ed. Joad Raymond (Hampshire – New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)
- Evans, Harry B. *Exploring the Kingdom of Saturn: Kircher's Latium and Its Legacy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012).
- Pieczyński, Maciej. "*Ars Combinatoria* as a Poetics: On the Presence of Combinatorial Structures in the Late-Baroque Artificial Poetry," in *Poesis Artificiosa: Between Theory and Practice*, eds. Agnieszka Borysowska and Barbara Milewska-Waźbińska (Frankfurt am Main: PL Academic Research/Peter Lang GmgH, 2013), pp. 193-206.
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "The Tetragrammaton in Renaissance Magic and among the Later Christian Kabbalists," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), 439-444.

Two items at Mats Rendel's Homepage, http://www.phonurgia.se/rendel/, treat Kircher: "Athanasius Kircher" (biography, translations) *and* "Kircherianum Virtuale," an extensive index of web links.[44] One site not listed by Rendel is the attractive MUSEUM OF JURASIC TECHNOLOGY, which has a series of articles on Kircher's life and works in "Collections and Exhibitions, Gallery 6":
http://www.mjt.org/exhibits/kircher/Knots.html.

[44] DEFUNCT LINK (2/5/2022)

JOHANN STEPHAN RITTANGEL, *or* RITTANGELIUS (1606-1652)

- *LIBER IEZIRAH* Qui *ABRAMAHAMO PATRIARCHÆ* adscibitur, unà cum Commentario Rabi ABRAHAM F.D. super 32 Semetis Sapientiæ, à quibus liber IEZIRAH Incipit (Amstelodami: Ioannem & Iodocvm Ianssonios, M DC XLII [1642]).

Rittangelius converted from Jewish to Roman Catholic, then to Calvanist, and *then* to Lutheran. After Postel and Pistorius, Rittangelius produced what is reputed to be the third and "most valuable Latin translation [and interpretation] of the Sepher Yetzira."[45] His edition contains *The Thirty-Two Paths of Wisdom* with commentary.

The importance of Rittangelius' translation tracks to the present: A. E. Waite says of William Wynn Westcott's extremely popular edition of *Sefer Yetzirah*,

> It is based on the text of Rittangelius, compared with some other versions. It was prepared for the use of persons described as theosophists, occult and Hermetic students, whose purpose – if any – may have been served by such a production, but is in reality a paraphrase and fulfills few of the conditions required by scholarship.[46]

Rittangelius' letters containing his disputes with "a certain Jewish citizen of Amsterdam" (—Rankin, p. 89) quote the *Sefer Yetzirah* and the *Zohar*. On these letters, see Oliver Shaw Rankin's *Jewish Religious Polemic of early and later centuries, a study of documents here rendered in English* (Edinburgh at the University Press, 1956; rpt. Jersey City: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1969): Rankin's PART III, POLEMIC IN LETTERS (pp. 89-154), discusses and translates the letters. The dispute centers on the interpretation of the Shiloh passage of GENESIS 49:10. With typical irony, it is the convert Rittangelius who is the kabbalist, using Simeon ben Jochai of the *Zohar* as his authority, whereas his Jewish opponent "appears to have had little more than hearsay acquaintance with the Zohar and seems to have no leanings towards the mystic movement among his people" (—Rankin, p. 96).

JOHN MILTON (1608-1674)

If Shakespeare and, as we shall see below, Blake can be dragged into our *cabalistic* procession, then Milton too must be considered. Milton's kabbalism has certainly been a matter of pointed debate.

In *Milton: Man and Thinker* (New York: The Dial Press, 1925; rpt. 1935), Denis Saurat begins § II, "Contemporary Sources and Influences,"

> Milton's relationship to movements of his own time may be summed up thus: roughly speaking, the whole of Milton's philosophy is found in the Kabbalah, except his materialism; his materialism is found in Fludd, except his mortalism; and his mortalism is connected with ideas of the contemporary English Mortalist group. The three stages are connected and form developments, one from the other: Fludd starts from the Kabbalah, and the Mortalists have their general principles in common with Fludd, and probably derived them from him. (—*Milton*, p. 280)

Countering Saurat is Marjorie H. Nicolson's "Milton and the *Conjectura Cabbalistica*," in *Philological Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January 1927), and R. J. Zwi Werblowsky's article, also titled

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[45] Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala*, page 75.

[46] Waite's "Introduction" to Knut Stenring's translation of *Sefer Yetzirah*, *The Book of Formation* by Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph (Philadelphia: David McKay Co., 1923; reprinted New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1970; reprinted with a foreword by R. A. Gilbert, Berwick: Nicolas-Hays, 2004), page 4.

"Milton and the *Conjectura Cabbalistica*," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1-2 (London: The Warburg Institute, 1955). Werblowsky concludes his opening paragraph, "The ill-fated 'Milton and the Zohar' theory [of Denis Saurat] may ... at least have the merit of serving as a warning example" (—p. 90).[47] Alas, Saurat fell prey to the distorted French translation of the *Zohar* by Jean de Pauly: *Sepher ha-Zohar* (*Le Livre de la Zohar*), six volumes (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906-11).

In "The Theology of *Paradise Lost*," which is CHAPTER XII of *A Preface to Paradise Lost*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), C. S. Lewis comments on Saurat, writing, "Milton studies owe a great debt to Professor Saurat, but I believe that with the enthusiasm incident to a pioneer he has pressed his case too far" (page 82). Lewis goes on to develop a critique of Saurat's finding doctrines derived from *kabbalah* in Milton's *magnum opus* (see, in particular, Lewis' pages 87-89).

Joseph L. Blau and Frances Yates concurred with Saurat that Milton bears an unmistakable kabbalistic stamp. See Blau, "The Diffusion of the Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in English Literature," in *The Review of Religion*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (1942), and Frances Yates' *Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979 and 2001; rpt. London: Ark Paperbacks, 1983), CHAPTER XVII: "The Occult Philosophy and Puritanism: John Milton."

Michael Lieb writes,

> Although Blau sees Milton in the kabbalistic line, he does not view Milton as a "kabbalist." Whereas Yates accords Milton more of a kabbalistic bent than does Blau, she is generally inclined to agree (Blau, "Diffusion," pp. 163- 65, Yates, *Occult Philosophy*, pp. 177- 81).
>
> —"Encoding the Occult: Milton and the Traditions of *Merkabah* Speculation in the Renaissance," in *Milton Studies*, Volume 37 (University of Pittsburg Press, 1999), n. 51.

Refer to Philip Beitchman's collection, *The View from Nowhere: Essays in Literature, Mysticism, and Philosophy* (Lanham – New York – Oxford: University Press of America, 2001), in particular CHAPTER 1, "Milton and Cabala Reconsidered," where, in the opening sections, Beitchman reviews Saurat *vs* Werblowski. Excerpts of *The View from Nowhere*, i.e., §§ SATAN'S TRUTH, THE PART OF EVIL, and FOLLOWING LUCIFER from the midst of "Milton and Cabala Reconsidered," are online as "Following Lucifer: Miltonic Evil as Gnostic Cabala," at *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies*, Volume I, ed. Arthur Versluis (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1999), www.esoteric.msu.edu/Beitchman.html (pp. 61-78).

Note also J[ack]. H. Adamson's study "The War in Heaven: Milton's Version of the *Merkabah*," in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, volume LVII (Urbana: University of Illinois, October 1958), reprinted as "The War in Heaven: The *Merkabah*," in *Bright Essence: Studies in Milton's Theology*, eds. William Bridges Hunter, C. A. Patrides, and Jack H. Adamson (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), and Eve Keller's "Tetragrammic Numbers: Gematria and the Line Total of the 1674 *Paradise Lost*," in *Milton Quarterly*, Volume 20, Issue 1 (Athens: Department of English, Ohio University, 1986).

One last item: Shlomo Dov Rosen introduces "Between the Homunculus Fallacy and Angelic Cognitive Dissonance in Explanation of Evil: Milton's Poetry and [Moshe Hayyim] Luzzatto's

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[47] See Denis Saurat, "Milton and the *Zohar*," in *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1922), pages 136-151.

Note the comments of Frank E. Manuel in *The Broken Staff* (Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 1992), pages 145-146: "Scholars have demonstrated of late that the Jewish cabbalist Luria's conception of *tsimtsum* was not the direct inspiration of John Milton in some of his verses on the creation in *Paradise Lost*, as once was supposed."

Kabbalah," which is Rosen's contribution to *Evil, Fallenness, and Finitude*, eds. Bruce Ellis Benson and B. Keith Putt (London – New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pages 57-75. Rosen begins,

> This chapter explores two diametrically opposed conceptions of angels and analyses their ramifications for such explanations. (page 57) ... I shall argue that Milton's use of angelology falls into a homunculus fallacy, whereas Luzzatto defines the angels' function in logically independent terms. Luzzatto positions angels in a subtle median position from which they are able to provide an explanation of human evil in epistemological terms and clarify existential tensions of the human condition.

ANTONIA OF WÜRTEMBERG (1613-1679)

Antonia of Würtemberg was "a learned expert of historical and genealogical sciences. The particular inclination of Princess Antonia, however, was applied to theology, and in particular to the Kabbalah" (—Ernst Benz, *Christian Kabbalah* [St. Paul: Grailstone Press, 2004], p. 60). Antonia is noted for having commissioned and donated a "Kabbalistic-Alchemical Alterpiece in a small church in the town of Bad Teinach near Cawl in Germany" (—Adam McLean, "The Kabbalistic-Alchemical Altarpiece in Bad Teinach," in *Hermetic Journal* 12 [Edinburgh: Summer 1981], pp. 21-26. The image can be viewed online at McLean's ALCHEMY WEBSITE: http://www.alchemywebsite.com/bad_teinach.html).

The central panel of the altarpiece is a painting by Johann Friedrich Gruber entitled *Turris Antonia* (TOWER OF ANTONIA) which "represents pictorially the secret, hermetic, cabalistic road to 'initiation' and spiritual advancement of the self within the Christian framework" (—Lu Ann De Cunzo, Therese O'Malley, Michael J. Lewis, George E. Thomas, and Christina Wilmanns-Wells, "Father Rapp's Garden at Economy: Harmony Society Culture in Microcosm," in *Landscape Archaeology*, eds. Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Metheny [Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996], p. 107).

"[O]ne of Oetinger's most important works, *Öffentliches Denckmal der Lehrtafel* (1763)," is a commentary on Antonia's kabbalistic painting (—Glenn Alexander Magee, *Hegel and the Hermetic Tradition* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001], p. 65).

"We have already mentioned that Antonia occupied herself with the study of the Cabala: and evidence thereof is even now preserved in the Royal Library at Stuttgart. At that place there is an *Unterschiedlicher Riss zu Sephiroth* ('Various Sketches of the Sephiroth'), containing Cabbalistic diagrams.... These diagrams were drawn by Princess Antonia of Würtemberg, who delighted in Cabbalistic and Rabbinical lore" (—M. Kayserling, "A Princess as Hebraist," in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, VOLUME IX, NUMBER 35 [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897], p. 510).

On the Kabbalistic-Alchemical Altarpiece, in particular, see Ernst Benz, *Christian Kabbalah* (pp. 91-97), "The KEY to the KABBALISTIC Master Tablet of Princess Antonia of Würtemberg IN THE CHURCH OF THE TRINITY AT DEINACH" and the accompanying diagrammatic rendering of *Turris Antonia*. Also find "The Kabbalistic 'Teaching Panel' of Princess Antonia: Divine Knowledge for Both Experts and Laity" by Elke Morlok, in *Church History and Religious Culture* 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 56-90.

THOMAS VAUGHAN [EUGENIUS PHILALETHES] (1621-1666)

Vaughan was a clergyman and alchemist, claiming membership in the Society of Unknown Philosophers. He was the twin brother of metaphysical poet Henry Vaughan (1621-1665).[48]

Vaughan developed his [al]chemical art following Paracelsus and his natural philosophy following Agrippa.

Vaughan fancied himself a Rosicrucian, and he may be best known for translating *Fama Fraternitatis* and *Confesio Fraternitatis* (1614) from German into English (1652).

On Vaughan's treatment of *kabbalah* in *Magica Adamica* (1650) and *Lumen de lumine* (1651), refer below to SOME SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PRINTED WORKS ON CHRISTIAN CABALA IN ENGLISH, pages 105-106.

See Peter Levanda, *The Tantric Alchemist: Thomas Vaughan and the Indian Tantric Tradition* (Lake Worth: Ibis Press, 2015), which is briefly described below, page 106.

Vaughan's writings:

- *Lumen de Lumine, or A New Magical Light*, edited by Arthur Edward Waite (London: John M. Watkins, 1910).
- *The Fame and Confession of R: C: Commonly of the Rosie Cross with A Praeface Annexed Thereto and a short Declaration of their Physicall Work* (London: J. M. *for* Giles Calvert, 1652 & 1653; rpt Margate: Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia/W. J. Parret, Ltd., 1923).

  Vaughan's translation of Johann Valentin Andre's *Fama Fraternitatis*.
- *The Magical Writings of Thomas Vaughan*, edited by Arthur Edward Waite (London: George Redway, 1888).

  "A verbatim reprint of his first four treatises : *Anthroposophica theomagica, Anima magica abscondita, Magica adamica,* and the true *Coelulm terrae*, with the Latin passages translated into English and with a biographical preface and essay on the esoteric literature of western Christendom."
- *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, edited by Alan Rudrum with the assistance of Jennifer Drake-Brockman (Oxford: Clarendon Press/New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

  A scholarly edition of *Anthroposophia Theomagica, Anima Magica Abscondita, Magica Adamica, The Man-Mouse, Lumen de Lumine, Aphorismi Magici Eugeniana, The Second Wash, Aula Lucis, The Fame and Confession..., Euphrates or Waters of the East, Introduction to the Chemists Key,* some poems, and *Aqua Vitae*.
- *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, edited by Arthur Edward Waite (London: Theosophical Publishing Company, 1919; rpt. New Hyde Park: University Books, 1968).

  Both *Magia Adamica* and *Lumen de Lumine* are included in this edition.

- Vaughan, Thomas & Rebecca. *Aqua Vita: Non Vitis* (Tempe: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2001)—an alchemical manuscript describing experiments involving Vaughan and his wife.

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[48] Briefly, on Henry Vaughan, find Elizabeth Holmes' *Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1932; rpt. New York: Haskell House, 1966, and New York: Russell & Russell, 1967). Writes Holmes,

> I have added to [L. C. Martin's] researches in one direction mainly—that of Henry Vaughan's connection with the Hermetic or 'occult' philosophy which his brother [Thomas] embraced and practiced, and so of the poet's relations with his brother and possibly with others of the Hermetic manner of belief, notably Jacob Boehme, but also Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, and others of obscurer name. (—p. 1)

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FRANCIS MERCURY VAN HELMONT

In the seventeenth century, two men account for the most significant promulgation of *kabbalah* outside Jewry: Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614-1698) and Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636-1689). Van Helmont's influence was surprisingly broad: from the Cambridge Platonists—in particular Henry More—to Leibniz. *Kabbalah*, as gathered through his contact with van Helmont and Anne Conway, is thought to have influenced Leibniz' concept of *monads* and his notions of free will.

A number of items by Allison Coudert deal with all of this (listed chronologically):

- "A Cambridge Platonist's Kabbalist Nightmare," in *Journal for the History of Ideas*, XXXVI: 4 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976)—Henry More's responses to van Helmont as printed in *Kabbala denudata*.
- "A Quaker-Kabbalist Controversy: George Fox's Reaction to Francis Mercury van Helmont," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume Thirty-nine (London: The Warburg Institute – University of London, 1976).
- "Forgotten Ways of Knowing: The Kabbalah, Language, and Science in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Shapes of Knowledge from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, eds. Donald Kelley and Richard Popkin [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 124] (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers/Springer, 1991).
- "The *Kabbala denudata*: Converting Jews or Seducing Christians?" in *Jewish Christians and Christian Jews*, eds. Richard H. Popkin and Gordon M. Weiner [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 138] (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1993).
- *Leibniz and the Kabbalah* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 142] (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1995)
- "Leibniz, Locke, Newton and the Kabbalah," in *The Christian Kabbalah*, ed. Joseph Dan (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1997), pp. 149-179.
- "Leibniz and the Kabbalah," in *Leibniz, Mysticism and Religion*, eds. Allison P. Coudert, Richard Popkin, and Gordon M. Weiner [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 158] (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1998). (This article = CHAPTER 13 of Coudert's *Impact of the Kabbalah*... cited below.)
- "John Locke and Francis Mercury van Helmont," in *Everything Connects: In Conference with Richard Popkin. Essays in His Honor*, eds. James E. Force and David S. Katz (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 1999).
- "The *Kabbala denudata*," in *The Columbia History of Western Philosophy*, ed. Richard Popkin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999: pp. 363-6).
- "Kabbalistic Messianism versus Kabbalistic Enlightenment," in *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture*, Volume I: *JEWISH MESSIANISM IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD*, eds. Matt Goldish and Richard H. Popkin [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 173] (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001).
- "Five Seventeenth-Century Christian Hebraists," in *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2004). The five are Johan Jacob Schudt, Knorr von Rosenroth, Francis Mercury van Helmont, Johann Georg Wachter, and Johann Peter Späth.
- "Judaizing in the Seventeenth Century: Francis Mercury van Helmont and Johann Peter Späth (Moses Germanus)," in *Secret Conversions to Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Martin Mulsow and Richard Popkin [BRILL'S STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY, vol. 122] (Leiden: Brill, 2004).
- "The *Kabbala denudata* as an Esoteric Encyclopedia," in *Die Enzyklopädik der Esoterik: Allwissenheitsmythen und univeralwissenschaftliche Modelle in der Esoterik der Neuzeit*, edited by Andreas Kilcher with Philipp Theisohn (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2010), pages 59-72.

Coudert's book, *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614-1698)* [BRILL SERIES IN JEWISH STUDIES, 9] (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1999) covers van Helmont and those influential thinkers around him: Knorr, Henry More, Anne Conway, John Locke, Leibniz. This work offers the most comprehensive treatment of seventeenth-century *cabala* to date.

Works by F. M. van Helmont published in English:

- *Alphabet of Nature* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007). With Taylor Corse, Allison Coudert has produced an annotated translation.
- *Two hundred queries moderately propounded concerning the doctrine of the revolution of humane souls and its conformity to the truths of Christianity* (1684) (Ann Arbor: EEBO Editions/ProQuest, 2011)—"an authentic reproduction."
- *Francis Mercury van Helmont's 'Sketch of Christian Kabbalism'* translated and ed. Sheila Spector (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012), namely, *Adumbratio Kabbalæ Christianæ* in English.[49]
- *One Hundred Fifty-Three Chymical Aphorisms (Octob. 1687) / One Hundred Fifty-Seven Alchemical Aphorisms (Octob. 1687)*, edited with additional material by Prince Karl Hildebrand von Niebelung (FBN Press VisionCon, 2004), printed as a chap book.

See my transcriptions of van Helmont's most important cabalistic works:

- *A Cabbalistical Dialogue*
- *The Paradoxal Discourses*, CHAPTER IV, and AN APPENDIX ... CONCERNING ... THE REVOLUTION OF HUMAN SOULS from *The Divine Being and Its Attributes*
- *Seder Olam*—all at the webpage SELECTED WRITINGS OF FRANCIS MERCURIUS VAN HELMONT at HERMETIC KABBALAH:

—all at http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/VanHelmont/index.php.

Outlines of these writings appear below: SOME SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PRINTED WORKS ON CHRISTIAN CABALA IN ENGLISH, pages 102-104.

Also get a look at Philip C. Almond's *Heaven & Hell in Enlightenment England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), especially §§ PRE-EXISTENCE AND THE SCRIPTURES *and* THE TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS within CHAPTER 1 (pp. 13-23); and Robert J. Wilkinson, "The Tetragrammaton in Renaissance Magic and among the Later Christian Kabbalists," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), pages 444-447.

[49] While citing Spector's translation of *Adumbratio Kabbalæ Christianæ* in their preface to *Messias Puer* (cited below, page 90), Anna M. Vileno and Robert J. Wilkinson advance the idea that Knorr von Rosenroth wrote *Adumbratio*, but that it was "probably produced in collaboration with his regular companion, Francis Mercury van Helmont" (*ibid.*, p. xiv). They note that "The question of authorship of *Adumbratio* raises many delicate questions" (*ibid.*, p. xx).

Further on in *Messias Puer* (pp. 65-70), the case is made for Knorr's having written the *Adumbratio*, singling out CHAPTER 3 in particular as belonging to Knorr, with van Helmont possibly having contributed CHAPTER 7.

KNORR VON ROSENROTH (1636-1689)

Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, as translator, annotator, and editor, published the massive two-volume *Kabbala denudata* (Sulzbach: 1677 & 1689), which virtually alone represented authentic (Jewish) *kabbalah* to Christian Europe until the mid-nineteenth century.

These tomes draw from a range of kabbalistic texts: sections of the *Zohar*, *Pardes Rimmonim* by Moses Cordovero, *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* and *Beit Elohim* by Abraham Kohen (or Cohen) de Herrera, *Sefer ha-Gilgulim* (a Lurianic tract attributed to Hayyim Vital), and others, with commentaries by Knorr himself, Henry More, and F. M. van Helmont, and—appended to some later editions— van Helmont's "sketch" of Christian *cabala* (*Adumbratio Kabbalæ Christianæ*), almost all in Latin translation.[50]

On pages 107-116 of the present paper there is an outline of the contents of *Kabbala denudata* which lists sources in English.

Refer to the items penned by Allison Coudert that are noted above, especially *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century*, which devotes a substantial section to Knorr and the ingredients of *Kabbala denudata*.

Also treating Knorr is Coudert's "Seventeenth-Century Natural Philosophy and Esotericism at the Court of Sulzbach," in *Ésotérisme, Gnoses & Imaginaire Symbolique: Mélanges offerts à Antoine Faivre* [GNOSTICA 3], eds. Richard Caron, Joscelyn Godwin, Wouter J. Hanegraaff, and Jean-Louis Viellard-Baron (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), pages 27-46.

Further see

- Reichert, Klaus. "Christian Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Christian Kabbalah*, ed. Joseph Dan (Harvard College Library, 1997), building on his earlier piece, "Pico della Mirandola and the Beginnings of Christian Kabbala," in *Mysticism, Magic, and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism*, eds. K. E. Grozinger and Joseph Dan (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995).
- Idel, Moshe. *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* [THE KOGOD LIBRARY OF JUDAIC STUDIES 5]. London – New York: Shalom Hartman Institute/Continuum, 2007: CHAPTER 5, § 3. THE IMPACT OF CHRISTIAN KNORR VON ROSENROTH'S *KABBALA DENUDATA*.
- Veltri, Guiseppe. "Jewish Philosophy: Humanist Roots of a Contradiction in Terms," = CHAPTER 1 of *Renaissance Philsophy in Jewish Garb* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009).

  Knorr is described as "...perhaps the last of those who still adhered to the tried and true Christian theory of the Kabbalah as an aspect of divine, archaic wisdom ... who tried to support that theory with new arguments" (—p. 26).
- Chajes, J. H. (Yossi). "Kabbalah and the Diagrammatic Phase of the Scientific Revolution," in *Jewish Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of David B. Ruderman* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press / Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2014), pages 109-123.

  "Rosenroth's diagrammatic representation of Lurianism constitutes a juncture where the parallel evolving discourses of Lurianism and early modern natural philosophy converges, en route to a meeting with the makers of modernity if not modernity itself." (—page 118)
- Wilkinson Robert J. "The Tetragrammaton in Renaissance Magic and among the Later Christian Kabbalists," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015); the section on *Kabbala denudata* is within chapter 12, pages 447-450.

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[50] Some few pages of Henry More's contribution are in English. For English renditions of More's writings within *Kabbala denudata*. See "Knots and Spirals II: Henry More" at http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/KS/index.php or (PDF) Knots & Spirals II: Henry More: extracts from Kabbala denudata | Don Karr - Academia.edu

- Schulte, Christoph. "From Luria to *Wissenschaft*: How the Lurianic Kabbalah Entered the Academy," in *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts*, Vol. Forty, edited by Daniel Abrams with guest editors Christian Wiese and George Y. Kohler (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2018), pp. 9-32.
- Vileno, Anna Maria. "Reincarnations of Messiah(s): Messianic Expectations in Christian Knorr von Rosentroth's Last Work," in *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 42 (Frankfurt am Main: Gesellschaft zur Förderung judaistscher Studien, 2019/20), pp. 73-96.
- _____. "The Western Appropriation of Syriac as a 'Kabbalistic Language' by Later Christian Kabbalists: New Discoveries and New Perspectives," in *Aries – Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Leiden: Brill: 2022), pp. 1-29.
- Vileno, Anna Maria, and Wilkinson, Robert J. "'Looking for the Zohar in the New Testament': The Lost *Messias puer* of Christian Knorr von Rosenroth between Kabbalah and Biblical Studies," in *Numen* 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 295-315.
- _____. (trans./eds.) *Messias Puer: Christian Knorr von Rosenroth's Lost Exegesis of Kabbalistic Christianity*/editio princeps plena, with translation and introduction (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2021).

  Messias Puer cites *Kabbala denudata* countless times, primarily its *Loci communes kabbalistici* (Knorr's grand kabbalistic glossary) from the first volume (see below, p. 108) and *De revolutionibus animarum* and *Adumbratio kabbalæ christianæ* from the second (see below, pp. 115 and 116-117).

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THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS

The Cambridge Platonists were a group of seventeenth-century Christian philosophers affiliated with the University of Cambridge. They were among the heirs to the Renaissance humanist movement of Marsilio Ficino, holding to the concept of a *philosophia perennis*.

Some of the names on our list of Christian interpreters of *kabbalah* can be found among the Cambridge Platonists, most notably Henry More and Anne Conway, along with Ralph Cudworth (see below). Beyond these—and even with the last mentioned—we stray from any significant involvement with *kabbalah* or *cabala*.

Knorr von Rosenroth and van Helmont entwine with the Cambridge Platonists through their close contact with More and Conway, but they are not part of this group.

On the Cambridge Platonists:

- Cragg, Gerald R. (ed.) *The Cambridge Platonists* (LIBRARY OF PROTESTANT THOUGHT, New York: Oxford University Press, 1968)—a useful collection of extracts, primarily from Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith, Ralph Cudworth, and Henry More.
- Powicke, Frederick James. *Cambridge Platonists, a Study*, first published in 1926 (London – Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd *and* Cambridge: Harvard University Press), reprinted in 1970 (Westport: Greenwood Press) *and* 1971 (Hamden: Archon Books), which discusses Whichcote, Smith, Cudworth, and More as well as Nathaniel Culverwel and Peter Sterry.
- Patrides, C. A. (ed.) *The Cambridge Platonists* (Cambridge [MA]: Harvard University Press, 1970; Cambridge [UK]: Cambridge University Press, 1980)—an anthology.
- Hutton, Sarah. "The Cambridge Platonists," in *The Columbia History of Western Philosophy*, ed. Richard H. Popkin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
- *Cambridge Platonist Spirituality*, eds. Charles Taliaferro and Alison J. Teply (New York: Paulist Press, 2004), which contains excerpts from the writings of Cudworth, Whichcote, Culverwell, John Smith, More, Peter Sterry, and Anne Conway.
- *The Cambridge Platonists: A Brief Introduction – With Eight Letters of Dr. Antony Tuckney and Dr. Benjamine Whichcote*, edited by Tod E. Jones, translations by Sarar Elise Phang (Dallas – Lantham – Boulder – New York – Oxford: Uviversity Press of America, 2005).

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HENRY MORE (1614-1687)

More's *Conjectura Cabbalistica, OR, A Conjectural Essay of Interpreting the minde of Moses according to the Threefold Cabbala, VIZ. Literal, Philosophical, Mystical, or Divinely Moral* (1653) is most often bound with other works by More in a compendium titled *A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings of Dr Henry More* ("The second Edition more correct and much enlarged"—London: James Flesher, for William Morden Book-seller in Cambridge, 1662). It comprises Volume 2 of *Henry More: Major Philosophical Works* (9 vols.), edited by G. A. J. Rogers [series: THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS] (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 1997).

On More's "Cabbalistical" works, see below, SOME SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PRINTED WORKS ON CHRISTIAN CABALA IN ENGLISH (More[CONCAB]), on his *Conjectura Cabbalistica*, and *KNOTS AND SPIRALS* at http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/KS/index.php for English renditions of More's writings within *Kabbala denudata*.

Further, see (listed alphabetically)

- Birkel, Michael. "Immediate Revelation, Kabbalah, and Magic: The Primacy of Experience in the Theology of George Keith," in *Early Quakers and Their Theological Thought: 1647-1723*, edited by Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 256-272.
- Brown, C. C. "The Mere Numbers of Henry More's Cabbala," in *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 10, No. 1, THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE (Houston: Rice University, Winter 1970).
- Copenhaver, Brian P. "Jewish Theologies of Space in the Scientific Revolution: Henry More, Joseph Raphson, Isaac Newton and their Predecessors" in *Annals of Science*, xxxvii, Issue 5 (London: Taylor and Francis, Ltd., 1980), pages 489-548.
- Coudert, Allison. "Henry More, the Kabbalah, and the Quakers," in *Philosophy, Science, and Religion in England*, eds. R. Ashcraft, R. Kroll, and P. Zagorin (Cambridge University Press, 1992), which, somewhat revised, appears as CHAPTER 10 of Coudert's *Impact of the Kabbalah*....
- Crocker, Robert. *Henry More, 1614-1687: A Biography of the Cambridge Platonist* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 185] (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003). See especially CHAPTER 5: "Plato Democritans: The Ancient Cabbala Revived" regarding what More meant by "*Philosophical Cabbala*"; and CHAPTER 12: "The Kabbalah and the Quakers: Anne Conway, van Helmont, and Knorr von Rosenroth," § 1, THE JEWISH AND THE 'GREEK' CABBALA, and § 2. MORE, ANNE CONWAY AND THE QUAKERS, regarding More's response to the *kabbalah* as presented by van Helmont and Knorr.
- Fouke, Daniel C. *The Enthusiatical Concerns of Dr. Henry More: Religious Meaning and the Psychology of Delusion*. Leiden – New York – Köln: E. J. Brill, 1997.
- George, Edward Augustus. *Seventeenth Century Men of Latitude: Forerunners of the New Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908): § HENRY MORE, 1614-1687 (pp. 109-128)
- Hall, Rupert. *Henry More: Magic, Religion and Experiment* (Oxford – Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990); reprinted as *Henry More and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- *Henry More (1614-1687) Tercentenary Studies* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 127] (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990). See in particular Stuart Brown's "Leibniz and More's Cabbalistic Circle," Richard Popkin's "Spiritualistic Cosmologies of Henry More and Anne Conway," Allison Coudert's "Henry More and Witchcraft," and David Katz' "Henry More and the Jews."
- *Henry More: The Immortality of the Soul*, ed. A[lexander] Jacob. [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 122] (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1987).
- *Henry More's Manual of Metaphysics: A Translation of the* ENCHIRIDIUM METAPHYSICUM (1679), introduction and notes by Alexander Jacob (Hildesheim – New York: G. Olms Verlag, 1995).

- Henry, John. "Henry More" (*First published Fri Aug 24, 2007*) in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, principal editor: Edward N. Zalta, (Stanford: The Metaphysics Research Lab, CSLI, Stanford University)—online at http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/henry-more/
- Hutton, Sarah. "More, Newton, and the Language of Biblical Prophecy," in *The Books of Nature and Scripture: Recent Essays on Natural Philosophy, Theology, and Biblical Criticism in the Netherlands of Spinoza's Time and the British Isles of Newton's Time*, edited by James E. Force and Richard H. Popkin [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 139] (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1994), pages 39-54.
- Iliffe, Rob. "'Making a Shew": Apocalyptic Hermeneutics and the Sociology of Christian Idolatry in the Work of Isaac Newton and Henry More," in *The Books of Nature and Scripture*, pages 55-88 (cited immediately above).
- Lærke, Mogens. "Three Texts on the Kabbalah: More, Wachter, Leibniz, and the Philosophy of the Hebrews," in *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, Vol. 25, Issue 5 (Taylor & Francis, 2017), pp. 1011-1031; https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09608788.2017.1317234
- Lichtenstein, Aharon. *Henry More: The Rational Theology of a Cambridge Platonist*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).
- Mackinnon, Flora Isabel. *Philosophical Writings of Henry More* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1925; rpt Kessinger Publishing, 2007)
- More, Henry. *Enchiridion ethicum*, the English translation of 1690 reproduced from the first edition (New York: The Facsimile Text Society, 1930).
- Mulligan, Lotte. "'Reason,' 'Right Reason,' and 'Revelation' in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England," in *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Nicolson, Marjorie Hope (ed.) *Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends, 1642—1684* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930; revised edition with introduction & new material, ed. Sarah Hutton, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Reid, Jasper. *The Metaphysics of Henry More* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE HISTORY OF IDEAS, 207] (Dordrecht: Springer, 2012).
- Waite, Arthur E. *Holy Kabbalah* (London: Williams & Norgate, Ltd, 1929—reprinted, New Hyde Park: University Books, 1960, and subsequently), "Some Christian Students of the Kabbalah," § X.—HENRY MORE, pages 470-473.
- Ward, Richard. *The Life of* [*the Learned and Pious Dr.*] *Henry More, Parts 1 & 2* [London: Joseph Downing, 1710], eds. Sarah Hutton, Cecil Courtney, Michelle Courtney, Robert Crocker and Rupert Hall [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 167] (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000).

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RALPH CUDWORTH (1617-1688)

One becomes frustrated trying to find evidence of any substantive *cabalistic* influence in Cudworth. A. E. Waite correctly acknowledges that "Cudworth connects but superficially with Kabbalism" (—*The Holy Kabbalah*, p. 480; on Waite, refer to § FOUR HISTORIANS, above). Thus, beware of Kessinger's utterly pointless offprint of less than three pages extracted from Waite's *Holy Kabbalah* entitled *Ralph Cudworth: A Christian Student of the Holy Kabbalah* (2006).

On Cudworth, see

- Cudworth, Ralph. *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (London: Printed for Richard Royston, 1678; London: Andrew Bell at the Cross-keys, 1706; London: printed for J. Walthoe, D. Midwinter, J. and J. Bonwick, W. Innys, R. Ware [*and* 17 others in London], 1743; London: J. F. Dove for Richard Priestly, 1820; Oxford: D. A. Talboys, 1829; Andover: Gould & Newman; 1837-38; London: Thomas Tegg, 1845; rpt in 4 volumes: Kessinger & The Lighting Source, 2004. Find *True Intellectual System*... and other material on Cudworth online at Internet Archive:
  http://www.archive.org/search.php?query=ralph%20cudworth%20AND%20mediatype%3Atexts
- _____. *Treatise Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality, with A Treatise of Freewill* (London: Printed for James and John Knapton..., MDCCXXXI [1731]). See Sarah Hutton's edition: Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Lowrey, Charles Emmet. *The Philosophy of Ralph Cudworth: A Study of* THE TRUE INTELLECTUAL SYSTEM OF THE UNIVERSE (New York: Phillips & Hunt – Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1884; rpt Adamant Media Corporation, 2005).
- Passmore, J. A. *Ralph Cudworth: An Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951; rpt Bristol: Thoemmes, 1990).
- Three papers in *Platonism at the Origins of Modernity: Studies on Platonism and Early Modern Philosophy*, eds. Douglas Hedley and Sarah Hutton [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 196] (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008):
  (1) Armour, Leslie. "Trinity, Community and Love: Cudworth's Platonism and the Idea of God"
  (2) Breteau, Jean-Louis. "Chaos and Order in Cudworth's Thought"
  (3) Attfield, Robin. "Cudworth, Prior and Passmore on the Autonomy of Ethics"

ANNE CONWAY (1631-1679)

As a student of both More and van Helmont, Conway refuted the major philosophers of her time (Descartes, Hobbes, Spinoza) with an arsenal which included concepts from Lurianic *kabbalah* (as found in Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata*). As did van Helmont, Conway became a Quaker; also, as van Helmont, she appears to have had some influence upon Leibniz.

On Conway, start with Sarah Hutton's "intellectual biography," *Anne Conway: A Woman Philosopher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), and Conway's own *Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy*, eds. Allison Coudert and Taylor Corse (Cambridge University Press, 1996). In addition, refer to

- Alexander, Laura. "Anne Conway's Vitalism: A Physico-Theological Philosophy," in *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews*, Vol. 32, Issue 2 (Routledge/Taylor & Francis, 2019), pp. 93-96 › https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0895769X.2018.1488575?src=recsys
- Byrne, David. ANNE CONWAY: AN INTELLECTUAL PORTRAIT OF A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY COUNTESS. PhD. dissertation (Claremont: Claremont Graduate University, 2005).
- Gordon-Roth, Jessica. "What Kind of Monist is Anne Finch Conway?" in *Journal of the American Philosophical Association*, Vol. 4, Issue 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Fall 2018), pp. 280-297.
- Grey, Joel. "Conway's Ontological Objection to Cartesian Dualism," in *Philosophers' Imprint*, Vol. 17, No. 13 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, July 2017)., pp. 1-19.
- Lascano, Marcy P. "Anne Conway: Bodies in the Spiritual World," in *Philosophy Compass*, vol. 8, No. 4 (Blackwell, 2013), pp. 327-336.
- Mercer, Christia. "Seventeenth-Century Universal Sympathy: Stoicism, Platonism, Leibniz, and Conway," in *Sympathy: A History*, edited by Eric Schliesser (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 107-138.
- Merchant, Carolyn. "The Vitalism of Anne Conway: Its Impact on Leibniz's Concept of the Monad," in *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, Volume XVII, Number 3 (La Jolla: Journal of the History of Philosophy, Inc., 1979).
- _____. "Women on Nature: Anne Conway and Other Philosophical Feminists" = CHAPTER 11 of *The Death of Nature: Women Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980; rpt 1989 and 1990, with a new preface).
- Nicolson, Marjorie Hope (ed.) *Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends, 1642—1684* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930; revised edition with introduction & new material, ed. Sarah Hutton, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Schroeder, Steven. "Anne Conway's Place: A Map of Leibniz," in *The Pluralist*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Cham/University of Illinois Press, Fall 2007), pp. 77-99.
- Thomas, Emily, "Time Space, and Process in Anne Conway," in *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, Vol. 25, Issue 5 (Taylor & Francis, 2017), pp. 990-1010 › https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09608788.2017.1302408?src=recsys
- Webb, Simone. "Anne Conway: Mind, Spirit, Body and Feminist Responses," MSt. dissertation (University of Oxford, 2015) › https://www.academia.edu/23767713/Anne_Conway_Mind_Spirit_Body_and_Feminist_Responses_MSt_dissertation_
- White, Carol Wayne. *The Legacy of Anne Conway (1631-1679): Reverberations from a Mystical Naturalism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008).

Refer to § "Conway, Anne," below: SOME SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PRINTED WORKS..., pages 100-101.

THOMAS BURNET (1635-1715)

Theologian Burnet was a contemporary of the Cambridge Platonists, though not one of them. In *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ* (London: 1692), LIBRI I. CAP. VII. *De* Hebræis, *eorumque Cabalâ* (which is not included in Foxton's 1729 English translation reproduced by Kessinger, 2003), Burnet expounds upon *kabbalah*, dividing it into the Nominal and the Real, the former being the hermeneutical devices *gematria, temurah,* and *notaricon*, along with *vocabula* (NAMES), the latter being the doctrine of the *sefirot* and the four worlds. Given that Burnet's primary, if not sole, source on the subject was *Kabbala denudata*, his "slender knowledge" is more of *kabbalah* than of *cabala*.

In his "best-seller," *Tellurius theoria sacra* (London: 1681) [English edition: SACRED THEORY OF THE EARTH, London: 1684, with several subsequent editions into the early 1700s], Burnet writes

> There has been a great fame, 'tis true, of the *Jewish Cabala*, and of great mysteries contain'd in it; and, I believe, there was once a Traditional doctrine amongst some of them, that had extraordinary Notions and Conclusions: But where is this now to be found? The *Essenes* were the likeliest Sect, one would think, to retain such doctrines, but 'tis probable they are now so mixt with things fabulous and fantastical, that what one should alledge from thence would be of little or no authority. One Head in this *Cabala* was the doctrine of the *Sephiroth*, and though the explication of them be uncertain, the Inferiour *Sephiroth* in the Corporeal World cannot so well appli'd to any thing, as to those several Orbs and Regions, infolding one another, whereof the Primigenial Earth was compos'd. Yet such conjectures, I know, are of no validity, but in consort with better Arguments. I have often thought also, that their first and second Temple represented the first and second Earth or World; and that of *Ezekiel*'s, which is the third, is still to be erected, the most beautiful of all, when this second Temple of the World shall be burnt down. If the Prophecies of *Enoch* had been preserv'd, and taken into the Canon by *Ezra*, after their return from *Babylon*, when the Collection of their Sacred Books is suppos'd to have been made, we might probably have had a considerable account there, both of times past and to come, of Antiquities and Futuritions; for those Prophecies are generally suppos'd to have contain'd both the first and second fate of this Earth, and all the Periods of it. But as this Book is lost to us, so I look upon all others that pretend to be Ante-Mosaical or Patriarchal, as Spurious and Fabulous. (—*Sacred Theory*..., chapter IX pp. 200-201)

On Burnet, see

- Waite, A. E. *The Holy Kabbalah*, § XIV, "THOMAS BURNET," pp. 482-485 (—ref. § FOUR HISTORIANS, above)—the source of the accurate phrase "slender knowledge."
- Almond, Philip. *Heaven & Hell in Enlightenment England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chapter 4. "The Last Day," § HELL ON EARTH (pp. 119-123).
- Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* is available in print (Gale ECCO Print Editions, 2018) and as an Amazon Kindle text and at THE INTERNET ARCHIVE, at www.archive.org/search.php?query=thomas%20burnet%20sacred%20theory%20AND%20mediatype%3Atexts
- Mandelbrote, Scott. "Isaac Newton and Thomas Burnet: Biblical Criticism and the Crisis of Late Seventeenth-Century England," in *The Books of Nature and Scripture: Recent Essays on Natural Philosophy, Theology, and Biblical Criticism in the Netherlands of Spinoza's Time and the British Isles of Newton's Time*, edited by James E. Force and Richard H. Popkin [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 139] (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1994), pages 149-178.

ISAAC NEWTON (1642-1727)

Of course, part of the seventeenth-century fray was Isaac Newton, who,

> … in formulating the factors in the corruption of the primitive church, found the influence of metaphysical emanation cosmologies, such as those in the *kabbalah*, the main culprit. Newton came to the *kabbalah* through Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata*, but his criticisms of it were formed through his preconceived notion of the role of emanation in the church's corruption and through the influence of [*Histoire des Juifs* (1716) by Jacques] Basnage, who dedicates considerable space to criticizing Kabbalah.
>
> —Matt Goldish in *Judaism in the Theology of Sir Isaac Newton* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 157] (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998: p. 161). [my brackets—*DK*]

Goldish suggests that fanning the flame of Newton's criticisms of *kabbalah* was his desire to undermine a key source of Leibniz' "emanational cosmology," which, due to its kabbalistic flavor, Newton could not abide.

On Newton and *kabbalah*,

- Goldish, Matt. "Newton on Kabbalah," in *The Books of Nature and Scripture: Recent Essays on Natural Philosophy, Theology, and Biblical Criticism in the Netherlands of Spinoza's Time and the British Isles of Newton's Time*, edited by James E. Force and Richard H. Popkin [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 139] (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1994), pages 89-104.
- Hutton, Sarah. "More, Newton, and the Language of Biblical Prophecy," in *The Books of Nature and Scripture*, pages 39-54 (cited immediately above).
- Iliffe, Rob. "'Making a Shew": Apocalyptic Hermeneutics and the Sociology of Christian Idolatry in the Work of Isaac Newton and Henry More," in *The Books of Nature and Scripture*, pages 55-88 (cited immediately above).
- Trompf, Garry W. "Isaac Newton and the Kabbalistic Noah: Natural Law between *Mediaevalia* and the Enlightenment," in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, VOLUME 5, NUMBER 1 (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005).

On other aspects of "esoteric Newton," see

- Chambers, John. *The Metaphysical World of Isaac Newton: Alchemy Prophecy, and the Search for Lost Knowledge* (Rochester [VT]: Destiny Books, 2018).
- Westfall, Richard S. "Newton and the Hermetic Tradition," in *Science, Medicine, and Society in the Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Walter Pagel* (New York: Neale Watson Academic Publishers, 1972); also in *Articles on Witchcraft, Magic and Demonology*, Volume 11: RENAISSANCE MAGIC, ed. Brian P. Levack (New York – London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992).
- _____. "Newton and Alchemy," in *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

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GOTTFRIED LEIBNIZ (1646-1716)

On Leibniz, along with the numerous articles by Allison Coudert listed above, note in particular her book *Leibniz and Kabbalah* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1995).

> It is the purpose of this book to argue that for all its complexities the Lurianic Kabbalah had a significant influence on Leibniz's thought. (—*Leibniz and Kabbalah*, p. xi)
>
> ... I am not suggesting that Leibniz's view of Kabbalah was one of total acceptance or that van Helmont's kabbalistic theories were the major influence on his thought. Leibniz criticized certain kabbalistic ideas as lacking sufficient foundation or proof. But regardless of his criticisms, a careful reading of the manuscripts shows that he took the Kabbalah extremely seriously. (—*ibid.*, p. 157)

Coudert discusses the kabbalistic influence on Leibniz of not only van Helmont but also Anne Conway (*ibid.*, pp. 26-29 *et passim*). Refer to the articles by Carolyn Merchant and Steven Schroeder listed above in § ANNE CONWAY.

On Leibniz (listed chronologically):

- Merchant, Carolyn. "Leibniz and Newton" = CHAPTER 12 of *The Death of Nature: Women Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980; 1989; and 1990 with new preface).
- *Leibnizian Inquiries: A Group of Essays*, ed. Nicholas Rescher (Lanham – New York – London: University Press of America, 1989).
- Brown, Stuart. "Leibniz and More's Cabbalistic Circle," in *Henry More (1614-1687): Tercentenary Studies*, [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 127: 1990], noted above.

  The "circle" Brown refers to here comprised of Francis Mercury van Helmont and Knorr von Rosenroth. Whether Leibniz' philosophy was the result of direct influence or convergence is the gist of Brown's discussion; Brown highlights the latter.
- Adams, Robert Merrihew. *Leibniz: Determinist, Theist, Idealist* (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- *Leibniz, Mysticism and Religion*, eds. Allison P. Coudert, Richard Popkin, and Gordon M. Weiner [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 158] (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998)

  See in particular Stuart Brown's "Some Occult Influences on Leibniz's Monadology"—the influences discussed are alchemy and *kabbalah*—AND Marcia (*sic*—it should be Marsha) Keith Schuchard's "Leibniz, Benzelius, and the Kabbalistic Roots of Swedish Illuminism."
- Fox, Nicholas James. LEIBNIZ'S COSMOLOGY: TRANSCENDENTAL RATIONALISM AND KABBALISTIC SYMBOLISM. PhD diss. Open University (UK): 2003.

  "The thesis proposes that the proximity of these two doctrines is such that Christian Lurianic Kabbalah can be regarded, in many ways, as a mystical exoteric parallel to Leibniz's." (—ABSTRACT)

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Some Seventeenth-century printed works on Christian Cabala in English[51]

A catalogue of sources, title pages, & excerpts

> Cabbalism as a form of thought permeates much seventeenth-century literature; it is as impossible to separate it sharply from other ideas of a particular author as it is to define exactly the particular brand of Platonism he held. By the seventeenth century, cabbalism had become so fused and intermingled with other ways of thinking that we look for it less in defined doctrine and creed than in an attitude toward a question.
>
> —Marjorie H. Nicolson, "Milton and the *Conjectura Cabbalistica*," in *Philological Quarterly*, Volume VI, Number 1 (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1927), page 1.

Agrippa von Nettesheim, Heinrich Cornelius (1486?-1535):

- THREE BOOKS OF Occult Philosophy, WRITTEN BY *Henry Cornelius Agrippa*, OF NETTESHEIM, Counsellor to CHARLES the Fifth, EMPEROR of Germany: AND Iudge of the Prerogative Court. Translated out of the Latin into the English tongue, By *J. F. London:* Printed by *R.W.* for *Gregory Moule*, and are to be sold at the Sign of the three Bibles neer the West-end of *Pauls*. 1651.

  < TRANSLATION OF *De occvlta philosophia libri tres* (Cologne: 1533).

See Donald Tyson's edition of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1992—rpt. 2018); and *Three Books of Occult Philosophy or Magic: Book One – Natural Magic*, edited by Willis F. Whitehead, 1897 (rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser Inc., 1971).

A modern translation from the original Latin commenced with *Three Books of Occult Philosophy: Book 1, Academic Edition*, by Eric Purdue ([Cedar Rapids]: Renaissance Astrology, 2012), and now all three books—rendered by Purdue—have been published (Rochester [VT]: Inner Traditions, 2021).

Three Books of Occult Philosophy can be viewed on-line at Joseph H. Peterson's *Twilit Grotto/Esoteric Archives* site, http://www.esotericarchives.com/agrippa/index.html, and at the MSU Libraries Digital and Multimedia Center, http://catalog.lib.msu.edu/search~/c?SEARCH=xx%2BBF1598.A3%2BD413%2B1651

For studies treating H. C. Agrippa, see above, pages 49-51. Note in particular

- Charles G. Nauert's *Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965).
- Paola Zambelli's "Magic and Radical Reformation in Agrippa of Nettesheim," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume 39 (London: The Warburg Institute, 1976).

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[51] Many English titles of this era use the word *cabala* to mean "the secret machinations of a small group of persons," namely *cabal*. Some examples:

- *Cabala, sive, Scrinia sacra* : mysteries of state & government : in letters of illustrious persons, and great agents, in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Queen Elizabeth, King James, and the late King Charles : in two parts : in which the secrets of Empire and publique manage of affairs are contained : with many remarkable passages no where else published. London : Printed for G. Bedel and T. Collins ..., 1654.
- Birkenhead, John. *Cabala*, or, An impartial account of the non-conformists private designs, actings and wayes : from August 24, 1662 to December 25 in the same year London : [s.n.], 1663.
- Lloyd, David. *Cabala*, or, The mystery of conventicles unvail'd : in an historical account of the principles and practices of the nonconformists, against church and state : from the first reformation under King Edward the VI. *anno* 1558. to this present year, 1664 : with an appendix of an CXX. plots against the present government, that have been defeated by Oliver Foulis ... London : Printed for Thomas Holmwood, 1664.

- Marc G. van der Poel's *Cornelius Agrippa: The Humanist Theologian and His Declamations* (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill, 1997).
- Christopher I. Lehrich's *Language of Demons and Angels: Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2003).

Brinsley, John (fl.1633 [1600-1665?]):

- THE CHRISTIANS CABALA, OR, SURE TRADITION : Necessary to be KNOWN and BELIEVED By all that will be Saved : A Doctrine holding forth, Good Tidings of Great Joy, to the greatest of all PENITENT SINNERS : With a CHARACTER of one that is truly Such : As it was lately held forth to the church of GOD at Great YARMOUTH. By *John Brinsley*, Minister of the Gospel there. LONDON, Printed for *George Sawbridge*, at the Sign of the Bible on *Ludgate-Hill*, 1662.

In his commentary on I TIMOTHY 1:15, Clergyman Brinsley discusses the term *cabala* in connection with the phrase "of all acceptation" (= "full acceptance" in *The New English Bible*):

> Amongst the *Jews* there were many *mysteries*, Doctrines which they received from their Fathers by way of Tradition. These they called by that Name of *Cabala*, ... signifying *acceptio*, a receiving of a thing, thereby meaning their Traditions, such Doctrines as by word of mouth were conveyed unto them from their Forefathers. And these Mysteries, these Traditions, were of high account among their *Rabbies*, their Doctors, and their followers (even as others of like kind, are at this day in the Church of *Rome*), these they studied and were versed in them. But our Apostle willeth Christians to take notice. What was the true *Cabala*, the sure *Tradition*, which he here holdeth forth to them, as worthy of their study above all others; even this *great Mystery of Godliness*, That *Christ Jesus is come into this world to save sinners.*
>
> (*The Christians Cabala*, pages 13-14).

A facsimile edition of *The Christians Cabala* was published by EEBO Editions/Proquest (Ann Arbor: 2011).

Conway, Anne (Anne Finch, Viscountess of Conway) (1631-1679):

- THE PRINCIPLES Of the most Ancient and Modern PHILOSOPHY CONCERNING *God*, *Christ*, and the *Creatures*, viz. of Spirit and Matter in general, whereby may be resolved all those Problems or Difficulties, which neither by the School nor Common Modern Philosophy, nor by the *Cartesian*, *Hobbesian*, or *Spinosian*, could be discussed. BEING A little Treatise published since the Author's Death, translated out of the *English* into *Latin*, with Annotations taken from the Ancient Philosophy of the *Hebrews*; and now again made *English*. By *J. C. Medicinæ Professor*. Printed in *Latin* at *Amsterdam*, by *M. Brown*, 1690. And reprinted at *London*, 1692.

  < TRANSLATION OF *Principia philosophiæ antiquissimæ & recentissimæ de Deo, Christo & creatura id est de spiritu & material in genere* (Amsterdam: 1690)

Lady Conway obtained her knowledge of *kabbalah*—with its Lurianic cast—from van Helmont, who was her personal physician, and from von Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata*.

Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy, edited by Allison P. Coudert and Taylor Corse, has been reprinted in the CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY series, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Regarding Conway, More, van Helmont, Knorr von Rosenroth, and Leibniz, see above, pages 86-97. Also refer to

- *Conway Letters: The Correspondence of* Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, *and their Friends, 1642-1684*, Collected from Manuscript Sources & Edited with a Biographical Account *by*

Marjorie Hope Nicolson, London: Yale University Press – Oxford University Press, 1930; reprinted with additional material by Oxford University Press, 1992

- Sarah Hutton's *Anne Conway: A Woman Philosopher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Sarah Hutton's articles:
  (1) "Henry More, Anne Conway and the Kabbalah," in *Judeo-Christian Intellectual Culture in the Seventeenth Century: A Celebration of the Library of Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713)*, edited by Allison P. Coudert, Sarah Hutton, Richard H. Popkin, and Gordon M. Weiner [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES 163, 1999]
  (2) "From Christian Kabalism to Kabalistic Quakerism: the Kabalistic Dialogues of Anne Conway, Henry More, and George Keith," in *Christliche Kabbala*, edited by Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2003)
- Carolyn Merchant, "The Vitalism of Anne Conway: Its Impact on Leibniz's Concept of the Monad," in *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, Volume XVII, Number 3 (La Jolla: Journal of the History of Philosophy, Inc., 1979)
- _____, "Women on Nature: Anne Conway and Other Philosophical Feminists" = CHAPTER 11 of *The Death of Nature: Women Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980; rpt. 1989 and 1990 (with a new preface).
- David Byrne, ANNE CONWAY: AN INTELLECTUAL PORTRAIT OF A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY VISCOUNTESS. (PhD dissertation, Claremont: Claremont Graduate University, 2005).
- Leslie Baker, THE 'MASCULINE MIND' AND THE WOMAN'S BODY: EXPLORING THE STRATEGIES OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FEMALE PHILOSOPHERS ANNE CONWAY AND DAMARIS MASHAM TO RECONCILE DOMESTICITY AND INTELLECTUALISM. (MA Thesis, Halifax: Dalhousie University, 2008).

Fludd, Robert (1574-1637):

> In Cabalistic interest, the [seventeenth] century begins with Robert Fludd whose so-called *Mosaicall Philosophy* is an amplification of Agrippa's Cabalism. Fludd was, in some respects, akin to Pico, in that he tried to reconcile the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies. His attempt to do this was based upon the identification of the ten spheres of Aristotelian cosmology with the ten Sephiroth, which are obviously Platonic—i.e., Neo-Platonic—in character.
>
> (Joseph L. Blau, "The Cabala in English Literature," page 158, noted below)

- *MOSAICALL* PHILOSOPHY Grounded upon the ESSENTIAL TRUTH OR ETERNAL SAPIENCE. Written first in *Latin*, and afterwards thus rendered into *English*. By Robert Fludd, Esq; & Doctor of Physick. *LONDON*, Printed for *Humphrey Moseley*, at the *Prince's Armes* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1659.

  < TRANSLATION OF *Philosophia Moysaica*, in qua sapientia & scientia creationis & creaturarum sacra veréque Christiana (vt pote cujus basis sive fundamentum est unicus ille lapis angularis Iesus Christus) ad amussim & enucleaté explicatur, avthore Rob. Flvd, alias de Flvctibvs. Govdæ, Excudebat P. Rammazenius, bibliopola, 1638.

Cabala is given its most concentrated treatment in the Second Section of BOOK 2, starting at CHAP. II, p. 171ff.

Books One and Two of the Second section were reprinted in Adam MacLean's MAGNUM OPUS HERMETIC SOURCEWORKS series (No. 2; Edinburgh: 1979). Abridged versions of Fludd's preface to *Mosaicall Philosophy* and his chapter summaries are given in CHAPTER 8 of *Robert Fludd: Essential Readings*, edited by William H. Huffman (London: Aquarian/Thorsons, 1992). The whole of *Mosaicall Philosophy* has been reproduced by Kessinger Publishing Company (2003), and by Forgotten Books (2017).

Further, refer to Huffman's *Robert Fludd and the End of the Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1988), CHAPTER VIII: "The Mosaicall Philosophy: Fludd's Original Synthesis" and my references above, pages 75-76.

Helmont, Franciscus Mercurius van (1614-1699):

- A Cabbalistical DIALOGUE IN ANSWER To the Opinion of a Learned Doctor in *Philosophy* and *Theology*, THAT THE WORLD WAS MADE OF NOTHING. As it is Contained in the Second Part of the *Cabbala Denudata & Apparatus in Lib. Sohar*, p. 308. &cc. Printed in Latin at *Sultsbach*, *Anno* 1677. To which is subjoyned A Rabbinical and Paraphrastical Exposition of *Genesis* I. written in *High-Dutch* by the Author of the foregoing Dialogue, first done into Latin, but now made *English*. *LONDON*, Printed for *Benjamin Clark* in *George-Yard* in *Lombard Street*, Bookseller, M DCL XXXII.

  < TRANSLATION OF AD FUNDAMENTA CABBALÆ Æto-Pædo-Melissææ DIALOGUS *Compilator*. *Cabbalistica Catechumenus*, in *Kabbalah denudata*, Tom. I, *Pars secunda*, pp. 308-313.

The "Learned Doctor" in the title is Henry More. For a transcription of the complete text, go to http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/VanHelmont/index.php

- TWO HUNDRED QUERIES Moderately propounded Concerning the DOCTRINE Of the REVOLUTION OF Humane Souls, AND Its Conformity to the Truths OF Christianity. *LONDON*, Printed for *Rob. Kettlewell*, at the *Hand* and *Scepter* over against St. *Dunstans* Church in *Fleetstreet*. 1684.

  Courteous Reader,

  About two years since, the two hundred Queries following were Translated into the English *Tongue beyond the Seas, by a Lover and Searcher after hidden Truth, and were brought over to be proposed to the Learned and Pious of this Kingdom, of whom the Proposer hath that esteem which S.* Paul *had of the Noble* Bereans, Acts 17. verse 10, 11, 12. *and who being not inferior to any of the* European *Nations, are capable to judge of such matters. Therefore it is with all sincerity referred to their judicious and serious scrutiny and inquiry. And if so be this meets with a favourable acceptance, there are two Treatises yet remaining which very probably may then see the Light : the First treating of, and elucidating the chiefest points here mentioned, but after another manner than is done in these Queries ; The other is a Latine Tract, the Title whereof is*, De Revolutionibus Animarum Tractatus primus e Manuscripto haud ita pridem ex Oriente ad nos perlato, ex operibus Rabbi Titzchak Loriensis [read *Yitzchak Luria—DK*] Cabbalistarum Aquilæ, latinitate donatus.

  Farewel. (*Two Hundred Queries*, iii-vi)

The promise of this preface was fulfilled: van Helmont "caused" *De Revolutionibus Animarum* "to be added" (so he states in *Paradoxal Discourses*, page 160) to *Kabbala denudata*, TOM. 2, Pars Tertia: PNEVMATICA CABBALISTICA..., Tractatus Secundus, pages 243—478. The other *Treatise* is the chapter "Concerning the Revolution of Humane Souls" in *Paradoxal Discourses*, which is listed below.

See Coudert's *Impact* for excerpts of *200 Queries*: Qu. 40—42 (*Impact*, page 199), Qu. 64 (*Impact*, page 198), the first two-thirds of Qu. 142 (*Impact*, page 198), the opening of Qu. 148 (*Impact*, page 198), Qu. 151 (*Impact*, page 199), Qu. 161 (*Impact*, page 197) a portion of Qu. 200 (*Impact*, page 132, and re-quoted on page 197—cited as pp. 163ff, but actually pp. 164-5). Refer also to Beitchman's comments in *Alchemy of the Word*, pages 201-207.

- "*Concerning the Revolution of Humane Souls*," CHAP. IV. (pp. 105-161) of THE Paradoxal DISCOURSES OF *F. M. Van HELMONT*, Concerning the Macrocosm AND MICROCOSM, OR THE Greater and Lesser World, And their Union. *Set down in WRITING by J.B. and now Published. LONDON:* Printed by *J.C.* and *Freeman Collins*, for *Robert Kettlewel*, at the *Hand* and *Scepter* near S. *Dunstan's* Church in *Fleetstreet*. 1685.

For a transcription of *Paradoxal Discourses*: CHAPTER IV, go to
http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/VanHelmont/index.php

- *SEDER OLAM* OR, THE Order, Series, *or* Succession OF ALL THE Ages, *P*eriods, *and* Times OF THE WHOLE WORLD IS Theologically, *P*hilosophically, *and* Chronologically Explicated and Stated. ALSO The Hypothesis of the Pre-existency and Revolution of Humane Souls. Together with the Thousand Years Reign of Christ on the Earth, probably evinced, and deliver'd in an Historical Enarration thereof, according to the Holy Scriptures. To which is also annexed, Some Explanatory Questions of the Book of the Revelations of the like import. And an *Appendix*; containing some Emendations and Explanations of divers Passages, in the two fore-going Treatises, out of the Author's Original Manuscripts and Papers. Translated out of Latin by *J. Clark*, M. D. upon the Leave of *F. M.* Baron of *Helmont*. *LONDON:* Printed for Sarah Howkins, in *George-yard, Lumbard Street*, 1694.

  < TRANSLATION OF *Seder olam ordo seculaorum, historica enarratio doctrinæ*, anno 1693.

Refer to my full transcription of *Seder olam* at
http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/VanHelmont/index.php

A small portion of the Appendix to *Seder olam* (page 227, "*Emend. And Explic*." to page 95, l. 5) appears in Coudert's *Impact*, page 253-4.

- "An APPENDIX of *Several Questions with their Answers Concerning the Hypothesis of the* Revolution of Humane Souls," in THE *Divine Being* And its ATTRIBUTES Philosophically Demonstrated from the Holy Scriptures, AND Original Nature of Things. According to the PRINCIPLES of *F.M.B.* of Helmont. *Written in* Low-Dutch *by* Paulus Buchius *Dr. of Physick, and Translated into* English *by* Philangelus. LICENSED *Septemb.* 25. *LONDON* Printed, and are to be sold by *Randal Taylor*, near *Stationers Hall*. 1693. (pp. 203-232)

  The Hypothesis being this, viz. *That every individual of Mankind must several times die and be Born again, in Order to the working out of their Salvation here in this World...*
  (*The Divine Being and its Attributes*: APPENDIX, page 205)

For my complete transcription of van Helmont's APPENDIX to *Divine Being*, go to
http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/VanHelmont/index.php

As the titles above attest, "the revolution of humane souls" was among van Helmont's "chiefest" concerns, which connects with his incorporation of Lurianic kabbalah *via* the writings attributed to Hayyim Vital as rendered by Knorr von Rosenroth. With the kabbalistic concept of *gilgul* (roughly, *reincarnation*, or *transmigration*), van Helmont found his beloved doctrine supported by authority of the Bible.

Refer to Stuart Brown's "F. M. van Helmont: His Philosophical Connections and the Reception of His Later Cabbalistic Philosophy" (in *Studies in Seventeenth-Century European Philosophy*, edited by M.A. Stewart, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). § II of Brown's article, THE PUBLICATION OF VAN HELMONT'S

CABBALISTIC PHILOSOPHY, 1677-99, opens (page 104), "In the period after 1680, van Helmont went out of his way to publish in English."

For a full study, see Allison Coudert, *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614-1698)* [BRILL SERIES IN JEWISH STUDIES, 9] (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1999).

More, Henry (1614-1687):

- *Conjectura Cabbalistica.* OR, A CONJECTURAL ESSAY OF Interpreting the minde of *Moses*, according to a Threefold CABBALA: Viz. *Literal, Philosophical, Mystical,* or, *Divinely Moral.* By HENRY MORE Fellow of Christ's College in *Cambridge*. *LONDON*, Printed by *James Flesher*, and are to be sold by *William Morden* Bookseller in *Cambridge*, 1653.

> Let us now take a general view of this whole *Cabbala*, and more summarily consider the strength thereof; which we may refer to these two heads, *viz. the nature of the Truths herein contained*, and the *dignity of these persons that have owned them in foregoing Ages*. And as for the *Truths themselves*, first, they are such as may well become so holy and worthy a person as *Moses*, if he would Philosophize; they being very precious and choice Truths. And very highly removed above the conceit of the vulgar, and so the more likely delivered to him, or to *Adam* first by God for a special mysterie.
>
> Secondly, they are such, that the more they are examined, the more irrefutable they will be found, so *Hypothesis* that was ever yet propounded to men, so exquisitely well agreeing with the *Phenomena* of Nature, the *Attributes* of God, the *Passages* of Providence, and the *rational Faculties* of our own minds.
>
> Thirdly, there is a continued sutablenesse and applicability to the Text of *Moses* all along, without any force or violence done to Grammar or Criticisme.
>
> Fourthly and lastly, there is a great usefulnesse, if not necessity, at least of some of them, they being such substantial Props of Religion, and great encouragements to a sedulous purification of our mindes, the study of true piety.
>
> (*Conjectura Cabbalistica*: "The Defence of the Philosophick Cabbala," pp. 183-4)

In a letter to Anne Conway, More indicates the origins of his "3 fold Cabbala":

> Though the Conceptions in the Cabbala be most what my own, yett I do what I can in my Defense to gette Godfathers [*i.e.*, Pythagoras, Plato, and the Neoplatonists—*DK*] all along to these births of my own braine, and so to lessen the odium of these inventions by alledgeing the Authority of Auncient Philosophers and Fathers, and therefore the Defense is longer then otherwise it had needed to have been, besides other Digressions I thought fitt to make which are not so speculative as practicall, which liberty I take, as haveing a designe so farre as I can to engage others to be good rather then Wise, or to ostentate my own skill and wisedome to the world. I am glad your Ladiship can so easily reade them and so readily understand my Cabbalas with the Defense.
>
> (f. 43. HENRY MORE TO ANNE CONWAY, in *Conway Letters*, collected by Marjorie Hope Nicolson, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930: page 83)

Or, as bluntly put by Allison Coudert, "*Conjectura Cabbalistica* ... had been written in virtual ignorance of authentic kabbalistic texts" (Coudert, *Impact*, p. 232). With similar matter-of-factness, B. J. Gibbons states, "[Leone] Ebreo's *Dialoghi* [*d'amore*] are the obvious source of More's Cabalism" (*Gender and Mystical Thought* [Cambridge University Press, 1996] page 74; refer above to THE PROBLEM OF LEONE EBREO'S *DIALOGHI*, pp. 35-40).

Conjectura Cabbalistica is volume 2 of *Henry More: Major Philosophical Works* (in nine volumes), edited by G. A. J. Rogers [series: THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS] (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 1997). *Conjectura* is summarized in A. E. Waite's *Holy Kabbalah*, pp. 472-3 and discussed in Robert Crocker's *Henry More, 1614-1687: A Biography of the Cambridge Platonist* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 185] (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003): Chapter 12: "The Kabbalah and the Quakers: Anne

Conway, van Helmont, and Knorr von Rosenroth," § 1, THE JEWISH AND THE 'GREEK' CABBALA. For other pertinent works of More's rendered in English, find the references in *Kabbala denudata*, APPARATUS IN LIBRUM SOHAR *PARS SECUNDA*, §10 (see below, pages 108-110).

For further examples of More's writings on *cabala*, see *Knots & Spirals: Some Brief Writings of Henry More* (from *Kabbala denudata*) at http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/KS/index.php. Among the passages included is More's prefatory letter (dated April 22, 1675) to his "Ad Clarissimum ac Eruditissimum Virum N. N. De rebus in Amica sua Resposione contentis Ulterior Disquisitio" [TO THE LUCID AND LEARNED HERO N.N. ...WITH FRIENDSHIP IN RESPONSE TO THE CONTENT OF THE PREVIOUS DISQUISITION (*i.e.*, a compendium of R. Naftali Hirtz' *Emek ha-Melekh* in 103 Theses)] in English, appears on pages 173—176 of *Kabbala denudata*, tome 1 (Sulzbach: 1677).

Note the items by Sarah Hutton listed above (§ ANNE CONWAY) and Hutton's "More, Millenarianism, and the Ma'aseh Merkavah," in *Everything Connects: In Conference with Richard Popkin*: ESSAYS IN HIS HONOR, edited by James E. Force and David S. Katz (Leiden – Boston – Koln: Brill, 1999). Refer to C. C. Brown, "The Mere Numbers of Henry More's Cabbala," in *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Volume 10, Number 1 (Houston: Rice University, 1970).

Also, find in the current paper, § HENRY MORE, pages 91-92.

Vaughan, Thomas [Eugenius Philalethes] (1622-1666):

- *MAGIA ADAMICA*, OR The *Antiquitie* of *Magic* : AND The *Descent* therof from *Adam* downwards, proved. Whereunto is added, a perfect, and full *Discoverie* of the true *Coelum Terræ*, or the *Magician's* Heavenly *Chaos*, and *first Matter* of all Things. By Eugenius Philalethes. LONDON : Printed by *T. W.* for H. BLUNDEN at the Castle in Corn-hill, 1650.
- *LUMEN DE LUMINE*, OR A new *Magicall Light*, discovered, and Communicated to the *WORLD*. By *Eugenius Philalethes*. GEN. I. 3 And *God* said, *Let there be light*. JOHN I. Chap : Ver. 5. And the *Light* shineth in the *Darknesse*. Pythag. *Ne loquaris Deo absque Lumine*. LONDON, Printed for H. BLUNDEN at the Castle in *Corne-Hil*. 1651.

  Lumen de Lumine, edited by A. E. Waite, was republished, London: John M. Watkins, 1910. Both *Magia Adamica* and *Lumen de Lumine* are included in *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, edited by A. E. Waite (London: Theosophical Publishing House, 1919); reprinted, New Hyde Park: University Books, 1968; and more recently reproduced by Kessinger Publishing (1997).

Alchemist Vaughan describes two types of "Kabalah" in *Magia Adamica*: (1) the "true Kabalah," whose "truths were unknown to most of those rabbins whom [Vaughan had] seen, even Rambam [Maimonides] himself," and (2) the "inventions of some dispersed wandering rabbis" which consist of "certain alphabetical knacks," the varieties of which "are grown voluminous" (—*Works*..., edited by A. E. Waite, page 167). Further, Vaughan speaks, following *Sefer Yetzirah*, of the "The Literal Kabalah... [which] hath Three Principles, commonly styled *Tres Matres*, or Three Mothers," namely, *Aleph* (air), *Mem* (water), and *Shin* (fire) (—*Works*..., page 168). Vaughan links the *sefirot* with Jacob's ladder, stating that this symbol "is the greatest mystery in the Kabalah" in that here one finds "inferiors united with superiors" (—*Works*..., pages 169-170). Ultimately though, for Vaughan, "the learning of the Jews—I mean their Kabalah—was chemical and ended in true physical performances" (—*Works*..., page 171).

In *Lumen de Lumine*, Vaughan equates the supernal *sefirot* with the Trinity, *i.e.*, the Son : *hokhmah*, the Holy Ghost : *binah*, and, by inference, the Father : *keter* (—*Works*..., page 295). He concludes

> Now, Reader, I have unriddled for thee the grand, mysterious problem of the Kabalist. "In the seven parts"—saith he—"there are two triplicities, and in the middle there stands one thing. Twelve stand in battle array : three friends, three foes; three warriors make alive; three in like manner slay. And God the Faithful King Ruleth over all from the Hall of His

> sanctity. One upon three, and three upon seven, and seven upon twelve, and all standing in close array, one with another." (—*Works…*, page 305)

Refer to *The Tantric Alchemist: Thomas Vaughan and the Indian Tantric Tradition* by Peter Levanda (Lake Worth: Ibis Press, 2015), where *kabbalah* is frequently mentioned, though only in passing. "*The Tantric Alchemist* is a work on Alchemy as decoded by Tantra … and a work on Tantra as understood by Alchemists." The *tantric* connection of Vaughan and his wife had been taken up before, as, for instance by Kenneth Rexroth in his introduction to the reprint of A. E. Waite's edition of *The Works of Thomas Vaughan* (noted above).

Villars, Abbé de (Nicolas-Pierre-Henri Montfaucon, 1635-1673)

- THE Count of *GABALIS :* Or, The Extravagant Mysteries of the Cabalists EXPOSED In Five Pleasant Discourses On The Secret Sciences … Done into English, By *P. A.* Gent [= Philip Ayres]. With Short Animadversions. *London*, Printed for *B. M.* Printer to the Cabalistical Society of the Sages, at the Sign of the *Rosy-Crusian*, M DC LXXX [1680].

  < TRANSLATION OF *Le comte de Gabalis, ou, Entretiens sur les sciences secretes* (A Paris: Chez Claude Barbin, au Palais sur le Perron de la Ste Chapelle., 1670).

So popular was this Paracelsian romp that there were, in fact, *two* English translations published in 1680, the other being

- *The Count of Gabalis: or, Conferences About Secret Sciences Rendered Out of French into English. With an Advice to the Reader. By A.L.A.M.* [= A. Lovell] (London: Printed for Robert Harford, at the Angel in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange, 1680).

Two editions also appeared in 1714; the title information of the *second edition* (#2 below) provides a summary of *Gabalis*' contents:

1. THE Count *de GABALIS:* Being a Diverting HISTORY OF THE *Rosicrucian* DOCTRINE OF SPIRITS, *VIZ.* SYLPHS, SALAMADERS, GNOMES, and DÆMONS: Shewing their Various Influence upon Human Bodies. *Done from the PARIS Edition.* To which is prefix'd Monsieur BAYLE'S Account of this WORK: And of the SECT of the ROSICRUCIANS. *Qoud tanto impendio abscontitur, etiam solummodo demonstrare, distruere est.* Tertull. *LONDON:* Printed for B. LINTOTT and E. CURLL, in *Fleet-Street*, 1714. Price 1 *s.*
2. The Diverting HISTORY OF THE Count *de GABALIS:* CONTAINING, I. An Account of the Rosicrucian Doctrine of Spirits, *viz. Sylphs, Salamaders, Gnomes,* and *Dæmons;* shewing their various Influence upon Human Bodies. II. The Nature and Advantages of Studying the *Occult Sciences.* III. The Carnal Knowledge of Women to be renoun'd. IV. *ADAM*'s Fall not occasion'd by eating the *Apple,* but by his carnal Knowledge of *EVE.* V. The Rise, Progress, and Decay of Oracles. VI. A Parallel between Ancient and Modern Priestcraft. To which is prefix'd, Monsieur Bayle's Account of this Work, and of the SECT of the *ROSICRUCIANS.* The Second Edition. *LONDON :* Printed for B. Lintott at the *Cross-Keys,* and E. Curll, at the *Dial* and *Bible,* in *Fleet-Street*, 1714.

Count of Gabalis has been reprinted fairly frequently: see the recent edition, *Comte de Gabalis*, New York: Cosimo, 2005—on the back cover of which it states, "Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's based his strange novel, *Zanoni* upon this esoteric work. Alexander Pope in his dedication to *The Rape of the Lock*, sings its praises."

Refer also to Christopher McIntosh's comments on pages 107 and 108 of *The Rosicrucians: The History, Mythology, and Rituals of an Esoteric Order* (3rd edition, York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1997).

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- Brown, Stuart. "F. M. van Helmont: His Philosophical Connections and the Reception of His Later Cabbalistic Philosophy" in *Studies in Seventeenth-Century European Philosophy*, edited by M.A. Stewart (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
- Coudert, *Impact* = Coudert, Allison. *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614-1698)* [BRILL SERIES IN JEWISH STUDIES, 9] (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1999).
- Nicolson, Marjorie H. "Milton and the *Conjectura Cabbalistica*," in *Philological Quarterly*, Volume VI, Number 1 (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1927).
- Spector, Sheila. *Jewish Mysticism: An Annotated Bibliography on Kabbalah in English* (New York – London: Garland Publishing, 1984):
  - § O: "Non-Jewish Kabbalah," first division: "Primary Sources"
- Waite, A. E. *The Holy Kabbalah* (New Hyde Park: University Books, 1960):
  - Book X: "Some Christian Students of the Kabbalah"

This catalogue would not have been possible without the able assistance of Hui-Ju Chen.

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THE CONTENTS OF *KABBALA DENUDATA* (KD)
WITH SOURCES IN ENGLISH

TOMUS PRIMUS (Sulzbach: 1677):

KABBALA DENUDATA *Seu* Doctrina HEBRÆORUM TRANSCENDENTALIS ET METAPHYSICA ATQUE THEOLOGICA [KABBALAH UNVEILED *OR* THE TRANSCENDENTAL, METAPHYSICAL, AND THEOLOGICAL DOCTRINES OF THE HEBREWS] *OPUS* Antiquissimæ Philosophiæ Barbaricæ variis speciminibus refertissimum. *IN QVO* Ante ipsam Translationem Libri difficillimi, atq; in Literatura Hebraica Summi, Commentarii nempe in Pentateuchum, & quasi totam Scripturam V.T. Cabbalistici, cui nomen SOHAR Tam Veteris, quam recentis, ejusque Tikkunim seu supplementorum tam Veterum, quam recentiorum, præmittitur APPARATUS ...

> The frontispiece diagram (facing the title page) and the INSCRIPTIONES TITULI (a poem—*verso* of title page—explaining the words *Explicat, Alta videt, Lucet, Domat, Intrat*, which adorn the frontispiece) are translated into English on page 27 of Ernst Benz' *Christian Kabbalah* (translated from the German by Kenneth W. Wensche, edited by Robert J. Faas, St. Paul: Grailstone Press, 2004). Allison Coudert also translates the poem in *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614-1698)* (HEREAFTER Coudert, *Impact*), page 138.

PRÆFATIO EDITORIS AD LECTOREM / *Philebræum, Philochymicum, & Philosophum*
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1—740: APPARATUS IN LIBRUM SOHAR *PARS PRIMA* nempe LOCI COMMUNES KABBALISTICI, Secundum ordinem Alphabeticum concinnati, Qui LEXICI instar esse possunt [APPARATUS TO THE BOOK ZOHAR *FIRST PART* NAMELY KABBALISTIC COMMON-PLACES, ...ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED, ...] *i.e.*, a glossary offering explanations and arrangements of names and divine epithets according to the *sefirotic* degrees, derived from the *Zohar*, Moses Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim*, Gikatilla's *Sha'arei Orah*, various Lurianic writings, and *Æsch Mezareph*.

> On the *Zohar*, see below (TOMUS SECUNDUS: *Pars Secunda*) and my "Notes on the Zohar in English" at http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/Biblios/zie.pdf or https://www.academia.edu/22865064/Notes_on_the_Zohar_in_English.
>
> Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim* has made its way into English: *Pardes Rimonim: Orchard of Pomegranates*, Tomes 1-12, i.e., twelve volumes, Integral edition in English, Hebrew, and Aramaic, translated by Elyakim Getz (I-VI), Sharron Shatil (VII-X), and Avraham Broide (XI-XII) (Belize City: Providence, 2007-2010) *or* edited by Fabrizio Del tin ([n.p.]: eUniveristy.pub, 2018); and *Moses Cordovero's Introduction to Kabbalah: An Annotated Translation of His OR NE'ERAV* translated by Ira Robinson (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1994). Robinson refers to *Or Ne'erav* as "an epitome of Cordovero's great systematic theology of Kabbalah," i.e., *Pardes Rimmonim* (—p. xi).
>
> On Gikatilla's *Sha'are Orah*, or, *Porta Lucis*, see Avi Weinstein's translation, *Sha'are Orah*, *Gates of Light* (San Francisco, HarperCollins, 1994); the translation is from the original Hebrew text, not from the Latin of Rosenroth.

Æsch Mezareph, a kabbalistic-alchemical tract "Translated by a Lover of Philalethes, 1714," is Volume IV of William Wynn Westcott's *Collectanea Hermetica* (1894). Westcott's edition of *Æsch Mezareph* was reprinted by Occult Research Press (New York: 1956). *Collectanea Hermetica*, vols. I-VII, was reprinted by Kessinger Publishing Company (Kila: n.d.). *Collectanea Hermetica*, vols. I-X, was published by Samuel Weiser (1998); this special collectors' edition includes Westcott's version of *Sepher Yetzirah*. On-line, find Adam Forrest's transcription of Westcott's *Æsch Mezareph* at Adam Mclean's ALCHEMY WEB SITE: http://levity.com/alchemy/aesch.html.

Raphael Patai includes a translation of *Æsch Mezareph* in *The Jewish Alchemists: A History and Source Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994): Chapter Twenty-Six. "*Esh M'saref:* A Kabbalistic-Alchemical Treatise." See also Waite, *Holy Kabbalah*, pp. 424-8.

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4. 28—61: Tractus I. Libri Druschim, seu Introductio Metaphysica ad Cabbalam Autore R. Jizchak Loriense (with notes) [TRACT I. *BOOK OF DISSERTATIONS*, OR METAPHYSICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE KABBALAH OF ISAAC LURIA: *Sefer ha-Derushim*]

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5. 62—72: Quæstiones & Considerationes Tractatum primum Libri Druschim [QUESTIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS ON THE FIRST TRACT OF THE *BOOK OF DISSERTATIONS* = *Amica Responsio*, FRIENDLY RESPONSE – Henry More]

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7. 100—149: Tractatus de Anima R. Moscheh Korduero Pardes [TRACT ON THE SOUL FROM MOSES CORDOVERO'S *GARDEN*: *Pardes Rimmonim*]

   "Pardes Tract. 31 = *Pardes Rimmonim*, Part 31: The Thirty-First Treatise is called "The Upper Soul" in *Pardes Rimonim*, Tome 12, translated by Avraham Broide ([n.p.]: David Smith, LLC, 2016), pp. 57-122.

8. 150—172: THESES CABBALISTICÆ quod est compendium Libri Emek hamMelech [KABBALISTIC THESES WHICH ARE A COMPENDIUM OF *VALLEY OF THE KING* (in 130 Theses): *Emek ha-Melekh*]

   See Waite, *Holy Kabbalah*, § "Naphtali Hirtz," pp. 420-422; Naftali Hertz, *Mystic Tales from the EMEK HAMELECH*, with commentary by R. DovBer Pinson (Brooklyn: IYYUN

Center for Jewish Spirituality, 2015); and Sharron Shatil, "The Doctrine of Secrets of *Emeq Ha-Melech*," in *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, Volume 17 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), pages 358-395.

9. 173—224: Ad Clarissimum ac Eruditissimum Virum N. N. De rebus in Amica sua Resposione contentis Ulterior Disquisitio. [TO THE LUCID AND LEARNED HERO N.N. ...WITH FRIENDSHIP IN RESPONSE TO THE CONTENT OF THE PREVIOUS DISQUISITION – Henry More]

   More's prefatory letter on 173-176, (dated April 22, 1675) is in English. This letter transcribed can be found in "Some Writings of Henry More," at *Knots & Spirals* within Colin Low's *Hermetic Kabbalah*:

   - http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/KS/index.php
   - https://www.academia.edu/44675680/Knots_and_Spirals_II_Henry_More_extracts_from_Kabbala_denudata

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    "Doctor Henry More's *short and faithful Paraphrase on* Ezekiel's *Vision of the* Mercava (*or Chariot of the God of* Israel), *representing emblematically the Kingdom of the Messiah, and the Revolution of Souls thro' the Four Worlds or States of* Aziluth, Briah, Jetzirah, *and* Asiah, *from the* Hebrew *Text*," "*Dr.* H. MORE'S Expositio Mercavæ *abridged*," "*Dr.* H. MORE'S *Explication of the* Mercava *of* Ezekiel, *in Fifty-two Answers to so many Questions*, *abridg'd*," and "*Catechismus Cabalisticus Mercavæus Sephirothicus*" appear in English as an appendix (pages 358-394) to R[alph James]. Cosway, A MISCELLANEOUS METAPHYSICAL ESSAY: OR, AN HYPOTHESIS Concerning the FORMATION AND GENERATION of Spiritual *and* Material Beings ...*By an* IMPARTIAL INQUIRER *after Truth* [i.e., Cosway]; London: Printed for A. MILLAR, over against *Catharine Street*, in the *Strand*. MDCCXLVIII, pp. 358-394.
    A transcription of these passages can be found at *Knots & Spirals* within Colin Low's *Hermetic Kabbalah* at the websites given immediately above in § 9.

    MERCAVÆ EXPOSITIO is summarized in Waite, *Holy Kabbalah*, pp. 471-2.

    MERCAVÆ EXPOSITIO and CATECHISMUS CABBALISTICUS are discussed in Sarah Hutton's "More, Millenarianism, and the Ma'aseh Merkavah," in *Everything Connects: In Conference with Richard Popkin – Essays in His Honor*, edited by James E. Force and David S. Katz (Leiden – Boston – Koln: Brill, 1999).

11. 293—307: FUNDMENTA PHILOSOPHIÆ Sive CABBALÆ ÆTO-PÆDO-MELISSÆÆ EJUSTDEM [FUNDAMENTALS OF PHILOSOPHY OR THE KABBALAH OF THE EAGLE-BOY-BEE—Henry More]

    Passages from More's *Fundamenta Philosophiæ* (KD I, 1: 302-4), are translated in Coudert, *Impact*, pp. 236-7. Other §§ (KD I, 1: 297, 298, 300, 300-2) on More's dream of the *eagle-boy-bee* are translated in Coudert's paper, "A Cambridge Platonist's Kabbalist Nightmare," in *Journal of the History of Ideas* XXXVI:4 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,

1976), pages 648-50. More's dream and its interpretation are also discussed in Robert Crocker, *Henry More, 1614-1687: A Biography of the Cambridge Platonist* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 185] (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003): Chapter 12: "The Kabbalah and the Quakers: Anne Conway, van Helmont, and Knorr von Rosenroth," § 1, THE JEWISH AND THE 'GREEK' CABBALA.

308—312: AD FUNDAMENTA CABBALÆ ÆTO-PÆDO-MELISSÆÆ DIALOGUS [TO THE FUNDAMENTAL KABBALAH EAGLE-BOY-BEE DIALOGUE—van Helmont]

An English translation of Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont's dialogue in response to More's *Fundamenta Philosophiæ* was printed in 1682. The title page reads: "A Cabbalistical DIALOGUE IN ANSWER To the Opinion of a Learned Doctor [i.e., Henry More] in *Philosophy* and *Theology*, THAT THE WORLD WAS MADE OF NOTHING. As it is Contained in the Second Part of the *Cabbala Denudata & Apparatus in Lib. Sohar*, p. 308. &cc. Printed in Latin at *Sultsbach*, *Anno* 1677. To which is subjoyned A Rabbinical and Paraphrastical Exposition of *Genesis* I. written in *High-Dutch* by the Author of the foregoing Dialogue, first done into Latin, but now made *English. London*, Printed for *Benjamin Clark* in *George-Yard* in *Lombard Street*, Bookseller, MDCLXXXII."

See my full transcription of "Francis Mercurius van Helmont's *Cabbalistical Dialogue*," at http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/VanHelmont/index.php

APPARATUS IN LIBRUM SOHAR *PARS TERTIA & QUARTA*...PORTA CŒLORUM ...R. Abraham Cohen Irira ...&... Arbores seu Tabulas Cabbalisticas Universales... [APPARATUS FOR THE BOOK ZOHAR *THIRD & FOURTH PARTS*... (Abraham Cohen Herrera's) GATE OF HEAVEN...TREES OR UNIVERSAL KABBALISTIC DIAGRAMS...]

Prefatio Editoris ad Lectorum [EDITORIAL PREFACE TO THE READER]

1—192: PORTA CŒLORUM [GATE OF HEAVEN]. (Philosophiæ Cabbalistica) = a greatly abridged version of Abraham Cohen de Herrera's *Sha`ar ha-Shamayim*, or *Puerta del Cielo*.

Herrera's *Puerta del cielo* found its way into Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata* through its Hebrew version, *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*, the original having been in Spanish. Rosenroth's rendition is far from a fair representation of Herrera's original work—which Kenneth Krabbenhoft offers in *Abraham Cohen de Herrera:* GATE OF HEAVEN (*Puerta del cielo*), translated from the Spanish with Introduction and Notes (Leiden: Brill, 2002). "Aboab [who executed the Hebrew translation] did not just translate [Herrera's works] but also radically altered the texts according to his own interpretation" (—*The Mystic Tradition*, page 21—noted below); Rosenroth further condensed the work in the process of putting it into Latin, emphasizing its philosophical passages.

Herrera's *Beit Elohim* (originally *Casa de la divinidad*) also makes an appearance in *Kabbala denudata*. (See below TOMUS II, PARS TERTIA: PNEVMATICA CABBALISTICA: TRACTATUS I: Doctrina Hebræorum de Spiritibus.)

Further on Herrera:

- Altmann, Alexander. "Lurianic Kabbalah in a Platonic Key: Abraham Cohen Herrera's *Puerta del cielo*," in (i) *Hebrew Union College Annual* 53, (Cincinnati: 1982); and (ii) *Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Isadore Twersky and Bernard Septimus (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).
- Beltran, Miquel. *The Influence of Abraham Cohen de Herrera's Kabbalah on Spinoza's Metaphysics* [THE IBERIAN RELIGIOUS WORLD, Vol. 2] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2016).
- Krabbenhoft, Kenneth. "Kabbalah and Expulsion: The Case of Abraham Cohen de Herrera," in *The Expulsion of the Jews: 1492 and After*, edited by Raymond Waddington and Arthur Williamson. (New York – London: Garland Press, 1994)

- _____. THE MYSTIC TRADITION. ABRAHAM COHEN HERRERA AND PLATONIC THEOLOGY. Ph.D. dissertation (New York: New York University, 1982).
- _____. "Syncretism and Millennium in Herrera's Kabbalah," in *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture*, Volume I: JEWISH MESSIANISM IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 173], edited by Matt Goldish and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2001).
- Necker, Gerold. "Circle, Point and Line: A Lurianic Myth in the *Puerta del Cielo*," in *Creation and Re-Creation in Jewish Thought* [FESTSCHRIFT IN HONOR OF JOSEPH DAN ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY], edited by Rachel Elior and Peter Schäfer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).
- Yosha, Nissim, "Abraham Cohen Herrera: An Outstanding Exponent of *Prisca Theologica* in Early Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam" in *Proceedings of the Fifth Symposium on the History of the Jews in the Netherlands*, edited by Jozep Michman (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 117-126.
- _____. "The Impact of Renaissance Writings on 17th-Century Kabbalist Herrera," in *Accademia* 3 (Paris: Société Marsile Ficin, 2001), pages 113-129.
- Waite. *The Holy Kabbalah*, pp. 422-3.

193—255: *PARS QUARTA*, quæ CONTINET EXPLICATIONEM ARBORUM seu TABULARUM... [*PART FOUR*, A DETAILED EXPLANATION OF THE (KABBALISTIC) TREE *OR* DIAGRAM..., in 16 figures]

For this section in English, see Christopher Atton and Stephen Dziklewicz' *Kabbalistic Diagrams of Rosenroth*, with an introduction by Adam McLean [MAGNUM OPUS HERMETIC SOURCEWORKS, Number 23] (London: The Hermetic Research Trust, 1987).[52] Unfortunately, volumes in the HERMETIC SOURCEWORKS series were run in limited editions of 250 copies. Some titles—alas, not *Kabbalistic Diagrams*—have subsequently been reprinted.[53]

Extracts of *Kabbalistic Diagrams* appeared as (i) "The Kabbalistic Diagrams of Knorr von Rosenroth," in *the Hermetic Journal*, Issue Number 29 (Lampeter: Autumn 1985), and (ii) "Palaces, Mansions and Shells in a Kabbalistic Diagram of Rosenroth" translated by Christopher Atton and Stephen Dziklewicz, in *The Hermetic Journal*, Issue Number 38 (Tysoe: The Hermetic Research Trust, Winter 1987)—both introduced by Adam McLean.

Refer to LURIANIC DIAGRAMS: *KABBALA DENUDATA* VS *ILAN HA-GADOL*. LURIANIC DIAGRAMS, which is appended to my paper, "Which Lurianic Kabbalah?" online at Academia.edu: https://www.academia.edu/30928619/Which_Lurianic_Kabbalah

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[52] For a French translation, find Fred MacParthy (trans./comm.), *Les Figures Kabbalistiques de la Kabbala Denudata de Christian Knorr von Rosenroth: Selon la Kabbalah de Rabbi Isâac LOURIA* (Brestot: Sesheta Publications, 2015): "Christian Knorr von Rosenroth nous a légué un savoir qui, même à notre époque, n'a jamais été vraiment expliqué. Ainsi, ses XVI gravures demeurent toujours aussi obscures aux yeux des non-initiés. Que représentent-elles exactement ? et d'où proviennent-elles ? Voila ce que nous vous proposons de vous faire découvrir. Un voyage aux origines de ces 16 figures, introduisant et expliquant le contenu de chacune d'elle à l'aide des textes originaux et des explications de Rosenroth." (Sesheta Publications *Catalogue 2016*, p. 11)

[53] Until 2012, copies of *Kabbalistic Diagrams* were available from ALCHEMY WEB BOOKSHOP : MAGNUM OPUS BOOKS at http://www.alchemywebsite.com/bookshop/Magnum_opus.html; these are now sold out—link checked: 10-7-2012 and 12-28-2013. As of 2-25-2021, copies at AbeBooks.com and Amazon.com are going for $395.00. On 11-30-2021, there were no copies listed at AbeBooks.com, Amazon.com, or eBay.

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KABBALA DENUDATA: TITLE PAGES

KABBALA DENUDATA
Seu
DOCTRINA HEBRÆORUM
TRANSCENDENTALIS ET METAPHYSICA
ATQVE THEOLOGICA
OPUS
Antiquiſſimæ Philoſophiæ Barbaricæ variis ſpeciminibus refertiſſimum.
IN QVO
Ante ipſam Translationem Libri difficillimi atq; in Literatura Hebraica Summi, Commentarii nempe in Pentateuchum, & quaſi totam Scripturam V. T. Cabbaliſtici, cui nomen
S O H A R
Tam Veteris, quam recentis, ejusque Tikkunim ſeu ſupplementorum tam Veterum, quam recentiorum, præmittitur
A P P A R A T U S
Cujus Pars prima continet
Locos Communes Cabbaliſticos, ſecundum ordinem Alphabeticum concinnatos, qui Lexici Cabbaliſtici inſtar eſſe poſſunt:
Opuſculum in quo continentur
I. Clavis ad Kabbalam antiquam; i.e. Explicatio & ad debitas Claſſes Sephiriſticas facta diſtributio omnium Nominum & cognominum divinorum è Libro Pardes.
II. Liber Schaare Orah, ſeu Portæ Lucis ordine Alphabetico propoſitus, maximæ inter Hebræos autoritatis.
III. Kabbala recentior, ſeu Hypotheſis famigeratiſſimi illius Cabbaliſtæ R. Jitchak Lorja Germani ex Manuſcripto latinitate donata.
IV. Index plurimarum materiarum Cabbaliſticarum in ipſo Libro Sohar propoſitarum.
V. Compendium Libri Cabbaliſtico-Chymici, Æſch-Mezareph dicti, de Lapide Philoſophico, &c.
Pars ſecunda verò conſtat è
Tractatibus variis, tam didacticis, quam Polemicis, poſt illius ritulum enumeratis. Partium autem ſeq. tituli ſuis Tomis præmittentur:
Adjiciuntur ad
Index Latinus, & Locorum Scripturæ, inſolita & rariore explicatione notabilium, Scriptum
Omnibus Philologis, Philoſophis, Theologis omnium religionum, atq; Philo-Chymicis quam utiliſſimum.
Sulzbaci, Typis ABRAHAMI LICHTENTHALERI, 1677.

TOME I

KABBALÆ DENUDATÆ
TOMUS SECUNDUS:
Id eſt
L I B E R
SOHAR
RESTITUTUS;
Cujus contenta pagina verſa monſtrabit.
O P U S
Omnibus genuinæ antiquitatis, & ſublimiorum Hebraicæ gentis dogmatum indagatoribus, nec non Hebraicæ & Chaldaicæ linguæ, & in ſpecie Idiomatis Terræ Iſraëliticæ, tempore Chriſti & Apoſtolorum uſitati, Studioſis, aliisque curioſis utiliſſimum, & verè Kabbaliſticum.
cui adjecta
Adumbratio Cabbalæ Chriſtianæ ad captum Judæorum.

FRANCOFVRTI,
Sumptibus JOANNIS DAVIDIS ZUNNERI.
Typis BALTHASAR. CHRISTOPH. WUSTII Sen. 1684.

TOME II

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TOMUS SECUNDUS (Frankfort: 1684):

Id est LIBER SOHAR RESTITUTUS [WHICH IS THE BOOK ZOHAR RESTORED]; *Cajus content a pagina versamonstrabit*. OPUS Omnibus genuinæ antiquitatis, & sublimiorom Hebraicæ gentis dogmatum indagatoribus, nec non Hebraicæ & Chaldaicæ linguæ, & in specie Idiomatis Terræ Israeliticæ, tempore Christi & Apostolorum usitati, Studiosis, aliisque curiosis utilissimum, & vere Kabbalisticum...

1—38: Lectori Philebræo Salutem! [GREETINGS HEBREW-LOVING READERS!]
Translated excerpts of this preface to VOLUME 2: KD II, 1: 9-10 (Coudert, *Impact*, page 119), KD II, 1: 18-19 (Coudert, *Impact*, pp. 106-7).

PARTE PRIMA

1. 39—150: TRACTATUS PRIMUS: Synopsis dogmatum vulgatiorum totium libri Sohar [SYNOPSIS OF THE BASIC DOGMA OF THE BOOK *ZOHAR*] ... Libri Mareh Cohen [VISION OF THE PRIEST] ... Autore R. Jisaschar F. Naphtali Sacerdote [AUTHOR Yi'sakhar Berman ben Naftali ha-Kohen] = 19 sections of *Mareh Kohen*
2. 151—346: TRACTATUS SECUNDUS: Introductio in dogmata profundiora (Libri Sohar) [INTRODUCTION TO THE PROFOUND DOGMA (OF THE BOOK *ZOHAR*)] ... VALLEM REGIAM. R. Naphthali Hirtz, F.R. Jaacob Elchana [Naftali Hirtz, Ya`akov Elhanan] = the first six sections of *Emek ha-Melekh*; see *Mystic Tales from the EMEK HAMELECH*, with commentary by R. DovBer Pinson (Brooklyn: IYYUN Center for Jewish Spirituality, 2015).

PARS SECUNDA

1. 347—385: TRACTATUS PRIMUS: Siphra de Zeniutha...Liber Mysterii
2. 386—520: TRACTATUS SECUNDUS: Idra Rabba...Synodvs Areæ Magna
3. 521—598: TRACTATUS TERTIUS: Idra Suta...Synodvs Minor
   S. L. MacGregor Mathers' *Kabbalah Unveiled* (London: George Redway, 1887: rpt. New York – York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1968 and subsequently) translates from *Kabbala denudata* the three tracts of KD II, *PARS SECUNDA*: THE BOOK OF CONCEALED MYSTERY, THE GREATER HOLY ASSEMBLY, AND THE LESSER HOLY ASSEMBLY. Mathers' translations can also be found at numerous sites on the Internet.

4. 1—144: TRACTATUS QVARTVS: (commentaries)
   a. 3—47: Commentarius in Siphra de Zeniutha, Librum mysterii
      = Lurianic commentary [ON THE BOOK OF CONCEALED MYSTERY]
      from a manuscript of Hayyim Vital
      A brief account of this commentary appears in Waite, *Holy Kabbalah*, pp. 416-7.
   b. 47—144: Commentarius generalis in Librum mysterii & Synodos
      = §§ 130—236 of Naftali Hirtz' *Emek ha-Melekh*
      Refer to Waite, *Holy Kabbalah*, § "Naphtali Hirtz," pp. 420-422, and *Mystic Tales from the EMEK HAMELECH*, with commentary by R. DovBer Pinson (Brooklyn: IYYUN Center for Jewish Spirituality, 2015).
5. 145—186 TRACTATUS QVINTVS: Tres Tractatus initiales Libri Sohar = annotated discourses with Lurianic commentary (Vital)
   a. 146—154: DISCURSUS I
   b. 154—162: DISCURSUS II
   c. 162—186: DISCURSUS III

PARS TERTIA: PNEVMATICA CABBALISTICA... [KABBALISTIC (DOCTRINE OF THE) SPIRIT]

1. 188—242: TRACTATUS I: Doctrina Hebræorum de Spiritibus = excerpts of Herrera's *Casa de la divinidad* (*Beth Elohim*, *Domus Dei*, [HOUSE OF GOD])

   There is an English translation by Olen Rush of *The Ten Impure Enumerations* from Abraham Cohen de Herrera's *Casa de la Divinidad* (Oker Harim [Lulu], 2014).[54] The *enumerations* are tabulated in the CONTINET EXPLICATIONEM ARBORUM seu TABULARUM at the end of Tome I of KD within the explanation of *figura XVI*. Rush conjectures that *The Ten Impure Enumerations* "appears to be a transcription of an excerpt from *Maggid Meshearim* by R. Yossef Karo z"l" (INTRODUCTION—pages not numbered), which, while even noting an English edition, he admits, he has never seen!

2. 243—478: TRACTATUS SECUNDUS: De Revolutionibus Animarum [ON THE REVOLUTION OF SOULS] = *Sefer ha-Gilgulim*, attributed to Hayyim Vital

   Translated excerpts of *De Revolutionibus Animarum*: KD II, 3: 261 (Coudert, *Impact*, page 123), KD II, 3: 417 (*Impact*, page 122), KD II, 3: 419 (*Impact*, page 123). A summary of THE BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION OF SOULS is offered by Waite, *Holy Kabbalah*, pp. 417-420.

   Some of the contents of *De Revolutionibus Animarum* are approximated in *Sha'ar haGilgulim* [THE EIGHTH GATE]: *The Gates of Reincarnation*, translated from the Teachings of Rabbi Isaac Luria, 1534-1575, by Yitzchak Bar Chaim (Malibu: Thirty Seven Books Publishing, 2003), and *Sha'ar haGilgulim: Gate of Reincarnations – An English Translation of the Arizal's work on reincarnation*: Volume 1 – Chapters 1-35, Volume 2 – Chapters 36-40, translated and annotated by Rabbi Pinchas Winston (Kiryat Yearim: Thirtysix.org, 2014).[55]

   Note, however, that *De Revolutionibus Animarum* was translated from *Sefer ha-Gilgulim*, (published in Frankfort: David Gruenhut, 1684—the same year as KD II), not *Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim*, which is the last section, or "gate," of *Shemonah She'arim* [THE EIGHT GATES], Hayyim Vital's *Etz* Hayyim as redacted by Vital's son, Shmuel (Jerusalem: 1850-99).

   Sefer ha-Gilgulim is in two sections: BOOK 1 (chapters 1—35) contains material similar to *Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim* from well within the "Safed" line, which traces from Hayyim and Shmuel Vital to Jacob Zemach, then to Meir Poppers. In BOOK 2 (chapters 36—77) Poppers presents teachings which are not Lurianic, including material from the more eclectic "European" line which drew from older kabbalistic traditions and Moses Cordovero. Abraham Azulai, author of *Hesed le-Avraham*, also influenced this European Lurianic kabbalah.[56]

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[54] See also *Malice in the Palace*, by A. [Olen Rush] (Rosenroth Project #4 [Lulu], 2015) on the diagram of the *sefirot* in the 10 Palaces in *KD*, Golden Dawn's adaptations, and the author's emendations.

[55] On the Lurianic doctrine of transmigration, see also

- David M. Wexelman, *The Jewish Concept of Reincarnation and Creation*, based on the Writings of Rabbi Chaim Vital [*Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim*, *Sha'ar ha-Hakdamot*, and *Otsrot Hayyim*] (Northvale – Jerusalem: Jason Aronson Inc., 1999): PART 1. REINCARNATION
- CHAPTER NINE, "Metempsychosis, Mystical Fellowship, and Messianic Redemption" in Lawrence Fine's *Physician of the Soul, Healer of the Cosmos* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003)
- DovBer Pinson, *Reincarnation and Judaism: The Journey of the Soul* (Northvale – Jerusalem: Jason Aronson Inc., 1999).

[56] *Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim* presents thirty-seven *hakdamot*, "introductions."
For more detail on the development of Lurianic Kabbalah, see "Which Lurianic Kabbalah?" at
https://www.academia.edu/30928619/Which_Lurianic_Kabbalah

3. 1—70: (appended to some editions of KD, van Helmont's[57]) ADUMBRATIO KABBALÆ CHRISTIANÆ, *Idest* SYNCATABASIS HEBRAIZANS, *Sive* BREVIS APPLICATIO DOCTRINA HEBRÆORUM CABBALISTICÆ AD DOGMATA NOVI FŒDERIS ; PRO FORMANDA HYPOTHESI, AD CONVERSIONEM JUDÆORUM PROFICUA [OUTLINE OF CHRISTIAN CABALA, *THAT IS* THE HEBRAIC CONCEPTION *or* BRIEF APPLICATION OF DOCTRINES OF HEBREW CABBALISTS TO THE DOGMA OF THE NEW COVENANT; TO FORM A HYPOTHESIS PROFICIENT FOR CONVERTING THE JEWS]. *FRANCOFURTI AD MŒNUM*, Sumtu JOHANNIS DAVIDIS ZUNNERI, Cassitero JOH. PHIL. ANDREÆ. ANNO M DC LXXXIV.

CONTENTS:

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CAPUT IV.	*De Naturis Productis, & sine Productionis* [OF THE BEINGS PRODUCED & OF (THE PURPOSE OF) THEIR PRODUCTION]
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CAPUT VI.	*De statu modernæ Constitutionis* [OF THE STATE OF THE MODERN CONSTITUTION]
CAPUT VII.	*De Animarum Præexistentia in specie* [OF THE PRE-EXISTENCE OF THE SOULS EXPLICITLY SET FORTH]
CAPUT VIII.	*De Personis Divinitatis in specie* [OF THE DIVINE PERSONÆ (i.e., *PARZUFIM*) EXPLICITLY SET FORTH]
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CAPUT X.	*De statu postremæ Restitutionis, ejusque Gradu primo* [OF THE SUPREME STATE OF RESTITUTION, & OF ITS FIRST STAGE]
CAPUT XI.	*De secundo Gradu Restitutionis Animarum* [OF THE SECOND STAGE OF THE RESTITUTION OF THE SOULS]
CAPUT XII.	*De duobus ultimus Restitutionis Messianæ Gradibus* [OF THE TWO ULTIMATE STAGES OF THE MESSIANIC RESTITUTION]

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS:

Francis Mercury van Helmont's 'Sketch of Christian Kabbalism' translated and edited by Sheila Spector. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012. Also see Spector's summary of *Adumbratio Kabbalæ Christianæ* in *"Wonders Divine": The Development of Blake's Kabbalistic Myth* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2001), pp. 44-46.

A short declaration which prefaces *Adumbratio* is given in both Latin and English in Coudert's *Impact*, page 133, and in Coudert's "The Kabbala Denudata: Converting Jews or Seducing Christians," in *Jewish Christians and Christian Jews*, eds. Richard H. Popkin and Gordon M. Weiner (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1993), p. 89.

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[57] While citing Spector's edition of *Adumbratio Kabbalæ Christianæ* in their preface to *Messias Puer* (cited above, page 90), Anna M. Vileno and Robert J. Wilkinson advance the idea that Knorr wrote *Adumbratio*, but that it was "probably produced in collaboration with his regular companion, Francis Mercury van Helmont" (*ibid.*, p. xiv). They note that "The question of authorship of *Adumbratio* raises many delicate questions" (*ibid.*, p. xx).

Further on in the book (pp. 65-70), the case is made for Knorr's having written the *Adumbratio*, singling out CHAPTER 3 in particular, with van Helmont possibly having contributed CHAPTER 7.

FRENCH TRANSLATIONS:

Adumbratio Kabbalæ Christianæ, Traduit du latin pour la premiere fois, edited by Gilly de Givry [BIBLIOTHEQUE ROSICRUCIENNE, 2. ser., no. 1] (Paris: Bibliotheque Chacornac, 1899; reprinted, Milano: Arche, 1975).

Added title page: ADUMBRATIO KABBALÆ CHRISTIANÆ; ou SYNCATABASE HÉBRAÏQUE; ou Brève application des doctrines des Hébreux qabbalistes aux dogmes de la nouvelle Alliance, dans le but de former une hypothèse profitable à la conversion des Juifs / FRANCFORT-SUR-LE-MEIN / IMPRIME PAR JEAN-PHIL. ANDRE, POUR LE COMPTE DE JEAN-DAVID ZUNNER 1684 / PUBLIÉ EN APENDICE À LA KABBALA DENUDATA DE KNORR VON ROSENROTH.)

Esquisse de la kabbale chrétienne, texte introduit, traduit et annoté par Jérôme Rousse-Lacordaire [LA RUE A LIVRES] (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2018).

Reference editions for THE CONTENTS OF *KABBALA DENUDATA*:

Rosenroth, Christian Frhr. Knorr v. *Kabbala Denudata*, two volumes.
[VOLKSKUNDICHE QUELLEN (FOLKLORE SOURCES): NEUDRUCKE EUROPAISCHER TEXTE UND UNTERSUCHUNGEN (REPRINTS OF EUROPEAN TEXTS AND STUDIES)].
(Hildesheim – Zurich – New York: George Olms Verlag, 1974; reprinted 1999).

Knorr von Rosenroth, Christian, Freiherr (1636-1689). *Kabbala denudata…*
(Sulzbachi: Typis Abrahami Lichtenthaleri, 1677-1684).
Cornell University, Kroch Library: WITCHCRAFT BF 1600 .K72 v.2
[This call number should be changed to BM 525 .K6 1684]
On-line: "Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata*, scanned from the Latin," at BILL HEIDRICK'S CROSS REFERENCES; go to http://www.billheidrick.com/Orpd/KRKD/index.htm.

[F. M. van Helmont] *Adumbratio Kabbalæ Christianæ, Traduit du latin pour la premiere fois*, edited by Gilly de Givry [BIBLIOTHEQUE ROSICRUCIENNE, 2. ser., no. 1] (Paris: Bibliotheque Chacornac, 1899; reprinted, Milano: Arche, 1975).

Spector, Sheila (trans/ed). *Francis Mercury van Helmont's 'Sketch of Christian Kabbalism.'*
(Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012).

Other works consulted:

- Bar Tzadok, Rabbi Ariel. *Sefer HaGilgulim: The Book of Reincarnation from the Kitvei HaAri'zal* (2 cassette tapes) (Chicago: Yeshivat Benei N'vi'im, 1993—2003).
- Benz, Ernst. *Christian Kabbalah: Neglected Child of Theology*, translated from the German by Kenneth W. Wensche, edited by Robert J. Faas (St. Paul: Grailstone Press, 2004).
- Coudert, *Impact* = Coudert, Allison. *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614-1698)* [BRILL SERIES IN JEWISH STUDIES, 9] (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1999).
- Hutton, Sarah. "Henry More, Anne Conway and the Kabbalah: A Cure for the Kabbalist Nightmare?" in *Judaeo-Christian Intellectual Culture in the Seventeenth Century: A Celebration of the Library of Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713)*, edited by A. Coudert, S. Hutton, R Popkin, and G. Weiner (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999).
- _____. "More, Millenarianism, and the Ma'aseh Merkavah," in *Everything Connects: In Conference with Richard Popkin* – ESSAYS IN HIS HONOR, edited by James E. Force and David S. Katz (Leiden – Boston – Koln: Brill, 1999).
- Idel, Moshe. *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* [THE KOGOD LIBRARY OF JUDAIC STUDIES 5] (London – New York: Shalom Hartman Institute/Continuum, 2007): CHAPTER 5, § 3. THE IMPACT OF CHRISTIAN KNORR VON ROSENROTH'S *KABBALA DENUDATA*.
- Scholem. *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1974, reprinted frequently).
- Spector, Sheila. *"Wonders Divine": The Development of Blake's Kabbalistic Myth* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2001).
- Waite, *Holy Kabbalah* = Waite, Arthur Edward. *The Holy Kabbalah* (New Hyde Park: University Books, 1960).

KABBALAH IN COLONIAL AMERICA

The name George Keith (1639/9-1716) appeared above in connection with the Cambridge Platonists:

- Hutton, Sarah. "From Christian Kabalism to Kabalistic Quakerism: The Kabalistic Dialogues of Anne Conway, Henry More, and George Keith," in *Christliche Kabbala*, edited by Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2003).

This connection put Keith into contact with the coterie around *Kabbala denudata*, namely, Knorr von Rosenroth, Henry More, and F. M. van Helmont.

This also brings George Fox (1624-1691), the founder of the Quakers, into the picture:

- Coudert, Allison. "A Quaker-Kabbalist Controversy: George Fox's Reaction to Francis Mercury van Helmont," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume Thirty-nine (London: The Warburg Institute – University of London, 1976), pp. 171-189.

Keith, usually described as a Scottish missionary, was brought up Presbyterian. In his twenties, he joined the Religious Society of Friends, *i.e.*, the Quakers, and traveled to the Netherlands and Germany as a missionary with George Fox, Robert Barclay (1648-1690), and William Penn (1644-1718). Thereafter, Keith and Penn settled in the colonies in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

> Not only did Keith successfully convert significant people from his circle to Quakerism, including [Anne] Conway herself, but he was reciprocally converted into a kabbalist. He eventually took his kabbalistic learning with him to America and integrated it into his own form of Quakerism known as "Christian Quakerism."[58]

Keith produced numerous manuscripts and a handful of published works containing his version of kabbalism, *e.g.*, *The Cabbala of the Jews* (1688). Keith's ideas, including his "kabbalistic musings," were criticized by Puritan Cotton Mather (1663-1728) in his treatise against Quakerism (1691). Keith, too, eventually (in the 1690s) denounced the Quakers and Penn as *deists* and, further, wrote an anti-slavery missive (1693). Thereafter, he entered the Church of England.

The story of *kabbalah* in the colonies leads to "The First Kabbalistic Text Published in North America," namely *The Truth, The Whole Truth, and Nothing but the Truth* (1722) by Judah Monis (1683-1764) with "a considerable amount of help" from Increase Mather (1639-1723), father of the aforementioned Cotton Mather. The frontispiece of the work reads,

> A Short ESSAY, WHEREIN the Author proves the Doctrine of the Ever Blessed and Adorable TRINITY, Both out of the Old Testament, And with the Authority of the Cabalistical Rabbies, Ancient and Modern.[59]

On all of this, see *Kabbalah and the Founding of America: The Early Influence of Jewish Thought in the New World* by Brian Ogren (New York: New York University Press, 2021), which treats not only the men discussed above but also Ezra Stiles (1727-1795), who was a co-founder of Brown University (1764) and served as president of Yale (1778-1795).

Kabbalah in America: Ancient Lore in the New World, edited by Brian Ogren (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2020), PART 1 "Kabbalah in Colonial America," contains Michael Hoberman's "'They Have with Faithfulness and Care Transmitted the Oracles of God unto us Gentiles': Jewish Kabbalah and Text Study in the Puritan Imagination" (pp. 11-30) and Ogren's "The *Zohar* in Early Protestant American Kabbalah: On Ezra Stiles and the Case for Jewish Christianity" (pp. 3-47).

Also see,

- Birkel, Michael. "Immediate Revelation, Kabbalah, and Magic: The Primacy of Experience in the Theology of George Keith," in *Early Quakers and Their Theological Thought: 1647-1723*, edited by Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 256-272.
- _____. "Robert Barclay and Kabbalah," in *Quaker Studies*, Vol. 21, Issue 1 (Liverpool University Press, June 2016), pp. 3-13.[60]

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[58] Ogren, *Kabbalah and the Founding of America*, p. 12

[59] *ibid.*, p. 119.

[60] See my notes on Birkel's articles on page 4 of ADDENDUM A (link at the head of this paper).

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JOHAN KEMPER (1670-1716)

> In the late seventeenth century, Rabbi Johan Kemper [the Christian name taken by Moses ben Aaron of Cracow, 1670-1716], a Polish Jew who immigrated to Sweden and converted to Christianity, was appointed professor of Hebrew at the University of Uppsala. ... During Kemper's long tenure at the University of Uppsala he "trained a whole generation of Swedish scholars in Oriental and Rabbinic studies."
>
> —Shalom Goldman, *God's Sacred Tongue* (Chapel Hill – London: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), pp. 42-43, quoting Pinchas Lapide, *Hebrew in the Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), p. 76.

Marsha Keith Schuchard refers to Kemper as "a crypto-Sabbatian" who "infused Sabbatian themes into his kabbalistic writings"—"Leibniz, Benzelius, and Swedenborg," in *Leibniz, Mysticism and Religion* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1998), p. 97.

In *Mapping Messianic Jewish Theology: A Constructive Approach* (Milton Keynes – Colorado Springs – Hyderabad: Paternoster/ Authentic Media, 2009), Richard Harvey writes (p. 115),

> Christianizing the mystical tradition was the goal of Johann Christian Jakob Kemper of Uppsala, a 17th century Jewish Christian who established the truths of Christianity on the basis of Jewish sources, particularly the *Zohar*, to show that the messianic faith of the Christians was, in fact, the truly ancient *Kabbalah* of Judaism. His commentary on the *Zohar* [*Mateh Moshe* – THE ROD OF MOSES] published in 1711, begins with three initial chapters, on the Trinity, the divinity of the Messiah, and on *Metatron*, the embodiment of the Messiah.

On Kemper, see

- Eggerz, Niels. "Johan Kemper's (Moses Aaron's) Humble Account: A Rabbi between Sabbateanism and Christianity," at EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: RESOURCES IN JEWISH HISTORY, Volume 4: Continuity and Change in the Jewish Communities of the Early Eighteenth Century (Ohio State University, Columbus, August 17-19, 2015): https://fordham.bepress.com/emw/emw2015/emw2015/4/
- Huss, Boaz. the final pages (137-138) of "The Text and Context of the 1684 Sulzback Edition of the *Zohar*," in *Tradition, Heterodoxy, and Religious Culture: Judaism and Christianity in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Chanita Goodblatt and Howard Kreisel (Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2006).
- Wilkinson, Robert J. "The Tetragrammaton in Renaissance Magic and among the Later Christian Kabbalists," in *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS, 179] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), pages 453-454.
- Wolfson, Elliot R. "Angelic Embodiment and the Feminine Representation of Jesus: Reconstructing Carnality in the Christian Kabbalah of Yohann Kemper," in *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period*, eds. Maria Diemling and Giuseppe Veltri (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009).
- _____. "Messianism in the Christian Kabbalah of Johann Kemper," in *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture*, Volume I: *JEWISH MESSIANISM IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 173], eds. Matt Goldish and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001)

A passage concerning Kemper from the oft-cited study of Hans-Joachim Schoeps, *Barocke Juden, Christen, Judenchristien* (Bern – Munich: Francke Verlag, 1965), is translated into English in George Dole's "Philosemitism in the Seventeenth Century" in *Studia Swedenborgiana*, Volume 7, number 1 (Newton: Swedenborg School of Religion, Dec. 1990).

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FRIEDRICH CHRISTOPH OETINGER (1702-1782)

Ernst Benz' *Die christliche Kabbala: Ein Stiefkind der Theologie* [THE CHRISTIAN KABBALAH: A STEPCHILD OF THEOLOGY] (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1958)[61] opens with "The Beginnings of Christian Kabbalism," a rather swift chapter following Scholem's article of nearly the same name.[62] Benz then treats developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with chapters on Knorr von Rosenroth, Koppel Hecht, Isaac Luria (whom Oetinger "counted next to Jacob Böhme and Swedenborg as principal witnesses of spiritual knowledge"—p. 43), and "The Kabbalistic Master Tablet of Princess Antonia" (the image of which, with key, is appended to the text).

Benz pays special attention to the theosophist Friedrich Christoph Oetinger throughout the book, particularly in the chapters "Oetinger's Path to Kabbalah" and "Oetinger's Doctrine of the Sephiroth."

Note, however, Wouter J. Hanegraaff's remarks in *Swedenborg, Oetinger, Kant: Three Perspectives on the Secrets of Heaven* (West Chester: The Swedenborg Foundation, 2007):

> Oetinger has often been presented as one of the main representatives of a Western esoteric tradition known as Christian Theosophy, and of another one known as Christian Kabbalah, but as will become clear from our discussions, there is much reason to see him as a remarkably orthodox representative of biblical fundamentalism as understood in the Protestant tradition. (—p. xxii)

Hanegraaff, however, acknowledges Oetinger's "kabbalistic interests" and his contact with Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata*.

Further, find CHAPTER X on Oetinger in Arthur Versluis' *Wisdom's Book: The Sophia Anthology* (St. Paul: Paragon House, 2000).

Readers of French: Two papers in *Kabbalistes chrétiens* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1979) discuss Oetinger at length:

- Benz, Ernst. "La Kabbale chrétienne en Allemagne, du XVI[e] au XVIII[e] siècle, pp. 89-156: on Oetinger, find pp. 100-102 and 110-136.
- Deghaye, Pierre. "La Philosophie sacrée d'Œtinger," pp. 233-278.

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[61] English translation: *Christian Kabbalah: Neglected Child of Theology*, translated into English by Kenneth W. Wesche, ed. Robert J. Faas (St. Paul: Grailstone Press, 2004).

[62] *I.e.*, "Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der Christlichen Kabbala," in *Essays Presented to Leo Baeck in the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (London: East and West Library, 1954).

French version: "Considérations sur l'histoire des débuts de la Kabbale chrétienne," in *Kabbalistes chrétiens* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1979), pp. 17-46.

English version: "The Beginnings of the Christian Kabbalah," in *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and Their Christian Interpreters*, edited by Joseph Dan (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1997), pp. 17-51.

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THE 'UNKNOWN SUPERIORS': SWEDENBORG, FALK, & CAGLIOSTRO

In the eighteenth century, quite a bit of kabbalistic influence appears to trace to a single individual. There are indications that, among others, Emanuel Swedenborg[63] (1688-1772) and Alessandro Cagliostro (1743-1795)[64] were indebted to Samuel Falk (= Hayyim Samuel Jacob Falk, 1708-1782), a Polish Kabbalist known as the "*Ba'al Shem* of London" (*ba'al shem*, "master of the name," *i.e.*, one who uses holy names in performing magical operations and writing amulets). Falk supposedly introduced aspects of *kabbalah* to a number of Christian scholars.

Connections among Falk, Swedenborg, and Cagliostro are discussed in Joscelyn Godwin's *Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994: CHAPTER 5). Godwin's main sources of information on this trio were two items by Marsha Keith Schuchard:

- FREEMASONRY, SECRET SOCIETIES, AND THE CONTINUITY OF THE OCCULT TRADITION IN ENGLISH LITERATURE (Ph.D. dissertation, Austin: University of Texas, 1975).

  Schuchard's dissertation contains such chapters as I. "The Cabala, Sexual Magic, and the Jewish Visionary Traditions," II. "The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance, and the Development of the Syncretic Occult Tradition" (based primarily on Scholem, Yates and Waite) and VIII. "Cabalistic and Magnetic Visions among the London Swedenborgians in the 1780's and 1790's," before giving "special emphasis ... to William Blake from 1780 to 1827" in CHAPTERS IX through XIII.

- "Yeats and the 'Unknown Superiors': Swedenborg, Falk and Cagliostro," in *Secret Texts: The Literature of Secret Societies*, eds. Marie Mulvey Roberts and Hugh Ormsby-Lennon (New York: AMS Press, 1994).

  Schuchard provocatively suggests that the Unknown Superiors (of illuminist masonry, Falk in particular) may lurk in the obscure origins of the Golden Dawn. This piece is an expanded version of the article of the same name, subtitled "A short paper read at the Golden Dawn 100th Anniversary Conference organised by Hermetic Research Trust on 25th and 26th April 1987," in *The Hermetic Journal*, Issue Number 37, ed. Adam McLean (Tysoe: The Hermetic Research Trust, Autumn 1987).

Further on Swedenborg and Falk, see Schuchard's articles,

- "Emanuel Swedenborg: Deciphering the Codes of a Celestial and Terrestrial Intelligencer," in *Rending the Veil: Concealment and Revelation of Secrets in the History of Religions*, edited Elliot R. Wolfson (New York: Seven Bridges Press, 1999), pp. 177-207.

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63 Introductions to Swedenborg:

- Benz, Ernst. *Emanuel Swedenborg: Visionary Savant in the Age of Reason*, translated by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 2002)—a translation of *Emanuel Swedenborg: Naturforscher und Seher*: 1st edition 1948; 2nd edition 1969.
- *Emanuel Swedenborg: A Continuing Vision. A Pictorial Biography and Anthology of Essays and Poetry*, ed. Robin Larsen (New York: Swedenborg Foundation, Inc., 1988)
- Lamm, Martin. *Emanuel Swedenborg: The Development of His Thought*, translated by Tomas Spiers and Anders Hallengren. West Chester: The Swedenborg Foundation, 2000.
- Sigstedt, Cyriel Odhner. *The Swedenborg Epic: The Life and Works of Emanuel Swedenborg* (London: The Swedenborg Society, 1981)
- Stanley, Michael. *Emanuel Swedenborg: Essential Readings* (Sydney: Swedenborg Lending Library and Enquiry Centre, 1993)
- *Swedenborg and His Influence*, gen. editor: Erland Brock (Bryn Athyn: Academy of the New Church, 1988).
- Synnestvedt, Syg. *The Essential Swedenborg* (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 1977)
- Warren, Samuel M. (ed) *A Compendium of the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg* (New York: Swedenborg Foundation, 1875, reprinted frequently).

Complete works by Swedenborg in English translation:

- *Apocalypse Explained* (6 volumes)
- *Apocalypse Revealed* (2 volumes)
- *Arcana Caelestia* (12 volumes)
- *Conjugal Love*
- *The Divine Love and Divine Wisdom*
- *The Divine Providence*
- *Heaven and Hell*
- *The Spiritual Diary* (5 volumes)
- *True Christian Religion* (2 volumes)

These works are all perpetually available from both The Swedenborg Foundation in West Chester (Pennsylvania) and The Swedenborg Society in London. Not usually carried in bookstores, all of the titles listed here can easily be mail-ordered from The General Church Book Center, 1100 Cathedral Road, Box 743, Bryn Athyn, PA 19009-0743 or on-line at http://www.newchurchbooks.com/.

64 See below, § CAGLIOSTRO.

> This article discusses, among other things, Swedenborg's "access to kabbalistic exegetic and visionary techniques and to traditions of Jewish sexual theosophy."

- "Dr. Samuel Jacob Falk: A Sabbatian Adventurer in the Masonic Underground," in *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture*, Volume I: *JEWISH MESSIANISM IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 173], eds. Matt Goldish and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2001), pp. 203-226.

Schuchard's "elaborate reconstruction of Falk and his associates" is discussed in David Ruderman's *Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 156-169. While quite intrigued by Schuchard's portrait of Falk, Ruderman expresses a desire for more research and firmer evidence.

For more on Falk, see

- Oron, Michal. "Dr. Samuel Falk and the Eibeschuetz-Emden Controversy," in *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism*, eds. Karl Erich Grozinger and Joseph Dan (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), pp. 243-256
- _____. *Rabbi, Mystic, or Impostor? The Eighteenth-Century Ba'al Shem of London* (Oxford – Portland: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization/Liverpool University Press, 2020).
- Patai, Raphael. "Hayyim Sh'muel Falck" = CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX of *The Jewish Alchemists: A History and Source Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pages 455-462.
- Roth, Cecil. "The King and the Cabalist," in Roth's *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1962) pp. 139-164.

> ...it is clear that Dr. Falk's reputation was familiar also in the outside world—especially among that curious international coterie of mystics, charlatans and adventurers of the type of Cagliostro and Casanova who so proliferated in the mid-18th century; and it is likely enough that he had contacts too among the circle of dissolute political intriguers who were inconsequentially preparing the way for the French Revolution. (Roth, p. 142)

Regarding other likely sources of *kabbalah* for Swedenborg, see Schuchard's "Leibniz, Benzelius, and the Kabbalistic Roots of Swedish Illuminism" in *Leibniz, Mysticism and Religion* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1998). "From 1703 to 1710, as Benzelius led Swedenborg through the university [Uppsala] ... [i]t is almost certain" that Swedenborg studied under the convert Johann Kemper (—Schuchard, "Leibniz, Benzelius...," p. 97), a "crypto-Sabbatian" and author of an extended commentary on the *Zohar*. On Kemper, see above § KEMPER.

All of the research by Marsha Keith Schuchard which has been mentioned thus far—plus a great deal more—has been woven into her monumental *Emanuel Swedenborg, Secret Agent on Earth and Heaven: Jacobite, Jews, and Freemasons in Early Modern Sweden* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012). This work is by far the most extensive treatment of both "occult" and "clandestine" Swedenborg:

> The following study of the role of esoteric intelligence in exoteric politics will raise many questions about our preoccupations of the rationalist, scientific mentality of the "enlightened" eighteenth century. In tracing Swedenborg's long career, we come upon the persistence of early modern—even pre-modern—religious and philosophical beliefs, which fueled the imaginations of major thinkers as well as the machinations of major political players. (—p. xvi)

For a detailed preamble to Schuchard's items above, see her hefty *Restoring the Temple of Vision: Cabalistic Freemasonry and the Stuart Culture* [BRILL'S STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY, v. 110] (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2002), which takes the reader from the influence of "Jewish mathematical and architectural mysticism" upon medieval Masonic guilds (CHAPTER ONE) to "The Ruined Temple and the Flight of Knights" of the seventeenth century (CHAPTER TWELVE). Schuchard "concentrate(s) on certain themes that define the Stuart Masonic

mentality—*i.e.*, Jewish and Scottish architectural mysticism; Jewish and Llullist mnemonic-visualization techniques; Cabalistic and Hermetic sexual theosophy; Rosicrucian and Masonic scientific schemes; crusader chivalry and illuminated knighthood; liberty of conscience and universal brotherhood" (INTRODUCTION, p. 7).

In *Swedenborg, Oetinger, Kant: Three Perspectives on the Secrets of Heaven* (West Chester: The Swedenborg Foundation, 2007), Wouter J. Hanegraaff calls into question the conclusion that Swedenborg is, in essence, an exponent of the Hermetic-Cabalist tradition—as opposed to his having remained in basic continuity with his scientific background. Noting "the paucity of explicit references on Swedenborg's part to Western esoteric authors and traditions," Hanegraaff concludes that his own "close study of *Secrets of Heaven* [*Arcana Cœlestia*] and other works, as well as the relevant secondary literature, has convinced him [Hanegraaff] that the 'exoteric' Swedenborg defended by [Swedenborg biographers Martin] Lamm and [Inge] Jonsson is much closer to the truth than the 'esoteric' one [of Ernst Benz and Marsha Keith Schuchard]" (—pp. xx-xxi).[65]

With his strong emphasis on *Secrets of Heaven*, Hanegraaff seems to overlook—or dismiss—key writings in the Swedenborg corpus, in particular *Apocalypse Explained* and *The Spiritual Diary*, in which the influence of esoteric traditions is more apparent.

See also Hanegraaff's "Emanuel Swedenborg, the Jews, and Jewish Traditions," in *Reuchlin und Seine Erben: Forscher, Denker, Ideologen und Spinner*, edited by Peter Schäfer and Irina Wandrey (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2005), pp. 135-154.

Of particular interest in the present context are four articles by Swedenborgian Professor Emerita from Bryn Athyn College, Jane K. Williams-Hogan:

- "The Place of Emanuel Swedenborg in Modern Western Esotericism," in *Western Esotericism and the Science of Religion* [= GNOSTICA 2], edited by Antoine Faivre and Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Leuven [Belgium]: Peeters, 1998)
- "Emanuel Swedenborg and the Kabbalistic Tradition," in *Ésotérisme, Gnoses & Imaginaire Symbolique: Mélanges offerts à Antoine Faivre* [GNOSTICA 3], eds. Richard Caron, Joscelyn Godwin, Wouter J Hanegraaff, and Jean-Louis Viellard-Baron (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), pages 343-360.
- "Swedenborg Studies 2002: 'On the Shoulders of Giants,'" in *New Church History*: ARTICLES (Bryn Athen: The Academy of the New Church, n.d.), at http://newchurchhistory.org/articles/jkwh2002.php#top
- "Emanuel Swedenborg" = chapter 10 = CHAPTER 54 of *The Occult World*, edited by Christopher Partridge (Abingdon – New York: Routledge, 2015), pages 145-156.

Note also two papers in *Lux in Tenebris: The Visual and the Symbolic in Western Esotericism*, edited by Peter Forshaw (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2016):

- Åkerman-Hjern, Susanna. "De Sapientia Salomonis: Emanuel Swedenborg and the Kabbalah," pages 206-219.
- Crasta, Francesca Maria; and Follesa, Laura. "The Arcanes of the World. Symbols and Mystical-Allegorical Exegesis in Emanuel Swedenborg's *De Cultu et Amore Dei*," pages 220-239.

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[65] Another proponent of the "esoteric" Swedenborg—along with Benz and Schuchard—is the much earlier Ethan Allen Hitchcock, author of *Swedenborg, a Hermetic Philosopher* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1858).

See also the more recent work, *The Esotericism of Emanuel Swedenborg: A Collection of Lectures*, by Philip W. Groves (Castlecrag: Triam Press, 2014).

ALESSANDRO CAGLIOSTRO (1743-1795)

Count Cagliostro (born Giuseppe Balsamo) is treated as either an occult genius or a charlatan. Of course, the whole "Count" thing was his own invention. *Cabala* resides rather dimly here—more in reputation and tone than substance. Yet, Marsha Keith Schuchard writes

> After five almost untraceable years in Europe, when he learned Kabbalistic and alchemical skills, Balsamo returned to London in 1776 as the flamboyant Cagliostro—an admirer of Swedenborg and protégé of Falk. ... Cagliostro worked with Falk and William Bousie, a wealthy Anglo-French merchant, to develop a new system of "Egyptian" Masonry that would merge Falk's Kabbalism and Swedenborg's theosophy into a new Judaeo-Christian rite.[66]

Thus, Cagliostro is reputed to be the influential promoter of the Egyptian Rite of Freemasonry and its likely author as he graced the high courts of Europe as a psychic and conjurer. On the other hand, he was imprisoned several times and through his life faced various criminal charges, including theft, forgery, fraud, and espionage.

An interesting coda:

> Combining yoga and drugs produced an intense series of trances that [Aleister Crowley] believed recalled his past lives. Working back from his last incarnation as French occultist Éliphas Lévi (1810-1875), who died six months before Crowley's birth, he relived memories of Count Cagliostro, Edward Kelly, and Pope Alexander VI.[67]
>
> Just prior to his own birth he [Aleister Crowley] was Levi. Before Levi, he was Count Cagliostro, born Giuseppe Balsamo, a Sicilian peasant who rose to become one of the most controversial figures of the eighteenth century, a self-proclaimed master of magic with rumored ties to radical French Masonry, who died in Rome, a prisoner of the Inquisition.[68]

However, contrary to the accepted—and documented—history of Cagliostro,

> Crowley recalled Cagliostro being born not in Palermo but in a Tunisian brothel, and dying not as a prisoner of the Inquisition at San Leo but in a mountain forest with a gaily dressed youth.[69]

On Cagliostro, see (listed chronologically—most of the older sources are online in digitized editions)

- [Barberi]. *The Life of Joseph Balsamo, Commonly Called Count Cagliostro* (London: C. & G. Kearsley, 1791).
- James, Thomas Andrew. *Count Cagliostro: or, The Charlatan. A Tale of the Reign of Louis XVI in Three Volumes* (London: Edward Bull, Public Library, 1838).
- Beswick, Samuel. *Swedenborg Rite and the Great Masonic Leaders of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Masonic Publishing Company, 1870), Chapter XVII. "Egyptian Adoptive Masonry: Count Cagliostro," pp. 153-165.
- Trowbridge, W. R. H. *Cagliostro (Savant or Scoundrel): The Splendor and Misery of a Master of Magic* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1910; rpt New Hyde Park: University Books, 1961).
- Evans, Henry Ridgely. "Cagliostro and His Egyptian Rite of Freemasonry," in *New Age Magazine*, Vol. 27 (Washington: The Supreme Council 33° A• & A• Scottish Rite of Freemasonry S•J•U•S•A•, 1919; rpt. Edmonds: Sure Fire Press, 1994; Kessinger Publishing, 2007).
- Waite, Arthur Edward. *A New Encyclopedia of Freemasonry...* (London, Rider & Co., 1923; rpt. New Hyde Park: University Books, 1970): pp. 89-99.
- King, Frank. *Cagliostro, the Last of the Sorcerers: A Portrait* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1929; rpt. 1961).
- Evans, Henry Ridgely. *Cagliostro: A Sorcerer of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Masonic Bibliophiles, 1931).
- Shirley, Ralph. *Occultists & Mystics of All Ages* (New Hyde Park: University Books, 1972): Chapter 6.
- Godwin, *Theosophical Enlightenment* (1994), pp. 97-101—noted above.
- McCalman, Iain. *The Last Alchemist: Count Cagliostro, Master of Magic in the Age of Reason* (Scranton: HarperCollins, 2003).
- Faulks, Philippa; and Cooper, Robert L. D. *The Magical Mason: The Life and Death of Count Cagliostro and His Egyptian Rite* (London: Watkins Publishing, 2008).

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66 Schuchard, "Yeats and the 'Unknown Superiors,'" page 146.

67 Richard Kaczynski, *Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley,* 1st edition (Tempe" New Falcon Publications, 2002), p. 261, and 2nd edition (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2010) pp. 330.

68 Lawrence Sutin, *Do What Thou Wilt: A Life of Aleister Crowley* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), p. 269.

69 Kaczynski, *Perdurabo*, p. 331.

LOUIS CLAUDE DE SAINT-MARTIN (1743-1803)

> "In his account of Martinism, Franz Von Baader[70] argues that Saint-Martin's admiration for German mystic Jakob Böhme (1575-1624) became more and more noticeable as the years went by and that Böhme represented more than a kindred spirit for the Unknown Philosopher [Saint-Martin], becoming almost a cult figure."
>
> —Christian Giudice, "Martinism in Eighteenth-century France," = CHAPTER 13 in *The Occult World*, edited by Christopher Partridge (Abingdon – New York: Routledge, 2015), page 185.

Here again is a figure who in one place is described as "steeped in Kabbalistic doctrines and rituals" (—Liz Greene, *Magi and Maggidim*,[71] page 316), yet in another place is distanced from them:

> "There is nothing to indicate that he [Saint-Martin] had read Kabbalistic literature: there is every presumption that he did not"
>
> —A. E. Waite, *The Holy Kabbalah* (London: Williams and Norgate Ltd, 1929), page 486.

Alas, it is from within Greene's discussion of "Waite's Kabbalistic 'Mysticism'" (pp. 311-324), which is derived from *The Holy Kabbalah*, that her statement about Saint-Martin is drawn.[72]

In his ample volume, *The Life of Louis Claude de Saint-Martin, The Unknown Philosopher and the Substance of His Transcendental Doctrine* (London: Philip Welby, 1901; reprint Blauvelt: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1970),[73] Waite states that this "Lover of Secret Things ... differs somewhat conspicuously" from those "who connect with the higher school of Kabalism" (pages 113-114); "Saint-Martin ... has little apparent connection with this school of mystic thought" (pages 239-240); "I take leave to doubt whether he had heard of the Zohar, except in [a] distant and unmeaning way" (*The Life*..., pages 241-242).

Find Ernst Benz, "The Place of Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin in Romantic Philosophy" = CHAPTER V of *The Mystical Sources of German Romantic Philosophy* (Allison Park: Pickwick Publications, 1983), pp. 59-102.

Some examples of Saint-Martin's writings:

- *Man: His True Nature and Ministry* (1802) (London: Aziloth Books, 2011).
  Saint-Martin's final work.
- *Natural Table: Natural Table of Correspondences which Exist between God, Man and the Universe* (1782), translated by Piers A. Vaughan (Bayonne: Rose Circle Publications, 2018).
- *Of Errors & Of Truth*, or *Man Restored to the Universal Principle of Knowledge* (1775), translated by Piers A. Vaughan (Bayonne: Rose Circle Publications, 2017).
- *The Science of Numbers* by Papus *& On Numbers* by Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin, translated by Piers A. Vaughan (Bayonne: Rose Circle Publications, 2020).

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[70] Franz von Baader (1765-1841), German Catholic theologian/philosopher; the assessment reported is presumably found in von Baader's book, *Les Enseignements Secrets de Martines de Pasqually, Précédés d'une Notice sur le Martinézisme & le Martinisme* (Paris: Bibliothèque Chacornac, 1900).

[71] Ceredigion: Sophia Centre Press, 2012.

[72] In light of the quote from Liz Greene, it is troubling to note that two of Waite's works on Saint-Martin appear in her bibliography, the one noted above and *St. Martin: The French Mystic and the Story of Modern Martinism* (London: William Rider & Son, 1922), reprinted in *Three Famous Mystics* (London: William Rider & Son, 1939). The three famous mystics of the latter are Saint-Martin, Böhme, and Swedenborg.

[73] Also reprints from [US]: Hardpress Publishing, 2013; [UK]: Hayne Press, 2013; [US]: Literary Licensing, LLC, 2014; Jazzybee Verlag, 2015; [US]: Palala Press, 2015; Iugis Publishing/Lulu.com, 2018; [US]: Wentworth Press, 2019.

WILLIAM BLAKE (1757-1827)

If we follow this line of Cabalists, Böhmeans, Swedenborgians, and Freemasons, we eventually trip over William Blake, who is discussed by Marsha Keith Schuchard, not only in her dissertation (as noted above) but in the following articles:

- "The Secret Masonic History of Blake's Swedenborg Society," in *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1992)
- "Blake and the Grand Masters (1791-4): Architects of Repression or Revolution?" in *Blake in the Nineties*, eds. Steve Clark and David Worrall (London – New York: Macmillan Press Ltd / St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1999)
- "Why Mrs. Blake Cried: Blake, Swedenborg, and the Sexual Basis of Spiritual Vision," in *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies*, Volume II, ed. Arthur Versluis (2000):
  www.esoteric.msu.edu/VolumeII/BlakeFull.html
  and at ACADEMIA.COM in typescript form, unfortunately without the illustrations:
  https://www.academia.edu/38106351/MSBLAKE.docx_1_.docx-Why_Mrs._Blake_Cried
  "Why Mrs. Blake Cried..." was immensely expanded—and then, the author informed me, somewhat reduced—into a most intriguing book: *Why Mrs. Blake Cried: William Blake and the Sexual Basis of Spiritual Vision* (London: Century, 2006); released in the US as *William Blake's Sexual Path to Spiritual Vision* (Rochester [VT]: Inner Traditions, 2008).
- "William Blake and the Jewish Swedenborgians," in *The Jews and British Romanticism: Politics, Religion, Culture*, ed. Sheila A. Spector (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)
- "William Blake, George Cumberland, and the Visionary Art of Exotic Erotica," in *Esotericism, Art, and Imagination*, eds. Arthur Versluis, Lee Irwin, John Richards, and Melinda Weinstein (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2008).

Further on Blake and Swedenborg, find the collection of articles edited by Harvey F. Bellin and Darrell Ruhl, *Blake and Swedenborg: Opposition Is True Friendship*, *The Sources of William Blake's Arts in the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg* (New York: Swedenborg Foundation Inc., 1985); Robert Rix's article, "William Blake and the Radical Swedenborgians," on-line at *Esoterica*, Volume V (2003) at William Blake and the Radical Swedenborgians (msu.edu); and Joseph Viscomi's piece, "In the Caves of Heaven and Hell: Swedenborg and Printmaking in Blake's *Marriage*," in *Blake in the Nineties*, eds. Steve Clark and David Worrall (Hampshire & London: Macmillan Press Ltd / New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1999).

Alas, one can sift through the daunting tonnage of Blake studies and find scant mention of *kabbalah/cabala*, even where it is acknowledged that esoteric currents are reflected in Blake's work. One exception is Denis Saurat's *Blake and Modern Thought* (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1929; New York: Lincoln Mac Veagh/The Dial Press, 1929). Saurat's chapter on the *cabala* (pp. 98-106) declares that "Blake is full of the Cabala and of its Christian exponents"—these exponents, according to Saurat, ranging "from Pico della Mirandola to Fludd and Swedenborg."

A more recent study of the influence of *kabbalah/cabala* on Blake is Sheila Spector's well-illustrated companion volumes, *"Wonders Divine": The Development of Blake's Kabbalistic Myth* AND *"Glorious Incomprehensible": The Development of Blake's Kabbalistic Language* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2001).[74]

[74] See my review of Spector's volumes on Blake in ADDENDUM B. The URL for the ADDENDA is given at the head of this paper, just beneath the title.

Spector writes ("*Wonders Divine*," p. 25)

> ...even though he [Blake] explicitly, often even emphatically, rejected many aspects of what might be called normative Christianity, he still found himself trapped within what had become the oppressive archetypal framework he repudiated, and it was only through a concerted life-long effort, first to recognize the bonds, and then, to seek out alternate modes of thought, that Blake was able, finally, to create his own system. But that new system, contrary to popular belief, was not an original creation. Rather, when Blake finally liberated himself from the exoteric myth structure that dominates Western thought, he turned to its esoteric counterpart, the myth that, though originating with Jewish mystics, had been adapted by Christian Kabbalists to conform with their—and, in fact, with Blake's—own brand of Christianity.

Along these lines, Spector has published a number of articles:

- "Kabbalistic Sources—Blake's and His Critics'," in *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly* 67, volume 17, number 3 (Winter 1983-84), an extremely useful article which contains
  (1) a review of scholars who broach the issue of *kabbalah* in connection with Blake;
  (2) a discussion of the problems surrounding the scholarly approach to *kabbalah* itself;
  (3) a survey of sources of *kabbalah* which could have been available to Blake.
- "The Reasons for 'Urizen'" in *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (Spring 1988);
- "Hebraic Etymologies of Proper Names in Blake" in *Philological Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (Summer 1988).
- "Sources and Etymologies of Blake's 'Tirzah'" in *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (Spring 1990).
- "Blake as an Eighteenth-Century Hebraist" in *Blake and His Bibles*, ed. David V. Erdman [LOCUST HILL LITERARY STUDIES, No. 1] (West Cornwall: Locust Hill Press, 1990).
- "Blake's *Milton* as Kabbalistic Vision" in *Religion and Literature* 25, no 1 (Spring 1993).

Building on all of the above, Spector has produced *The Evolution of Blake's Myth* [ROUTLEDGE STUDIES IN ROMANTICISM] (New York: Routledge, 2020). In particular, "*Wonders Divine*" and "*Glorious Incomprehensible*"—the companion volumes described above—"establish the foundation for her current study."

> The purpose of the following chapters is to map out Blake's path as he made the transition from the exoteric, that is conventional, mode of thought to the esoteric, or private, by adapting van Helmont's Christianized version of Luria's myth as the basis for both his visual and verbal art.
>
> (—*The Evolution of Blake's Myth*, page xx)

In *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly* 46 (vol. 12, no. 2 [Fall 1978], an issue which focuses on *The Four Zoas*, a long poem among Blake's "major prophecies"), see Terrence Allan Hoagwood's article, "*The Four Zoas* and 'The Philosophick Cabbala.'" Hoagwood writes (p. 87):

> "The Philosophick Cabbala," part of [Henry] More's retelling of the fall of man as narrated in the Book of Genesis, bears close resemblance in many points to Blake's retelling of the fall of man in *The Four Zoas*.

I have seen two other book-length treatments of Blake's *kabbalah*:

(1) James, Laura DeWitt. *William Blake: The Finger on the Furnace* (New York: Vantage Press, 1956), which "is the result of ten years of intensive research on the interpretation of Blake's didactic and symbolical works." James writes (p. 62)

> So it is with the underlying pattern of Blake's Prophetic and Symbolic Poems. It is surprisingly harmonious with qabalistic lore; and anyone familiar with that basic pattern can supply many a missing piece. In fact some of the most subtle points will never yield their hidden meanings without those shadowy outlines to connect the pieces that are given.

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(2) Bowman, Clay Mathew. M.A. paper, THE DIVINE FAMILY IN BLAKE'S "THE FOUR ZOAS": A COMPARISON OF THE DIVINE FAMILY MOTIF IN BLAKE AND THE KABBALAH (Houston: University of Houston, 1987).

I have not seen Dena Donna Cheryl Taylor's EMANATIONS OF THE DIVINE: KABBALISTIC ELEMENTS IN THE POETRY AND DESIGNS OF WILLIAM BLAKE (Ph.D. dissertation, Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983).

Then, there is Asloob Ahmad Ansari's article, "Blake and the Kabbalah," in *William Blake: Essays for S. Foster Damon*, ed. Alvin H. Rosenfeld (Providence: Brown University Press, 1969). Neither the James, Bowman, nor Ansari, however, is as useful—or stimulating—as the works by Schuchard and Spector listed above.

Refer also to Jos van Meurs' deft "William Blake and His Gnostic Myths," in *Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times*, eds. Roelof van den Brock and Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998). This article emphasizes Böhme as a major influence on Blake—an influence acknowledged by Blake himself.

Online *via* Amazon Digital Service is a Kindle edition of Daniel Buchanan's 11-page *Blake's Use of Kabbalistic Imagery*, AKA *Blake's Kabbalistic Influences: A Practical Application of the Sacred Tree of Life* ([n.p.]: Magic Beanstalk Publishing House, 2013).

Finally, we have *"Wheels within Wheels": William Blake and the Ezekiel's Merkabah in Text and Image* [THE PÈRE MARQUETTE LECTURE IN THEOLOGY 2007] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2007) by Christopher Rowland. Rowland intrigues us with references to "thirty years of studying Jewish mysticism" (that is, by the theology department at Marquette) and *ma'aseh merkabah* in his opening section, but he then somehow gets from antique apocalyptic to Blake without mentioning *kabbalah* at all. After Spector's substantial description of Blake's amalgam of Lurianic *kabbalah*, van Helmont's *cabala*, and *merkabah*, Rowland's lecture is something of an anticlimax.

GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL (1770-1831)

Bound up with the esoteric stream is Hegel, who drew upon Böhme, Ramon Lull and other Pansophists (e.g., Fludd, Comenius, Leibniz), and Lurianic *kabbalah* by way of *Kabbala denudata* and F. C. Oetinger. All of this is very efficiently discussed in *Hegel and the Hermetic Tradition* by Glenn Alexander Magee (Ithaca – London: Cornell University Press: 2001); see in particular CHAPTER FIVE: "The Kabbalistic Tree: *The Science of Logic*" and CHAPTER SEVEN, § 3. "Hegel's Philosophy of History: The Influence of Isaac Luria and Jewish Eschatology."

See also Magee's article, "Hegel's Philosophy of History and Kabbalist Eschatology," in *Hegel and History*, ed. Will Dudley (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009).

Online:

- Drob, Sanford. "Hegel" (2001) within "The Lurianic Kabbalah/The Theosophical Kabbalah" at THE NEW KABBALAH:

  http://www.faculty.umb.edu/gary_zabel/Courses/Phil%20281b/Philosophy%20of%20Magic/Arcana/Kabbalah/hegel.html

- Franks, Paul. "'Nothing Comes from Nothing': Judaism, the Orient, and Kabbalah in Hegel's Reception of Spinoza," in *The Oxford Handbook of Spinoza*, edited by Michael Della Rocca (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2015):

  http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195335828.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780195335828-e-24

- Hegel, G. W. F. "Kabbalah and Gnosticism" an excerpt translated from Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie ii* [LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY, II] (Theorie Werkausgabe, Bd. 19), Frankfurt a.M., Suhrkamp Verlag, 1977), pp. 426-430; translation and notes by Scott J. Thompson: http://www.wbenjamin.org/hegel_kabbalah.html#fn3 [DEFUNCT LINK].

  Now (2/25/2021) view at

  https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/hp/hpkabala.htm.

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FRANCIS BARRETT (CA. 1775-18??)

The nineteenth century opened with the production of a book which is, for the most part, an unacknowledged copy of Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* and the pseudo-Agrippan *Fourth Book*, along with material from *The Heptameron* (attributed to Peter of Abano), Giambattista della Porta's *Magia naturalis*, and other sources—namely, Francis Barrett's tome, *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer* (London: 1801). While no great school accumulated around Barrett that we know of, his book inaugurated an era of renewed interest in medieval Hermetic-Cabalist magic, which seems to have been as uncritically accepted in the early 1800s as it had been in the Renaissance.

Several reprints of *The Magus* have gone to press in the last several decades, such as the 1967 edition of University Books (New Hyde Park), the once-ubiquitous 1975 oversize green-covered paperback of Citadel Press (Secaucus), and the Samuel Weiser reprint (York Beach: 2000) which includes full-color reproductions of the plates. *The Magus* can also be viewed on-line at the SACRED TEXTS site: www.sacred-texts.com/grim/magus/.

The always readable Francis X King (*aka* Francis King) composed a slim book about Barrett, *The Flying Sorcerer* (Oxford: Mandrake, 1992), based on the rather limited documentation concerning his being a daring, though failure-prone, experimental balloonist as well as a plagiarizing occultist; appended is "Barrett's Hitherto Unpublished Skrying Manuscript."

For another account—indeed, a defense—of Barrett, see "Beyond Attribution: The Importance of Barrett's *Magus*," which constitutes CHAPTER TWO of THE REVIVAL OF THE OCCULT PHILOSOPHY: CABALISTIC MAGIC AND THE HERMETIC ORDER OF THE GOLDEN DAWN, Alison L. Butler's M.A. thesis from St. John's Memorial University of Newfoundland (2000); a trimmed version of this chapter appears as the lead article in *The Journal for the Academic Study of Magic*, Issue 1 (Oxford: Mandrake, 2003). Also, see Butler's book, *Victorian Occultism and the Making of Modern Magic: Invoking Tradition* [PALGRAVE HISTORICAL STUDIES IN WITCHCRAFT AND MAGIC] (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2011); on *The Magus*, pp. 102-108.

Other reports on Barrett can be found in Christopher McIntosh's book, *The Devil's Bookshelf* (Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press, 1985—CHAPTER 13, "Magic in the Nineteenth Century"), and Joscelyn Godwin's *Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994—CHAPTER SIX, "Neophytes and Initiates").

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FRANZ JOSEF MOLITOR (1779-1860)

In *Kabbalah*[75] (p. 201), Gershom Scholem makes these note-worthy comments:

> The crowning and final achievement of Christian Kabbalah was Franz Josef Molitor's comprehensive *Philosophie der Geschichte oder Über die Tradition* [four volumes, Münster: Theissing, 1827-1853], which combined profound speculation in a Christian kabbalistic vein with highly suggestive research into the ideas of Kabbalah itself. Molitor ... clung to a fundamentally Christological view of the Kabbalah, whose historical evolution he completely failed to understand, yet at the same time he revealed an essential grasp of kabbalistic doctrine and an insight into the world of the Kabbalah far superior to that of most Jewish scholars of his time.[76]

Born near Frankfurt, Molitor, a Freemason and liberal Catholic philosopher, studied law in his younger days. However, the second half of his life was devoted to Jewish studies, especially *kabbalah*. He came to believe that *kabbalah* contained a pure ancient truth (*prisca theologia*) which was more fully revealed upon Christ's incarnation—a belief similar to that of the Christian interpreters of the *kabbalah* in the Renaissance. Likely because of this belief, his formidable scholarship was largely ignored by the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, who were active around the same time as Molitor.[77]

Philosophie der Geschichte... can be viewed in its original German at Archive.org ›
https://archive.org/details/philosophiedergoomoligoog

and in multi-volume paperback editions published by Nabu Press (2012), Forgotten Books (2018), Wentworth Press (2018), or as a large leatherbound tome from Generic (2019).

In English see

- Idel, Moshe. *Old Worlds, New Mirrors: On Jewish Mysticism and Twentieth-Century Thought* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010: CHAPTER 5. "Hieroglyphs, Mysteries, Keys: Scholem between Molitor and Kafka," pp. 109-132.
- Jacobson, Eric. *Metaphysics of the Profane: The Political Theology of Walter Benjamin and Gershom Scholem* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 114-122 *et passim*.
- Mertius, Bram. *Dark Images, Secret Hints: Benjamin, Scholem, Molitor and the Jewish Tradition* [STUDIES IN GERMAN JEWISH HISTORY, Vol. 7] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007).
- Versluis, Arthur. *Theosophia: Hidden Dimensions of Christianity* (New York: Lindisfarne Press, 1994), pp. 76-78 *et passim*.

Volume I (of 2), Part 1 of Joseph Ennemoser's *History of Magic*[78] (pp. 7-21) reviews the "Cabbalah," drawing primarily on Molitor's *Philosophie der Geschichte oder Über die Tradition*.

In German,

- Koch, Katharina. *Franz Joseph Molitor und die jüdische Tradition: Studien zu den kabbalistischen Quellen der "Philosophie der Geschichte"* [STUDIA JUDAICA, Band 33] (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 2006).

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75 Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1974.

76 Another Christian cabalist for whom Scholem frequently showed his admiration was Johann Reuchlin.

77 The prevalent impression that the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* shunned the study of *kabbalah* has been effectively challenged by George Y. Kohler in *Kabbalah Research in the Wissenschaft des Judentums (1820-1880)* (Berlin – Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2019). Kohler comments on Molitor but briefly:

> The reference is to Franz Joseph Molitor (1779-1860), a Catholic enthusiast of Kabbalah, and his book *Philosophie der Geschichte*, (1827) discussing Kabbalah in the spirit of Schelling. (—pp. 65-66, n. 17)

78 German original, Munich: 1843; first English translation, London: 1854; rpt. New Hyde Park: University Books, 1970.

If, after searching the English-language WIKIPEDIA for "Christian *kabbalah*," you searched the French WIKIPÉDIA for "*kabbale chrétienne*,"[79] you would find a markedly different list of names.[80]

The English-language WIKIPEDIA page has

- Pico della Mirandola
- Johann Reuchlin
- Francesco Giorgi
- Paolo Riccio
- Balthasar Walter
- Athanasius Kircher
- Sir Thomas Browne
- Christian Knorr von Rosenroth
- Johan Kemper
- Adorján Czipleá

The French-language WIKIPÉDIA page has

- Jean Pic de la Mirandole
- Jean Reuchlin
- Francesco Giorgi (Zorzi)
- Guillaume Postel
- Jacques Gaffarel
- Le Chevalier Drach

At the French site, only two of the six *kabbalistes chrétiens* receive write-ups: "Pic" and "Le Chevalier Drach," and the latter gets the longer passage.

DAVID-PAUL DRACH [THE CHEVALIER DRACH] (1791-1865)

David-Paul Drach and his interest in *kabbalah* are given little attention in English sources. You might read several pieces on Drach and find no mention of *kabbalah*, though his renown as a Hebraist and Talmudic scholar is always forefront.

Mme. Blavatsky notes,

> A very learned Rabbi, now the Chevalier Drach, having been converted to Roman Catholicism, and being a great Hebraist, thought fit to step into the shoes of Pico della Mirandola and John Reuchlin, and to assure his new co-religionists that the *Zohar* contained in it pretty nearly all the dogmas of Catholicism.[81]

Here, Mme. Blavatsky has accurately characterized the Chevalier Drach and his views. Drach was a defender of the "true *kabbalah*" on the grounds that it originated with Moses, was passed down as part of the Oral Tradition in the manner described in II Esdras,[82] and, in its pure form, contained the same Christian doctrine found in the works of the Church Fathers. Drach did, however, speak of another false, adulterated *kabbalah*: what we might call today "practical *kabbalah*," namely, magic and ritual sorcery.

Appended to Papus' *Qabalah: Secret Tradition of the West* is "a partial reprinting of a Qabalistic treaty by the Chevalier Drach" titled "The Qabalah of the Hebrews," pp. 356-365 (see below: PAPUS).

Drach wrote two books (in French) containing his conception of *kabbalah*:

- *De l'harmonie entre l'Eglise et la Synagogue, ou Perpétuité et Catholicité de la Religion Chrétienne* (Paris: P. Mellier, 1844; rpt. Nabu Press, 2010).
- *La Cabale des Hébreux* (Rome: C. Dauniol, Imprimerie de la Propogande, 1864; rpt. Versailles: Via Romana, 2017).

In French, see Jerôme Rousse-Lacordaire, "La cabale au service du christianisme au XIX[e] siècle: Le chevalier Drach et le Père Perrone," in *Revue des science philosophiques et théologiques*, Tome 94, no. 4 (2012): https://www.cairn.info/revue-des-sciences-philosophiques-et-theologiques-2012-4-page-703.htm

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79 https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabbale_chr%C3%A9tienne

80 The German WIKIPEDIA page, *Christliche Kabbala*, diverges as well. The Geschichte (history) section mentions Llull, Pico, Pablo de Heredia, Ricius, Galatino, Postel, Rittangelus, Pistorius, Knorr von Rosenroth, Trithemius, Agrippa, Dee, and those representing the mixture of alchemy and *kabbalah*: Khunrath, Frankenberg, Fludd Georg von Welling, and Oetinger.

81 *Collected Writings*, Volume XIV, MISCELLANEOUS (*posthumously published essays from the 1880s and 1890s*), compiled by Boris De Zirkoff (Wheaton – Adyar: Theosophical Publishing House, 1950; rpt. 1966, 1985, 1995), page 220. Blavatsky's *Collected Writings* can be found online at http://www.katinkahesselink.net/blavatsky/

82 II Esdras (4 Ezra) 14: 42-48.

ÉLIPHAS LÉVI (ALPHONSE LOUISE CONSTANT) (1810-1875)

> I do not think that Lévi ever made an independent statement upon any historical fact in which the least confidence could be reposed. He never presented the sense of an author whom he was reviewing in a way which could be said to reproduce that author faithfully.
>
> A. E. Waite, *The Holy Kabbalah* (London: Williams and Norgate Ltd, 1929), p. 489.

> The natural and obvious result of the antagonism of the great Jewish scholars [of the 19th and early 20th centuries toward *kabbalah*] was that, since the authorized guardians neglected this field,[83] all manner of charlatans and dreamers came and treated it as their own property. From the brilliant misunderstandings and misrepresentations of Alphonse Louis Constant, who won fame under the pseudonym of Eliphas Lévi, to the highly coloured humbug of Aleister Crowley and his followers, the most eccentric and fantastic statements have been produced purporting to be legitimate interpretations of Kabbalism.
>
> Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3rd edition – London: Thames and Hudson, 1955), p. 2.

> [Levi's] influence is apparent in the work and thought of figures as diverse as Anna Kingsford (albeit in a negative way); Papus; A. E. Waite; W. Wynn Westcott; and Aleister Crowley. Most significant of all was his influence upon Madame H. P. Blavatsky. Her seminal work, *Isis Unveiled* (1877), is heavily indebted to Levi's ideas on the Kabbalah, and especially to his notion of the all-pervading Astral Light.
>
> R. A. Gilbert, in the PREFACE to *The Great Secret, or Occultism Unveiled* (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 2000), p. 5.

> Levi's understanding of Kabbalah is based on speculations on the Tetragram, the name of Mary in Hebrew, and the relation of the number two to unity. But his sources were always second-hand; his knowledge of Hebrew was limited to a few rudiments; and most of his proofs rested on the mere accumulation of witnesses, just as in the Catholic traditionalism of the Romantic era.
>
> Jean-Pierre Laurant, "Lévi, Éliphas...," in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, VOLUME II, edited by Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2005) pp. 689-692.

There is a wealth of literature on this well-known Catholic occultist: both books by Lévi—which are eloquent, fascinating, and highly influential mayhem—translated into English, and studies on him and his reception.

The following books by Lévi have all been reprinted beyond the editions listed. Note that among the translators of Lévi's works are A. E. Waite and Aleister Crowley.

- *The Book of Splendours. The Inner Mysteries of Qabalism (Its Relationship to Freemasonry, Numerology and Tarot)* (French original, 1894; English translation, Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press / New York: Samuel Weiser, 1973).

  The Book of Splendours is a collection of Lévi's writings. Among these is a compacted paraphrase of *Idra Rabba* from the *Zohar* (though Lévi refers to it as "The Idra Suta") clearly derived from Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata*, and the oft-reprinted short piece, "The Elements of the Qabalah in Ten Lessons: The Letters of Éliphas Lévi" (1891), which also appears independently as *The Elements of the Kabbalah in Ten Lessons*, ed. Darcy Kuntz [GOLDEN DAWN SERIES 13] (Edmonds: Holmes Publishing Group, 1997).[84]

- *The Great Secret. Lessons on the Mysteries of Occultism, including Magnetism, Astral Emanations, Divination and Creative Omnipotence* (French original, 1868; English translation by Transcript Ltd

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[83] For a refutation of this "accusation," see George Y. Kohler in *Kabbalah Research in the Wissenschaft des Judentums (1820-1880)* (Berlin – Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2019).

[84] The first portion of Lévi's "Idra Suta" and all of "The Elements of the Qabalah in Ten Lessons" appear in Papus' *Qabalah: Secret Tradition of the West*; see below: PAPUS.

R. J. Lemert[?], Thorsons Publishers Ltd, 1975; rpt. Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press / New York: Samuel Weiser, 1981).

- *The History of Magic* (French original, Paris: Germer Baillière, 1860; English translation by A. E. Waite, London: William Rider and Son Ltd, 1913 & 1939; Philadelphia: David McKay, 1914; New York: Samuel Weiser, 1969).
- *The Key of the Mysteries* (French original, Paris: Germer Baillière, 1861; English translation by Aleister Crowley in *The Equinox*, vol. 1, no. 10, London: Marshall, Simpkin. 1913; republished London: Rider 1959; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1970).
- *The Mysteries of the Qabalah.* Part One: Commentary on Ezekiel; Part Two: The Apocalypse of St. John as the Key to the High Qabalah (First published, 1920; English translation by W. N. Schors, New York: Samuel Weiser, 1974).
- *Transcendental Magic.* French original in two parts: 1. *The Doctrine of Transcendental Magic*, 2. *The Ritual of Transcendental Magic* (French original, Paris: Germer Baillière, 1855-6; English translation by A. E. Waite, London: George Redway, 1896; revised and enlarged edition [Waite], London: William Rider and Son Ltd, 1923; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1974; NEW TRANSLATION as *The Doctrine and Ritual of High Magic*, translated by John Michael Greer and Mark Anthony Mikituk, New York: Tarcher Perigee [Penguin Random House], 2017).

On Lévi and his milieu (alphabetically):

- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. "The Beginnings of Occultist Kabbalah: Adolphe Franck and Éliphas Lévi," in *Kabbalah and Modernity: Interpretations, Transformations, Adaptations*, eds. Boaz Huss, Marco Pasi, and Kocku von Stuckrad [ARIES BOOK SERIES: TEXTS AND STUDIES IN WESTERN MYSTICISM, 10] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010), pages 107-128.
- McIntosh, Christopher. "Eliphas Lévi" = CHAPTER 17 of *The Occult World*, edited by Christopher Partridge (Abingdon – New York: Routledge, 2015), pages 220-230.
- _____. *Éliphas Lévi and the French Occult Revival* (London: Rider Publishers, 1972; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1975).
- Otto, Bernd-Christian. "A Catholic 'Magician' Historicises 'Magic': Éliphas Lévi's *Histoire de la Magie*," in *History and Religion: Narrating a Religious Past* [RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE VERSUCHE UND VORARBEITEN: 68] (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp, 419-443.
- Strube, Julian. "The 'Baphomet' of Eliphas Lévi: Its Meaning and Historical Context," in *Correspondences: Online Journal for the Academic Study of Western Esotericism*, Volume 4 (2016) edited by Jimmy Elwing and Aren Roukema › https://correspondencesjournal.com/
- Uzzel, Robert Lesley. THE KABBALISTIC THOUGHT OF ÉLIPHAS LÉVI AND ITS INFLUENCE ON MODERN OCCULTISM IN AMERICA (Ph.D. dissertation, Waco: Baylor University, 1995), subsequently enhanced with photographs and published as *Éliphas Lévi and the Kabbalah: The Masonic and French Connection of the American Mystery Tradition* (Lafayette: Cornerstone Book Publishers, 2006).
- Wilkinson, Lynn R. "Politics, Magic, and Language: Swedenborgianism in the works of Alphonse-Louis Constant, a.k.a. Éliphas Lévi," in Wilkinson's *Dream of an Absolute Language: Emanuel Swedenborg & French Literary Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), pages 19-54.
- Williams, Thomas A. *Éliphas Lévi: Master of Occultism* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1975).

ALBERT PIKE (1809-1891)

- *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry* (1871; © Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction: 1906; rpt. Charleston: L. H. Jenkins, 1949).

Pike steeps his descriptions of Masonic grades in *kabbalah/cabala* and other esoterica. Already on page 15, the 1st degree Apprentice is told, "...you must open the pages of the Sohar (i.e., *Zohar*) and Siphre de Zeniutha, and other kabbalistic books, and ponder deeply on their meaning." From there on, *Morals and Dogma* is quite full of kabbalistic references and passages. Pike makes numerous references to works that appear in Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata*.

Many more kabbalistic references were lifted from one of the most unreliable sources, Éliphas Lévi, whom Pike quotes freely without acknowledgement. See "Lévi's Kabbalistic Thought in America: Albert Pike," in Uzzel, THE KABBALISTIC THOUGHT OF ÉLIPHAS LÉVI = *Éliphas Lévi and the Kabbalah*, noted above: § ÉLIPHAS LÉVI.

Pike also borrows from Adolphe Franck: On page 256 of *Morals and Dogma*, Pike writes of Jewish families who had familiarized themselves with the doctrine of Zoroaster and, subsequently, developed those parts which could be reconciled with their faith. This sounds like Franck's conclusion regarding the "traces that the religion of Zoroaster has left in all parts of Judaism," stating later that "this borrowing did not destroy the originality of the Kabbalah," for it was reconciled with the Jews' concept of "the unity of cause" (Franck, *Kabbalah,* Bell edition, p. 224).

On Pike, see

- Hall, Manly P. "Albert Pike, the Plato of Freemasonry," in *The Phoenix: An Illustrated Review of Occultism and Philosophy* (Los Angeles: The Philosophical Research Society, 1975), pages 37-45.
- Tresner, James T. [Jim] II. *Albert Pike: The Man Behind the Monument* [SCOTTISH RITE RESEARCH SOCIETY] (New York: M. Evans and Company, 1995).

HARGRAVE JENNINGS (1817-1890)

- *The Rosicrucians, Their Rites and Mysteries* (London: J. C. Hotten, 1870; 2nd edition, London: Chatto, 1879; 3rd edition—in two volumes, London: John C. Nimmo, 1887; rpt. Mokelumne Hill: Health Research, 1966).

Jennings says of his opus, *The Rosicrucians...*, "[T]his whole Book is but the translation and exposition of his highly-prized and very scarce works ... [by] our own countryman, Robert Flood or Fludd (Robertus de Fluctibus), the famous physician and philosopher (1574-1637)" (—PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION, p. xi. Find also *The Rosicrucians...*, VOLUME II [3rd edition], Chapter the Twenty-First, "Remarks Relating to the Great Mystic—Robert 'de Fluctibus'"—p. 235 *ff*).

Jennings' ranging—or rambling—survey of symbols, concepts, and myths never quite gets to Rosicrucian rites as such. A cabalistic undercurrent courses through these volumes. Focused treatment of *cabala* appears in the final chapters of the second volume (3rd edition): Chapter the Twenty-Third, "The Outline of the Cabala, or Kabbalah," and Chapter the Twenty-Fourth, "Cabalistic Profundities." Extracts from *Kabbala denudata* are included—in Latin though. (One gets to brush up on one's French in Chapter the Fourteenth.)

The *sacred fire* is at the core of Jennings' mysteries; he saw its most blatant symbol in just about everything higher than wide.

The Rosicrucians... and Jennings' other books served as source material for the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor and Mme. Blavatsky.[85]

For accounts of Jennings, see Joscelyn Godwin's *Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), pp. 261-275, Godwin's article, "Hargrave Jennings," in *The Hermetic Journal* 1991, ed. Adam McLean (London: Hermetic Research Trust), pp. 49-77; and VOLUME III of R. Swinburne Clymer's *Book of Rosicruciae* (Quakertown: Philosophical Publishing Company, 1949), pp. 60-66.

On the Internet, see the 1995 (© Ordo Templi Orientis) biographical sketch at THE HERMETIC LIBRARY > *The Invisible Basilica of Sabazius*, www.hermetic.com/sabazius/jennings.htm.

Other works by Hargrave Jennings:

- *Curious Things of the Outside World: Last Fire* (two volumes) (London: T. & W. Boone, 1861).
- *Phallism : a description of the worship of Lingam-Yoni in various parts of the world and in different ages, with an account of ancient & modern crosses, particularly of the Crux Ansata, or handled cross, and other symbols connected with the mysteries of sex worship* (London: privately printed, 1889).
- *The Indian Religions, or Results of The Mysterious Buddhism Concerning that Also Which is to be Understood in the Divinity of Fire* (London: George Redway, 1890).

[85] Indeed, in *Women of the Golden Dawn* (Rochester: Park Street Press, 1995), Mary K. Greer includes Jennings' *Rosicrucians...* on her "Timeline of Western Magic" (pp. 60-61) at 1870, between Éliphas Lévi's *Dogma and Ritual of High Magic* (1854) and Mme. Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* (1877). Oddly, Jennings does not appear in the expanded timeline, *The Chronology of the Golden Dawn*, by Mary Greer and Darcy Kuntz [GOLDEN DAWN SERIES #10] (Edmonds: Holmes Publishing Group, 1999).

S[ETH] PANCOAST (1823-1889)

- *The Kabbala: The True Science of Light*. An Introduction to the Philosophy and Theosophy of the Ancient Sages, Together with a Chapter on Light in the Vegetable Kingdom (Philadelphia: J. M. Studdart and Co., 1877; New York: R. Worthington, 1883); also published as *Blue and Red Light: Light and its Rays as Medicine* (Philadelphia: J. M. Studdart and Co., 1877)—with identical contents.

Pancoast makes two remarks in his introduction which, along with his ties with Mme. Blavatsky (as her physician) and the apparent influence of Hargrave Jennings, indicate his perspective:

> ...the grand old Kabbalistic Theosophy was the native root, the central trunk, whence *all* the religions the world has ever known sprang, as shoots and branches from a parent tree... (p. 11)
>
> ...the special purpose of this volume is to promote the well-being of mankind in this probationary world, by advocating Light and its Rays as the best remedial means for the Human Organism, when from any cause, internal or external, the equilibrium of health is disturbed, and disease wastes the body and deranges the mind—nay, even when there is no clearly defined disease, but only feebleness and indisposition for physical and mental effort. (p. 13)

These ideas are bridged in statements such as

> Light is the foundation upon which rests the superstructure of the Kabbalistic Theosophy—Light the source and centre of the entire harmonious system. Light was the first-born of God—His first manifestation. (p. 19)

Pancoast combines Kabbalistic Theosophy, the science and medicine of his day with their fascination with magnetism and electricity, and esoteric methods of "assisting nature" with "applications of Light" for the purpose of physical and mental health.

See Julie Chajes, "Seth Pancoast and the Kabbalah: Medical Pluralism and the Reception of Physics in Late-Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia," in *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts*, Volume Forty, edited by Daniel Abrams with guest editors Christian Wiese and George Y. Kohler (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2018), pp. 131-161.

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HELENA PETROVNA BLAVATSKY (1831-1891)

Throughout the compendious works of Mme. Blavatsky (hereafter HPB), *Isis Unveiled* and *The Secret Doctrine*, we find numerous references to *kabbalah*, and some passages which deal at length with kabbalistic doctrine. But in a collection of articles published together as *Kabalah and Kabalism* (cited below), HPB made it most clear that she believed that

1. Kabalah was inferior to "our (Eastern) septenary system" (see "Tetragrammaton")
2. kabbalistic writings had "all suffered corruptions in their content by sectarian editors" (—FOREWORD, referring to "The Kabalah and the Kabalists")
3. there was "evidence of occult knowledge in the West," even though HPB saw fit to expose "[*kabbalah*'s] limitations" and point to "the misleading character of Kabalistic symbolism" (—FOREWORD, referring to "The Kabalah and the Kabalists")

With all of this, HPB claimed to be restoring the true meaning of kabbalistic doctrine according to Chaldean originals known to her—and only to her. She did condescend to say that "the Jews can claim the *Zohar*, *Sepher Yetzirah* (Book of Creation), *Sepher Dzeniuta*, and a few others, as their own undeniable property and as Kabalistic works" ("Kabalah and Kabalists," p. 16), referring to the *Zohar* and *Sifre Detzeniuta* as if they were separate works. HPB's attitude would raise eyebrows had she been the all-knowing scholar that she claimed to be. However, these statements come from one whose references to *kabbalah* are shot through with serious errors and misunderstandings. HPB had but a cursory knowledge of the subject, and that from easily traceable sources.

If one takes a lenient view, HPB's sources could be blamed for the bulk of her errors, for many of these had indeed "suffered corruptions in their content by sectarian editors":

1. from Lull to Pico and Reuchlin to Knorr von Rosenroth, Christian cabalists believed that with kabbalistic methods rightly used, Jews could be shown the "truth" behind the Old Testament and won over to Christ. While the largest portions of *Kabbala denudata* presented genuine (Jewish) *kabbalah*, some editions concluded with *Adumbratio Kabbalæ Christianæ*, namely (translating the full title), *Outline of Christian Cabala which is the Hebraic Conception or Brief Application of Doctrines of Hebrew Cabbalists to the Dogma of the New Covenant; to Form a Hypothesis proficient for converting the Jews* (see above, *Adumbratio*).
2. Éliphas Lévi, who "[n]ever made an independent statement upon any historical fact in which the least confidence could be reposed," and who "never presented the sense of an author whom he was reviewing in a way which could be said to reproduce that author faithfully" (Waite, *The Holy Kabbalah*, p. 489—see above, § ÉLIPHAS LÉVI).
3. S. L. MacGregor Mathers, who was also dependent upon Knorr and Lévi
(See below, § S. L. MACGREGOR MATHERS.)
4. Isaac Myer, whose earnest study contains many errors, some of which even HPB did not commit, as, for example, Myer's confusion of the roles and order of the *sefirot*, calling *binah* the second and *hokhmah* the third (Myer, *Qabbalah*, pp. 259-63; see below, A SELECTION OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS ON KABBALAH: 1888 • Myer, page 147).

But with these sources and others in a similar vein, we cannot account for all of HPB's blunders. She alone refers to the Talmud as the "darkest of enigmas even for most Jews, while those Hebrew scholars who do comprehend it do not boast of their knowledge" (*Isis Unveiled*, vol. I, p. 17), and she is unique in considering *Liber Drushim* as part of that murky Talmud (*The Secret Doctrine*, Adyar edition, vol. 2, p. 156). The nature of the Talmud is well known. As for *Liber Drushim* (= *Sefer ha-Derushim*), it is a sixteenth-century tract of the Lurianic school which HPB undoubtedly encountered in Knorr's *Kabbala denudata*.

Further, her statements regarding the authorship of the *Zohar*, which are sprinkled through *The Secret Doctrine*, contradict one another, mixing history, legend, and imagination differently with each reference. As mentioned by Arthur E. Waite,

> It would serve no purpose to enumerate any further challengeable assertions which rest more or less exclusively on the good authority of Madame Blavatsky. It will be sufficient to refer to her views upon the authenticity of the Zohar. On the one hand the author is said to be R. Simeon ben Yohai (*Secret Doctrine* III, 92); again, it was "edited for the first time" between A.D. 70 and 110 (*Secret Doctrine* III, 167); and yet again, it was written as it now stands, by R. Moses de Leon, the original being lost, though at the same time its contents were "scattered through a number of minor MSS." R. Moses had Syriac, Chaldaic, and Christian Gnostics to help him. Such opinions are without any warrant for criticism (*Secret Doctrine* I, 114, 230; III, 167).
>
> (—*The Holy Kabbalah*, p. 513)

Some further statements by and about HPB:

> [T]he *Book of Job*, a Kabalistic treatise on Egypto-Arabic Initiation...
>
> (—HPB, "Kabalah and the Kabalists," p. 8)

> [T]he authors of the New Testament ... had to borrow their most metaphysical symbols not from the *Pentateuch*, or even the Kabalah, but from the Âryan astro-symbology.
>
> (—HPB, "Kabalah and the Kabalists," p. 8)

> Where were the builders, the luminous sons of Manvantaric dawn? ... In the unknown darkness in their Ahhi Paranishpanna. The producers of form from no form—the root of the world—the Devamatri and Svabhavat, rested in the bliss of non-being.
>
> (—HPB, *Book of Dzyan*, Stanza II, § 1)

> For our own part we regard her neither as the mouthpiece of hidden seers, nor as a mere vulgar adventuress; we think that she has achieved a title to permanent remembrance as one of the most accomplished, ingenious, and interesting impostors in history.
>
> (—Society for Psychical Research: 1883, report)

> There can be little doubt in my opinion that the famous stanzas of the mysterious Book Dzyan on which Mme. H. P. Blavatsky's *magnum opus*, The Secret Doctrine, is based owe something, both in title and content, to the pompous pages of the Zoharic writing called *Sifra Di-Tseniutha*. The first to advance this theory, without further proof, was L. A. Bosman, a Jewish Theosophist, in his booklet The Mysteries of the Qabalah (1916) p. 31. This seems to me, indeed, the true 'etymology' of the hitherto unexplained title. Mme Blavatsky has drawn heavily upon Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata* (1677-1684), which contains (vol. II, pp. 347-385) a Latin translation of the *Sifra Di-Tseniutha*. The solemn and magniloquent style of these pages may well have impressed her susceptible mind. As a matter of fact, H. P. B. herself alludes to such a connection between the two 'books' in the very first lines of Isis Unveiled (vol. I, p. 1) where she still refrains from mentioning the *Book Dzyan* by name. But the transcription used by her for the Aramaic title shows clearly what she had in mind. She says: 'There exists some-where in this wide world an old Book... It is the only copy now in existence. *The most ancient Hebrew document on occult learning—the Siphra Dzeniuta—was compiled from it*.' The *Book Dzyan* is therefore nothing but an occultistic hypostasy of the Zoharic title. This 'bibliographical' connection between fundamental writings of modern and Jewish theosophy seems remarkable enough.
>
> (—Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 398-9)

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Works by Blavatsky include

- *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*, 2 volumes. (New York: Bouton, 1877: reprinted often).
- *The Secret Doctrine: The Synthesis of Science, Religion and Philosophy*. 2 volumes (standard), or 5 volumes ("Adyar" edition—London: Theosophical Publication Society, 1888; reprinted often).
- "The Kabalah and the Kabalists at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," and "Tetragrammaton" in *Kabalah and Kabalism*, 1881-92 (rpt., Los Angeles: The Theosophy Company, n.d. [197?]).

The two articles from *Kabalah and Kabalism* are reprinted in *Zohar* by Nurho de Manhar (San Diego: Wizards Bookshelf, 1978), pp. 396-424 (see below, § NURHO DE MANHAR). The other articles in *Kabalah and Kabalism* are "Isis Unveiled and the Visishtadwaita," "Stray Thoughts on Death and Satan," and "A Posthumous Publication." The whole collection of articles has been reprinted a few times: Kessinger, 2010, and more recently by "independent" publishers. Online: https://www.ultindia.org/pamphlets/hpb/Kabalahandkabalism.pdf

There is an extensive literature on Mme. Blavatsky and her influence. Here are a few items to start with:

- Bevir, Mark. "The West Turns Eastward: Madame Blavatsky and the Transformation of the Occult Tradition," in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Volume LXII, Number Three (Atlanta: Oxford University Press, Fall 1994), pp, 747-767.
- Hammer, Olav. *Claiming Knowledge: Strategies of Epistemology from Theosophy to the New Age* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004).

  Hammer sets HPB in the broad context of the Theosophy movement, along with Alice Bailey, Edgar Cayce, Fritjof Carpa, C. W. Leadbeater, and Rudolf Steiner.

  _____. "Theosophy" = CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO in *The Occult World*, edited by Christopher Partridge (Abingdon – New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 250-259.
- Johnson, K. Paul. *Initiates of Theosophical Masters*. [SUNY SERIES IN WESTERN ESOTERIC TRADITIONS] (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).

  _____. *The Masters Revealed. Madame Blavatsky and the Myth of the Great White Lodge*. [SUNY SERIES IN WESTERN ESOTERIC TRADITIONS] (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

  Johnson's books explore the sources behind the traditional facades revealing/concealing Theosophy and Mme. Blavatsky. *The Masters Revealed* is especially valuable in connecting real people with such mythical figures as the "hidden mahatmas," who provided Blavatsky with her elite initiated hidden knowledge. See, however, Daniel H. Caldwell, *K. Paul Johnson's House of Cards? A Critical Examination of Johnson's Thesis on the Theosophical Masters Morya and Koot Hoomi* (Tucson: [P.O. Box 1844], 1996), which includes an appendix: "Comments by David Reigle on Johnson's 'Sengchen Tulku' Chapter."
- Pasi, Marco. "Oriental Kabbalah and the Parting of East and West in the Early Theosophical Society," in *Kabbalah and Modernity: Interpretations, Transformations, Adaptations*, edited by Boaz Huss, Marco Pasi, and Kocku von Stuckrad [ARIES BOOK SERIES: TEXTS AND STUDIES IN WESTERN MYSTICISM/10] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 151-166.

  "For both Blavatsky and the 'Hermetic' occultists Jewish kabbalah is understood as belonging more to the 'West' than to the 'East'.... For Blavatsky ... the status of Jewish kabbalah maintains a certain degree of ambiguity, because of the presence of a broader and older kabbalah firmly posed in the 'East', from which Jewish kabbalah is supposed to have originated." (—pages 162-163)
- Rodbøg, Tim. "Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's Esoteric Tradition," in *Constructing Tradition: Means and Myths of Transmission in Western Esotericism*, edited by Andreas B. Kilcher (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010, pp. 161-177.

  "The exploration undertaken in this paper of a still largely uncharted area has shown that Blavatsky's conception of Theosophy was closely interrelated with an ideal of superior ancient knowledge.

> Theosophy was narrated as the original primeval historical source of true wisdom handed down through the ages—yet it was also described as transcendent and timeless." (—page 175)

- Santucci, James A. "Blavatsky, Helena Petrovna," in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, edited by W. J. Hanegraaff *et al*., (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005), VOLUME 1, pp. 177-185.

One recent study of HPB is Julie Chajes' *Recycled Lives: A History of Reincarnation in Blavatsky's Theosophy* [OXFORD STUDIES IN WESTERN ESOTERICISM] (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), which references to HPB's notions of *kabbalah* throughout. However, Chajes' introduction states,

> Although the limitations of space require us to restrict the historical contextualization to these four main subjects [*i.e.*, Spiritualism, science, Platonism, and Orientalism], two omissions deserve special mention, namely Kabbalah and Egyptology, both of which Blavatsky discussed in relation to her rebirth theories." (—page 6)

Thus, we turn to Chajes' "Construction Through Appropriation: Kabbalah in Blavatsky's Early Works" in *Theosophical Appropriations: Esotericism, Kabbalah and the Transformation of Traditions*, edited by Julie Chajes and Boaz Huss (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2016), pages 33-72.

Also find "Borrowed Emanations, Spiritualism, Theosophy and the Kabbalistic Body" by Cathy Gutierrez and Nell Champoux, in *Mondi: Movimenti Simbolici e Sociali dell'Uomo*, 1 (Acireale: Gruppo Editoriale Bonanno Srl - Tipheret, April 2018) pp. 79-99.

ALBERT JOUNET (ALBER JHOUNEY) (1863-1923)

Albert Jounet was "a Christian socialist and a member of the French Theosophical Society."[86] He served as the vice president of the Spiritualist Alliance, founded in 1884 by William Stanton Moses (London) and Jeanne Beauchamp (Paris), an organization devoted to the study of spiritual and psychic research.

With Rene Caillie, Jounet co-founded the Fraternite de l'Étoile in 1889, which published the periodical *L'Étoile* (March 1889-December 1895).

L'Étoile featured authors from the late 19th-century French occult stream within the period known as La Belle Époque (1871-1914).[87] The Fraternite de l'Étoile

> stressed the value of scientific, "Western" (Christian) occultism with a personal God and the survival of the "moi," in contrast to the "Eastern" or "Hindoo" occultism being expounded at the time by H.P. Blavatsky.[88]

Tobias Churton refers to Jounet as a "Kabbalist, spiritualist and socialist."[89] Jounet wrote on many occult subjects (yoga, messianism, angels, amulets and talismans, esoteric Christianity, etc.). Only two of his works (that I am aware of) are specifically about *kabbalah/cabala*:

- *Le Royaume de Dieu* (Avignon: G. Carré, 1887).
- *La Clef du Zohar, éclaircissement et unification complète des mystères de la Cabbale* [LES CLASSIQUES DE OCCULTE] (Paris: Bibliothèque Chacornac, 1909).

Le Royaume de Dieu has been put into English as *Rosicrucian Kabbalah: The Kingdom of God*, translated by Alex Bushman ([n.p.]: independently published, 2020). Bushman says of *The Kingdom of God* (pages 7-8),

> This short yet potent work takes us on a journey through the Kabbalist's Etz Chaim, the Tree of Life. Each chapter explores the alchemical essence of the 10 sephiroth that compose the tree of life.

La Clef du Zohar consists, in part, of a French translation of *Sifra diTseniuta* from the Zohar.[90]

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86 Boaz Huss, "Translations of the Zohar: Historical Contexts and Ideological Frameworks," in *Correspondences: Online Journal for the Academic Study of Western Esotericism* 4 (2016), edited by Jimmy Elwing and Aren Roukema, pages 81-128—quote from page 101. › https://correspondencesjournal.com/15304-2/

87 See Tobias Churton, *Occult Paris: The Lost Magic of the Belle Époque* (Rochester: Inner Traditions, 2016).

88 "From Pat Deveney's database," reproduced at http://iapsop.com/archive/materials/etoile/

89 Churton, *Occult Paris*, page 10.

90 Refer to Boaz Huss, "Translations of the Zohar," page 101; and *idem*, *The Zohar: Reception and Impact* (Oxford – Portland: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2016), pages 298-300.

PAPUS [GÉRARD ENCAUSSE] (1865-1916)

- *Qabalah: Secret Tradition of the West* (English translation, Wellingborough: Thorsons/New York: Samuel Weiser, 1977 & 1988).[SY 91]
  French original: *La Cabbale: Tradition Secrète de 'Occident* (Anvers: Les Editions „LUMEN" [n.d.–1892?]; Paris: Librarie Générale des Sciences Occultes/Bibliothèque Chacornac, 1903).
- *The Tarot of the Bohemians: The Most Ancient Book in the World, for the Exclusive Use of Initiates* [= *The Absolute Key to Occult Science*], translated by A. P. Morton, with a preface by A. E. Waite (London: Chapman and Hall, 1892; New York: Arcanum Books, 1958; New York: Samuel Weiser, 1971).
  French original: *Clef absolue de la science occulte: Le Tarot des Bohémiens, le plus ancient livre du monde* (Paris: Georges Carré, 1889; Paris: Henri Durville, 1911).

Papus was a Martinist, a member of the Kabbalistic order of the Rose Croix, and, with Lucien Chamuel, co-founder the Librairie du Merveilleux (1888). Papus was "a great boulevardier and *bon vivier*"[92]—"the most famous popularizer of Hermetic doctrines during the Belle Epoque."[93]

The works by Papus listed above figure prominently in the transmission of Western esoteric *qabalah*.

Qabalah is a hodge-podge of Jewish and Christian, cabalistic and non-cabalistic elements. Several writers contributed to the work: Éliphas Lévi, Saint-Yves d'Alveydre, "Sedir," and Chevalier Drach. Papus himself drew on the works of Kircher, Lenain, Stanislas de Guaita, Heinrich Khunrath, and others, primarily Christian occultists, putting this work firmly in the Hermetic-Cabalist vein. Papus' eclectic bibliography includes all sorts of stuff, much of which has nothing whatsoever to do with *cabala*.

Qabalah includes a rendering of the *Sefer Yetzirah* and extracts from the *Zohar*, *i.e.* "The Idra Suta or the Great Synod." Papus reproduces (without acknowledgement) a portion of "Idra Suta" as found in Eliphas Lévi's *Book of Splendours*, pages 19-26, which is not actually from *Idra Suta* but rather from *Idra Rabba*, which is, in fact, the "Great[er] Synod," *Idra Suta* being the "Lesser Synod."

Papus does credit Lévi for "The Elements of the Qabalah in Ten Lessons," which appears in Papus' *Qabalah* on pages 59-74. This little piece is also in Lévi's *Book of Spendours*, pages 127-142.[94]

In *The Tarot of the* Bohemians, through its associations with the Hebrew letters, tarot is here *cabalized* in the tradition of Etteilla and Éliphas Lévi. Papus offers a full exposition on Western esoteric, or "kabalistic," tarot.

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91 The superscript [SY] indicates that there is a review of Papus' treatment of the *Sefer Yetzirah* in my "Notes on Editions of *Sefer Yetzirah* in English," pp. 6-7,
at HERMETIC KABBALAH › http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/Biblios/syie.pdf
or at ACADEMIA.EDU › https://www.academia.edu/22875900/Notes_on_Editions_of_Sefer_Yetzirah_in_English

92 James Webb, *The Occult Underground* (La Salle: Open Court, 1974), page 162.

93 *idem*, *The Occult Establishment* (La Salle: Open Court, 1976), page 167.

94 See above: LÉVI.

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A SELECTION OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS ON KABBALAH

When the nineteenth century was about at its midpoint, there began a fairly steady stream of European and American works on *kabbalah* and *cabala*. This continued on into the twentieth century. Some of these efforts were serious, if not entirely successful, attempts to present the Jewish *kabbalah* on its own terms, such as the works of Adolphe Franck, C. D. Ginsburg, and A. E. Waite. Others knotted together various Christianized strands, adorning them with other esoteric doctrines and currents, as did Éliphas Lévi, Papus, and the founders of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. Some notable authors had a Masonic agenda, like Albert Pike, Ralston Skinner, and co-authors Bond and Lea. Works from this array remain the basis of *kabbalah/cabala* study among great numbers of (primarily non-Jewish) esoteric readers and researchers—even today—often pointedly in spite of the contributions of Jewish and Christian scholars of the last hundred and fifty years.

What follows is a selection of works from the nineteenth century which treat *kabbalah* or *cabala* and were written in, or have been translated into, English. These are given in chronological order; the year in the left margin indicates the date of first edition of the work listed.[95]

1819

Enfield, William. *The History of Philosophy* FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY: DRAWN UP FROM *Brucker's Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, IN TWO VOLUMES (London: Printed by J. F. Dove, St. John's-Square; FOR WILLIAM BAYNES, PATERNOSTER-ROW; AND R. PRIESTLEY, HOLBORN, 1819).

Discussion of "Cabbalah" woven into a chapter on Jewish philosophy appears in VOLUME II, Book IV; see in particular chap. III, "OF THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY, EXOTERIC AND CABBALISTIC," pp. 191-206.

> "The Jews pretend to derive their Cabbala from Esdras, Moses, Abraham, and Adam: but it is very evident from the Cabbalistic doctrine concerning Divine emanations ... that it originated in Egypt, where the Jews learned, by the help of allegory, to mix Oriental, Pythagoric, and Platonic dogmas with Hebrew wisdom." (VOLUME II, p. 184)

1843

Franck, Adolphe. *The Kabbalah: Religious Philosophy of the Hebrews* (French original, 1843; German translation [with numerous corrections] by A. Jellinek, 1844; English translation by I. Sossnitz, New York: The Kabbalah Publishing Company, 1909, rpt. 1926; abridged English edition, New York: Bell Publishing Company, 1940).

Despite his errors, Franck still commands a fair amount of regard. As noted by Moshe Idel (*Kabbalah: New Perspectives* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988]: pp. 7-10) some of Franck's conclusions bear notable similarities to those of Gershom Scholem, most importantly that *kabbalah*

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[95] It would be profitable to compare my listings with those in Sheila Spector's *Jewish Mysticism: An Annotated Bibliography on Kabbalah in English* (New York – London: Garland Publishing, 1984), § O: "Non-Jewish Kabbalah," pp. 309-357.

The first division of § O, "Primary Sources," begins with "J.F.'s" 1651 English translation of Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*; somewhat ironically, the second division, "Secondary Sources," begins with Francis Barrett's *Magus* (1801).

Spector includes—and comments on—quite a few items not given notice in my paper here:

- 19th-century books which touch upon *kabbalah*, or *cabala*, briefly or incidentally, such as William Story's *Proportions of the Human Figure...* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1866).
- works which I have never encountered, for example Marie Caithness, Duchess of Pomon, *Mystery of the Ages, Contained in the Secret Doctrine of All Religions* (London: Redway, 1887); Spector notes that this work "contains a chapter written from the theosophical standpoint, 'The Kabbala, or Hebrew Theosophy.'"
- 19th-century articles.

was a vital force at the "heart and soul" of Judaism, not the aberrant and heretical sideshoot which historians such as Heinrich Grätz and other "enlightened" scholars of the nineteenth century thought it was. Franck brought to a common modern language (French—and a year later Adolph Jellinek put Franck's *Kabbalah* into German) a reasoned account of *kabbalah* with informed descriptions of *Sefer Yezirah* and the *Zohar*.

Franck's major error was finding in Zoroastrian lore the source of kabbalistic concepts. His mistakes notwithstanding, Franck's serious attempt to present the *kabbalah* from its own sources stands in marked contrast with another French writer who began to publish some dozen years later: Éliphas Lévi, who took every liberty his imagination could conceive in presenting *kabbalah/cabala* and other esoteric subjects.

See Wouter J. Hanegraaff, "The Beginnings of Occultist Kabbalah: Adolphe Franck and Éliphas Lévi," in *Kabbalah and Modernity: Interpretations, Transformations, Adaptations*, eds. Boaz Huss, Marco Pasi, and Kocku von Stuckrad [ARIES BOOK SERIES: TEXTS AND STUDIES IN WESTERN MYSTICISM, 10] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010), pages 107-128.

1854

Ennemoser, Joseph. *The History of Magic*, 2 volumes, translated from the German by William Howitt (German original, Munich: 1843; first English translation, London: 1854; rpt. New Hyde Park: University Books, 1970).

Ennemoser discusses "Cabbalah," in VOLUME 1, PART 1, especially pp. 7-21, as derived from Franz Joseph Molitor's *Philosophie der Geschichte oder ueber die Tradition* (4 volumes, Muenster: Theissing, 1827-57); VOLUME 2, THIRD DIVISION, contains accounts of Paracelsus, Baptista van Helmont, Agrippa, Fludd, Kircher, Cagliostro, Swedenborg, and Böhme, among others.

1856

Etheridge, J[ohn] W[esley]. *Jerusalem and Tiberias; Sora and Cordova:* A SURVEY OF THE RELIGIOUS AND SCHOLASTIC LEARNING OF THE JEWS; DESIGNED AS AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HEBREW LITERATURE (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1856): ORDER VII. "Kabalists"

"The disciples of the Tanaim and Amoraim, as we have seen, hold by tradition. The Karaites maintain the sole authority of the written word. Between these two there is also an intermediate class, who do not constitute a corporate sect, and who are orthodox in their belief of the verities of the Hebrew Scriptures and of the great facts of tradition, but who claim at the same time the right of rationalizing upon them. They are represented by such writers as Saadja Gaon, Bachja, and Maimonides. But in addition to these, there has been always for the last two thousand years a mystical school, more or less numerous, who have treated the written word as the symbolic vehicle of an esoteric doctrine. This school may be said to consist of two classes. 1. Those with whom that interior spiritual signification shapes itself into a philosophical system, which they nevertheless hold either from, or in connexion with, a foreign or Gentile teaching, such as Platonism. Their representative is Philo. They blend the Mosaic law with the Gentile monotheism. 2. The other class are the KABBALISTS, properly so called, who, from the impulse of the mind after a deep and satisfying knowledge of the inmost mysteries of being, have given themselves up too much to the tutelage of the imagination, and constructed a system which combines, at once, the sublime and the despicable." (*Jerusalem and Tiberias*, pp. 296-7)

1863

Ginsburg, Christian D. *Kabbalah: Its Doctrines, Development and Literature* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1863; London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1864; rpt. with *The Essenes*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956; rpt. Santa Fe: Sun Books, 1993).

One might assume that Ginsburg was a sympathetic commentator, for he outlined the traditional history of the *kabbalah* "as told by its followers"; but obliquely in this book and more openly in subsequent articles, Ginsburg showed his hostility toward *kabbalah* to be equal to—and perhaps derived from—that of Grätz. In an article which Ginsburg co-wrote with S. A. Cook, there is a

reference to the *Zohar* as "that farrago of absurdity." Ginsburg considered the *Zohar* a fraud perpetrated by Moses de Leon. Even so, Ginsburg's *Kabbalah* gives an admirable account of its subject. This book is, in form, an expanded outline, so its manner is somewhat clipped, though dense with information. There are lots of biblical and *Zoharic* references, and great detail on such topics as the 72 names of God and the hermeneutical conventions *gematria, notaricon,* and *terumah*.

NOTE: *Gematria, notaricon,* and *terumah* predate *kabbalah* by centuries. *Gematria* in particular, which is so often treated as central to the *kabbalah* by Christian commentators, plays only a limited role in such kabbalistic classics as the *Zohar*, the works of Moses Cordovero, and the Lurianic compendia assembled by Hayyim Vital. See Scholem's article, "Gematria," in *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1974; rpt. New York: Dorset Press, 1987), and Dan's comments in "Christian Kabbalah: From Mysticism to Esotericism," in *Western Esotericism and the Science of Religion*, eds. A. Faivre and W. Hanegraaff (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), pp. 127-128.

1872

Greene, William B. *The Blazing Star; with an appendix treating of the Jewish Kabbala, also a tract on the Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer and one on New-England Transcendentalism* (Boston: A. Williams and Co., 1872; rpt. without the tracts on Spencer and Transcendentalism: *The Blazing Star and the Jewish Kabbalah*, with a foreword by R. A. Gilbert, Berwick: Ibis Press [Nicolas-Hays, Inc.], 2003).

An unusual, albeit engaging, take on *kabbalah* emerging from a mixture of the French occult scene around Éliphas Lévi, Freemasonry, and New England Transcendentalism (1830s-60s), which included Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and early feminist Margaret Fuller.

1873

Mackey, Albert G. *An Encyclopedia of Freemasonry and Its Kindred Sources, Comprising the Whole Range of Arts, Sciences and Literature as Connected with the Institution* (Philadelphia: Moss and Co., 1873 and 1878; revised edition, Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1894; reprint Kilo: Kessinger, n.d.)

Mackey includes a fairly substantial article on *kabbalah* (vol. 1, pp. 439-443) apparently derived from C. D. Ginsburg.

1875

Skinner, Ralston. *Key to the Hebrew Egyptian Mystery in the Source of Measures* with Supplement. 1875-76 (rpt. Philadelphia: 1910; rpt. San Diego: Wizards Bookshelf, 1972).

Originally published as installments in *Masonic Review*, Skinner's book "constitutes a series of developments, based upon the use of geometrical elements, giving expression in a numerical value. These elements are found in the work of the late John A. Parker ... setting forth *his* discovery (but, in fact, the rediscovery) of the quadrature value of the circle" (p. 1). The "geometrical elements," measures, and numbers are drawn mainly from the Great Pyramid and the Old Testament. Wizards Bookshelf, the re-issuer of Skinner's *Key*, refers to it as "the most esoteric work we sell."

1877

Kalisch, Isador. *Sepher Yezirah. A Book on Creation; or The Jewish Metaphysics of Remote Antiquity*, with English translation, preface, explanatory notes and glossary (New York: L. H. Frank & Co., 1877).[SY]

For further comments on all of the treatments of *Sefer Yetzirah* mentioned within this bibliography, which are marked with a superscript [SY], see "Notes on Editions of *Sefer Yetzirah* in English," PART 1: TRANSLATIONS:

- http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/Biblios/syie.pdf
- https://www.academia.edu/22875900/Notes_on_Editions_of_Sefer_Yetzirah_in_English

1880

Hershon, Paul Isaac. *A Talmudic Miscellany*, or *A Thousand and One Extracts* from THE TALMUD, THE MIDRASHIM, AND THE KABBALAH (London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1880).

After some "Preliminary Remarks," CHAPTER XVI, "Extracts from the Kabbalah," gives excerpts, primarily from "An Epitome of the Two Tables of the Covenant," *i.e.*, a summary of Isaiah Horowitz' *Sh'nei Luhot ha Brit*.

1883

Edersheim, Alfred. *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2 volumes (London – Bombay: Longmans/Green and Company 1883; 2nd edition, 1886; reprinted 1906; reprinted as a single volume by several publishers: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1943 through 1981; MacDonald Publishing and World Bible Publishing Company in 1994; Hendrickson Publishers in 1993 and 1997; reprinted frequently in paperback and Kindle editions.)[SY]

Appendix V, § 4 contains a very brief description of *kabbalah* and a translation of *Sefer Yetzirah*.

1888

Hartmann (or Hartman), Franz (copyist/translator). *Cosmology, or Cabala. Universal Science. Alchemy. Containing the Mysteries of Nature... by means of The Secret Symbols of the Rosicrucians of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Boston: Occult Publishing Company, 1888; photographic reproduction, Pomeroy: Health Research, 1996).

The late edition of *Cosmology* presents an 11" x 17" colored-in photocopy of Hartman's translation of the same set of illustrations as "The Secret Symbols of the Rosicrucians," in *A Christian Rosenkreutz Anthology*, compiled and edited by Paul M. Allen (Great Barrington: Rudolph Steiner Publications, 1968 – 1981 – 2000).

Myer, Isaac. *Qabbalah: The Philosophical Writings of Solomon Ben Yehuda Ibn Gebirol...and their connection with the Hebrew Qabbalah and Sefer ha-Zohar* (Philadelphia: published by the author, 1888; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1970; rpt. San Diego: Wizards Bookshelf, 1988).

Myer's book discusses ibn Gebirol's work in relation to the *Zohar* and analyzes his *Mekor Hayim*. The bulk of the book is a survey of *kabbalah*'s history and relationship to other religious systems. Myer's last chapters are devoted to translated excerpts from the *Zohar*. Zohar excerpts also appear in Chapters 3, 4, 18, 19, 20, and Appendix A. Myer confused, or reinterpreted, some doctrine, *e.g.*, the roles and order of the second and third *sefirot*: *hokhmah* and *binah* (pp. 259-263).

On Myer, see Boaz Huss, "The Qabbalah of the Hebrews and the Ancient Wisdom Religion of Asia: Isaac Myer and the Kabbalah in America," in *Kabbalah in America: Ancient Lore in the New World*, edited by Brian Ogren (Leiden – Boston: Bril, 2020), pp. 72-93.

Page, Thomas Frederick. *The Golden Fleece: A Book of Jewish Cabalism* (Laconia, N. H.: [published by the author], 1888).

A few paragraphs (from pp. 10 & 11) suffice to illustrate the tone and approach of Page's *Golden Fleece*:

> There is *no* Hebrew, but what more Hebrew can be taken from it. That language which is understood to be Hebrew at the present day, can be treated in the same manner, and it is all of it, the explanation of the explication of the connection betwixt this life and the life beyond the grave.
>
> The history of the Jews is obscure, for the very reason that all races of men have in their turn been Jews and Hebrews, as will be shown in this work. They are numerous as the sands of the sea (C), and scattered over the earth.
>
> Letters were named abominations, at a time when people had an understanding of their astrological meaning. Abomination, is defined as odious. O die us. When a good soul goes forth from the house of clay, it sees these letters in the light of that word in all of its meaning.
>
> The present use of the word comes down from an age when the masses did arise against the abominable use to which they were part.

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These things "which shall be an abomination unto you," are for the Jews to study; both the name and letter, and the thing of life, as the parts of that thing of life fit the law of language by names and anatomy. See the kidneys and the kid (goat) and the knees—the kneepans—the sign Capri. See capricious.

1891

Grätz, H[einrich]. *History of the Jews* [English], 6 volumes, translated by Bella Lowy (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1891-98; 2nd edition: New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1926; rpt. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1940).

Volume 4, Chapter IX, "The Jews in Italy and Germany before the Expulsion from Spain," contains sections covering Pico and the "Predilection of Christians for the Kabbala"; Chapter XIV, "Reuchlin and the Talmud," discusses Reuchlin's interests in Hebrew and Kabbalah and his dispute with Johannes Pfefferkorn. On pages 81-83 appear some paragraphs regarding Abner of Burgos.

1896

(anonymous) *Cabala* OR *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Cabalist* (New York: Redding & Co., 1896; rpt Kila: Kessinger Publishing, n.d.).

Masonic rituals—featuring a "M[aster] Cabalist"—is written in a code reminiscent of IF U CN RD THIS, with a few other signs and symbols (such as × and ♎) thrown in. Thus, the query "W-t. ws. th-n. s-d. t. u-." expands to "What was then said to you?" Assuming a familiarity with Masonic rites and a little practice, *Cabala* is almost readable. One of these days, someone will pore over Masonic tomes and manuscripts and match it with an un-coded text.

Davidson, P[eter]. *The Sepher Jetsirah or Book of Formation*, to which is added THE THIRTY-TWO WAYS OF WISDOM and THE FIFTY GATES OF INTELLIGENCE, translated an annotated by P. Davidson (Louisville, White County [GA]: Peter Davidson / Glasgow [Scotland]: Bernard Goodwin, 1896). SY

1897

Agrippa, H. C. *Three Books of Occult Philosophy or Magic.* English edition by Wallis F. Whitehead, 1897 (rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1971).

Regarding Agrippa, see the above, § AGRIPPA.

Whitehead's edition contains only "Book I—Natural Magic," with segments from Henry Morley's *Cornelius Agrippa, The Life of Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, Doctor and Knight, commonly known as a Magician* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1856).

Graetz, Professor H[einrich]. *History of the Jews*, VOL. IV, FROM THE RISE OF THE KABBALA (1270 C. E.) TO THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE MARRANOS IN HOLLAND (1618 C. E.), (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1897): CHAPTER I. "CULTIVATION OF THE KABBALA, AND PROSCRIPTION OF SCIENCE, pp. 1-45.

Stirling, William. *The Canon. An Exposition of the Pagan Mystery Perpetuated in the Cabala as the Rule of All the Arts* (London: Elkin Matthews, 1897; rpt. London: Research Into Lost Knowledge Organisation Trust, 1974 and 1981; rpt. York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1999).

The ancient "canon of the arts" and knowledge through the ages of significant ratios and measures are considered *via* the proportions of ancient monuments and the numerical values of biblical names. The book attempts to establish that a standardized sacred geometry, which was applied in the construction of holy sites and in the writing of holy names, reflects key proportions of the universe.

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THE HERMETIC ORDER OF THE GOLDEN DAWN

THE HERMETIC ORDER OF THE GOLDEN DAWN was founded in the 1880s by S. L. M. Mathers, W. W. Westcott, and a third apparently less significant gentleman named W. R. Woodman, who died in 1891. Mathers and Westcott concocted an eclectic program of occult study containing quite a bit of *cabala* and *kabbalah*, or now *qabalah*, as derived from the Christian sources that we have discussed, especially Agrippa, John Dee, and Knorr von Rosenroth. For better or worse, Golden Dawn teachings have become the cornerstone for much—if not most—of the occult work practiced today.[96] For the history and development of the Golden Dawn, refer to the following items:

Butler, Alison L. THE REVIVAL OF THE OCCULT PHILOSOPHY: CABALISTIC MAGIC AND THE HERMETIC ORDER OF THE GOLDEN DAWN. (MA thesis, St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2000).

> "We will show how this synthesis ['of cabalistic magic...in which many currents of esotericism could be assimilated'] began in the Renaissance by scholars such as Pico della Mirandola, Johannes Reuchlin and Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, and we will show how the process was concluded by Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers... This dissertation builds upon the work of Dame Frances Yates...." (p. ii)

_____. *Victorian Occultism and the Making of Modern Magic: Invoking Tradition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).[97]

> Butler examines not only the personalities involved in the formation of the Golden Dawn but also the influences and motives which shaped their response to "the tightening camps of science and religion in an intellectual environment that heightened the allure of magic."
>
> See Christopher A. Plaisance "re-evaluation" of "Butler's thesis [in *Victorian Occultism*] regarding the novelty of the magical praxis of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn": "Magic Made Modern? Re-evaluating the Novelty of the Golden Dawn's Magic," in *Correspondences*, vol. 2, no. 2 (correspondencesjournal.com – 2014), pp. 159-187. Plaisance states in the article's abstract.
>
> > "...not only do Butler's works mischaracterize the practices of the Golden Dawn itself, but [she] also wrongly identifies these categories as instances of innovation. In fact, there is a strong degree of formal similarity between the ritual mechanics of the order and those earlier antique, medieval, and Renaissance practitioners in the specific areas of visualization and invocation. These similarities strongly call into question the characterization of the Golden Dawn's magic as fundamentally modern in form."

Egmond, Daniël van. "Western Esoteric Schools in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times*, edited by Roelof vanden Broek and Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), pp. 311-346.

> Egmond discusses "three of the most influential occult movements of western Europe": the Theosophical Society, the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, and the Mysteria Mystica Aeterna.

Gilbert, R. A. *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians. The Rise and Fall of a Magical Order* (Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press, 1983).

> Gilbert tells the story from the founding of the order in 1888 to its collapse in 1914. Several important documents are presented, such as the letters from Anna Sprengel, now generally considered fraudulent, authorizing and encouraging William Wynn Westcott to set up the Golden Dawn, and Westcott's "Historical Lecture."

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96 See above, page 63, regarding the Golden Dawn's use of John Dee's "Enochian magic."

97 Similarly in Butler's article, "Making Magic Modern: Nineteenth-Century Adaptions," in *The Pomegranate*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing, 2004), pp. 213-230.

Greene, Liz. *Magi and Maggidim: The Kabbalah in British Occultism, 1860-1940* (Ceredigion: Sophia Centre Press, 2012).

"In order to explore the 'metaphysical and cosmological self-understanding' of the practitioners of the British occult revival, I have employed the qualitative methodology of the multiple case study to examine the work of six occultists and their perceptions of the Kabbalah [*i.e.*] ... Éliphas Lévi, ... William Wynn Westcott, Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers, Arthur Edward Waite, Aleister Crowley, and Dion Fortune." (—p. 29)

"The results of my research strongly suggest that the Kabbalah of the occult revival may not, after all, be an occultist Kabbalah divorced from its Jewish roots, but instead displays a surprising fidelity to the complex currents of the Jewish Kabbalah...." (—p. 30)

Howe, Ellic. *Magicians of the Golden Dawn. A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972; New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1978).

An account based on careful research, though not fully sympathetic to its subject.

King, Francis. *Ritual Magic in England* (London: Neville Spearman Ltd., 1970)
= *The Rites of Modern Magic* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971).

King's account is a bit more ranging than Howe's (*Magicians of the Golden Dawn*). He gets into some of the subsequent Golden Dawn offshoots which appeared after the original order's demise. In some regards casting an even wider net is *The Rebirth of Magic*, co-authored by King and Isabel Sutherland (London: Corgi Books, 1982—published only in paperback), which adds a bit more background and detail on the French occult revival and expanded treatment of personalities such as Dion Fortune.

The bulk of the Golden Dawn teachings, through its own documents, has been generally available since Israel Regardie's four-volume edition of *The Golden Dawn*, 1937-40 (Chicago: Aries Press); frequent reprints were begun by Llewellyn Publications of St. Paul in 1969. Beyond Regardie's full selection, other books which present significant Golden Dawn documents include the following:

Gilbert, R. A. *The Golden Dawn Companion* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1986).

Companion is a wealth of documentary minutia on the Golden Dawn's history, structure, workings, membership, and sources.

Mathers, S. L. MacGregor, et al. *Astral Projection, Ritual Magic, and Alchemy*, ed. Francis King (1st edition London: Spearman, 1971; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1975; 2nd enlarged edition, Rochester: Destiny Books, 1987).

This book reprints the "Flying Rolls," *i.e.*, the instructional materials handed around to Golden Dawn members, which are not included in Regardie's collection. The 2nd edition adds some material.

Torrens, R. G. *The Secret Rituals of the Golden Dawn* (New York: Samuel Weiser Inc., 1973).

Torrens gives historical accounts, doctrinal summaries, and alternative (early) versions of the Outer Order rituals.

Waite, Arthur Edward. *Inner and Outer Order Initiations of the Holy Order of the Golden Dawn* (Burnaby [BC]: Ishtar Publishing, 2005).

The grade rituals/initiations from Neophyte (0° = 0□) to Magus (8° = 3□) written in the years 1916-1923.

_____. *Rosicrucian Rites and Ceremonies of the Fellowship of the Rosy Cross* [aka *Complete Rosicrucian Initiations of the Fellowship of the Rosy Cross*] (Burnaby [BC]: Ishtar Publishing, 2005/7).

Includes Festivals of the Equinox and Solstices; Consecrations of the Temple for the First, Second, and Third Orders.

Zalewski, Patrick J. *Golden Dawn Ritual Commentaries* (Hastings: 1994; second revised edition: *Golden Dawn Rituals and Commentaries*. [n.p.]: Rosicrucian Order of the Golden Dawn, 2010).

"*The Golden Dawn Rituals and Commentaries* expounds on the structure only up to 5°= 6□, but the diligent student in Golden Dawn mysteries who studies this book carefully will be able to extrapolate and develop

the 6°=5□ and 7°=4□ and in due time even the 'Babe of the Abyss' (Portal of the Third Order). 8°=3□, and 9°=2□ formulae." (—Martin Thibeault, FOREWORD to the 2010 edition, page 9)

_____. *Secret Inner Order Rituals of the Golden Dawn* (Phoenix: Falcon Press, 1988).
Zalewski gives the 6° = 5□ and 7° = 4□ (*i.e.*, The Inner Order) rituals not included by Regardie—now supplemented by Zalewski's *Inner Order Teachings of the Golden Dawn* (Loughborough: Thoth Publications, 2006), which takes the teachings "back to the original Mathers/Westcott formulae. Included in this book are most of the previous unpublished teachings of Mathers for the Theoricus Adeptus Minor grade of the old Golden Dawn."

The *qabalah* of the Golden Dawn is epitomized by its treatment of the *tree of life*, which merges memory theater, sympathetic magic, and encyclopædism. The quintessential example of the Golden Dawn's brand of *qabalistic* synthesis is Aleister Crowley's *Liber 777*, which consists of table after table of correspondence—almost 200 columns—arranged according to the kabbalists' ten *sefirot* and the twenty-two paths which interconnect them. The EDITORIAL PREFACE to the 1955 and subsequent editions (probably written by Gerald Yorke) calls *777* a "Qabalistic dictionary of ceremonial magic, oriental mysticism, comparative religion and symbology." Among the sources which Crowley's introduction acknowledges are *Kabbala denudata*, "the lost symbolism of the Vault in which Christian Rosenkreutz is said to have been buried," Dee, Agrippa, the "Art" of Ramon Llull, Pietro di Abano, Éliphas Lévi, to mention those who have been connected, however loosely, with *cabala*. The preface of *777* goes on to say, "The Chinese, Hindu, Buddhist, Moslem, and Egyptian systems have never before been brought into line with the Qabalah; the Tarot has never been made public." *777* was reprinted with two other "Qabalistic" items as *The Qabalah of Aleister Crowley* (New York: Samuel Weiser Inc., 1973); this collection has subsequently been reprinted a few times.

Some of the books listed below within § GOLDEN DAWN INTERPRETERS OF THE KABBALAH are considered "classics of *qabalah*": S. L. MacGregor Mathers' *Kabbalah Unveiled* and Dion Fortune's *Mystical Qabalah*. A student of Fortune's, Gareth Knight, produced a compendious study, *A Practical Guide to Qabalistic Symbolism* (Helios Book Service [UK], 1965; New York: Samuel Weiser, 1978), which offers a thorough compilation of the Golden Dawn's "qabalah of correspondence" in its 500-plus pages.

Among the books on *kabbalah/cabala/qabalah* which are often recommended by students of Golden Dawn-type occultism are A. E. Waite's *Holy Kabbalah*, Myer's *Qabbalah*, and C. D. Ginsburg's *Kabbalah*; these are thought to be the "serious ... difficult ... scholarly" books on the subject. Considered more practical are Fortune's *Mystical Qabalah* and the popular series by William Gray, which includes *The Talking Tree* (1977), *The Ladder of Lights, or Qabalah Renovata* (1981), *Concepts of the Qabalah* (1984) and *The Tree of Evil* (revised edition, 1985—all titles, New York: Samuel Weiser). *Concepts of Qabalah* is Volume 3 of Gray's SANGREAL SODALITY SERIES: Vol. 1. *Western Inner Workings* (1983); Vol. 2. *The Sangreal Sacrament* (1983); Vol. 4. *Sangreal Ceremonies and Rituals* (1986—all titles, New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc.) Another favorite is W. E. Butler's *Magic and the Qabalah* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1964; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1972). None of these "practical" books draws much from Jewish sources; each is based instead on Golden Dawn materials, whether first- or second-hand.

One book claims that it "presents the majority of the Kabbalistic teachings from the Golden Dawn in one fascinating volume": Pat Zalewski's *Kabbalah of the Golden Dawn* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1993). This book may well reflect Golden Dawn teachings, but it also demonstrates that the longstanding tradition of mangling (Jewish) *kabbalah*—and the stubborn ignorance of it—has not come to an end. The book's account of the history and major texts of

kabbalah is studded with a staggering number of errors; even the titles of the *kabbalistic* books given in the footnotes contain mistakes.[98] As an inexpensive source showing what has become of *qabalah*, Zalewski's book may have something to recommend it.

John Michael Greer's *Paths of Wisdom: Principles and Practice of the Magical Cabala in the Western Tradition* (St. Paul: Llewellyn, 1996) is a far better, more substantive—and certainly more readable—introduction to the Golden Dawn's Magical *qabalah*. Neither as inclusive nor as well presented as Greer's *Paths of Wisdom* is a work of similar intent, *Experiencing the Kabbalah* by Chic Cicero and Sandra Tabatha Cicero (St. Paul: Llewellyn, 1997), which offers the reader an "easy-to-use beginner's guide."

Continuing interest in the Golden Dawn is demonstrated by a book-sized journal featuring articles by contemporary authors; between 1994 and 1998, four volumes were published—none since, however.[99] The second volume, *The Golden Dawn Journal*, Book II, is subtitled "Qabalah: Theory and Magic," edited by Chic Cicero and Sandra Tabatha Cicero (St. Paul: Llewellyn, 1994).[100] The articles are spotty; some are downright bad. A few are sincere attempts to offer the results of thoughtful research, both academic and practical.

For developments of Western esoteric (*i.e.*, Golden Dawn, Crowley, etc.) *qabalah* through the twentieth century, refer to my survey in *Approaching the Kabbalah of Maat* (York Beach: Black Jackal Press, 2013), pages 3-113.

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[98] Still, at this late date, in a chapter added to the "revised and enlarged" second edition of David Rankine's *Climbing the Tree of Life* (London: Avalonia, 2022), we find statements like, "We know that one of the earliest and greatest of Jewish Kabbalistic texts, the *Sepher Yetzirah* or *Book of Formation* was said to have been written by Simeon ben Yochai about 70 CE, and is now commonly dated as 1st-2nd century CE" (page 19). This little mass of *faux pas*—which is wrong on nearly every point—is all the more baffling given the works of solid Jewish scholarship listed in the book's bibliography, which includes Joseph Dan's *Ancient Jewish Mysticism* (Tel Aviv: MOD Books, 1993) and several works each by Gershom Scholem and Moshe Idel. Even Pat Zalewski offers a fairer account of *Sepher Yetzirah*: "The exact date of its origin is usually thought to be somewhere between the 3rd and 2nd [*sic*] century A.D. One legend asserts that the Prophet Abraham was the instigator of the theory of the book, which he received in a vision. Some Kabbalistic authorities have ascribed authorship of this volume to Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph..." (*Kabbalah of the Golden Dawn*, page 42).

Refer to my "Notes on Editions of the *Sefer Yetzirah* in English," at Hermetic Kabbalah and Academia.edu:

- syie.pdf (digital-brilliance.com)
- (PDF) Notes on Editions of Sefer Yetzirah in English | Don Karr - Academia.edu

Further along (on page 19), Rankine says of the *merkabah* mystic's journey through the Seven Palaces that there "he would encounter demons." This is a stunning gaffe, especially with Dan's *Ancient Jewish Mysticism*, Peter Schäfer's *Hidden and Manifest God* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), and two works by Michael D. Swartz, *Mystical Prayer in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992) and *Scholastic Magic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) shown in the bibliography.

Refer to my "Notes on the Study of *Merkabah* Mysticism and *Hekhalot* Literature in English":

- *Jewish Studies* 52 (Jerusalem: Journal of the World Union of Jewish Studies, 2017), ENGLISH SECTION, pages 35*-112*
- Notes on the Study of Merkabah Mysticism and Hekhalot Literature in English—with an appendix on Jewish Magic (digital-brilliance.com)
- (PDF) Notes on the Study of Merkabah Mysticism and Hekhalot Literature in English | Don Karr - Academia.edu

[99] A reprint edition, *Basics of Magic: The Best of the Golden Dawn Journal*, Book I: DIVINATION, appeared in 2007 from H.O.G.D. Books.

[100] Given that the Hermetic-Cabalist tradition is the major source of notions and practices of the Golden Dawn, it is no surprise that the subject "Qabalah" (i.e., *cabala*) is also well represented in the other issues of *The Golden Dawn Journal*: Book I: DIVINATION (1994); Book III: THE ART OF HERMES (1995); and Book IV: THE MAGICAL PANTHEONS (1998; all from Llewellyn Publications, St. Paul). See, for example, Madonna Compton's article in Book III, "Logos Revealed: Hermetic Influences on the Renaissance Humanists," where there is an effort to affect an academic tone in discussions of Pico, Reuchlin, Henry More, and Knorr von Rosenroth; or Harvey Newstrom's article in Book IV, "In the Beginning was the Word," which draws on the *Sefer Yezirah* and *Sefer Bahir*—along with *The Key of Solomon*—in a discussion of the sundry epithets for each of the ten *sefirot*.

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Some basic readings on the *qabalah* of the Golden Dawn[101]:

1. Regardie's edition of Golden Dawn documents, either as *The Golden Dawn* (most accessible through the Llewellyn reprints) or *The Complete Golden Dawn System of Magic* (Tempe: New Falcon Publications, 1984 and 1994—with 150 pages of new material, 2008, and reprinted 2022). See also the Kindle edition (New Falcon Publications, 2014/2022) which contains "new material" by Israel Regardie and contributions from David Cherubim, Chic and Tabatha Cicero, Lon Milo DuQuette, Jack Willis, and S. Jason Black. There is also a pricey enlarged two-volume *Complete Golden Dawn System of Magic* from New Falcon (2019); only 50 hand-numbered copies were produced.
2. Regardie's *Tree of Life: A Study in Magic* (London: Rider and Co., 1932; rpt. New York and York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1969 and 1989)—which many occultists *and* academics rank as one of the best introductions to the whole topic; and *A Garden of Pomegranates: An Outline of the Qabalah* (London: Ryder & Co., 1932)—Regardie's first book, which goes through the basics of Golden Dawn-style *qabalah*. A version of Regardie's book, titled *The Tree of Life: An Illustrated Study in Magic*, edited by Chic Cicero and Samantha Tabatha Ciero, came out in 2001 (Llewellyn Publications).
3. Dion Fortune's *Mystical Qabalah* (reprinted many times).
4. Gareth Knight's *Practical Guide to Qabalistic Symbolism*, 2 vols. (Cheltenham: Helios Book Service, 1965, 1969, & 1976; reprinted in one volume by Samuel Weiser, 1978 & 2002).
5. John Michael Greer's *Paths of Wisdom: Principles and Practice of the Magical Cabala in the Western Tradition* (St. Paul: Llewellyn, 1996)—in my opinion, the best of the introductory books.
6. Crowley's *777* (London: Neptune Press, 1955); included in *The Qabalah of Aleister Crowley* (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1973), reprinted as *777 and Other Qabalistic Writings of Aleister Crowley* (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1986); also available on the Internet—search: "Liber 777"
7. Golden Dawn founders' versions of kabbalistic texts:
   a. Westcott's translation of the *Sepher Yetzirah*[102]
   b. Westcott's edition of *Æsch Mezareph* "by a Lover of Philalethes, 1714"; *Æsch Mezareph* is a rare kabbalistic/alchemical treatise
   c. Mathers' *Kabbalah Unveiled* which contains portions of the *Zohar* translated from Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata*.[103]

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[101] For some general overviews, see the following:
- *The Occult World*, edited by Christopher Partridge (Abingdon – New York: Routledge, 2015): ch. 19, "William Wynn Westcott" (Francisco Sanos Silva); ch. 20, "The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn" (Robert A. Gilbert); and ch. 21, "Samuel Liddell Mathers" (Francisco Sanos Silva).
- *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005), VOLUME 1: "Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn" (Robert A. Gilbert), pp. 544-550; VOLUME 2: "Mathers, Samuel Liddell 'MacGregor'" (Marco Pasi), pp. 783-785, and "Westcott, William Wynn" (Marco Pasi), pp. 1168-1170.

[102] For more detail on Westcott's *Sepher Yetzirah*, see my "Notes on Editions of *Sefer Yetzirah* in English," page 6 at (PDF) Notes on Editions of Sefer Yetzirah in English | Don Karr - Academia.edu

[103] On Mathers' *Kabbalah Unveiled*, see below, MATHERS, and my "Notes on the Zohar in English," page 9, at (PDF) Notes on the Zohar in English | Don Karr - Academia.edu

GOLDEN DAWN INTERPRETERS OF THE KABBALAH

WILLIAM WYNN WESTCOTT (1848-1925)

- *Sepher Yetzirah: The Book of Formation and the Thirty-Two Paths of Wisdom* (1st edition, Bath: Fryar, 1887; 2nd edition, London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1893; 3rd edition, London: J. M. Watkins, 1911; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser 1975 and Wizards Bookshelf, 1990; so-called 4th edition as #3 of the Golden Dawn Series ed. Darcy Kuntz, Edmonds: Holmes Publication Group, 1996).[SY]
- *An Introduction to the Study of the Kabalah* (London: J. M. Watkins, 1910 & 1926; rpt. Kila: Kessinger Publishing, 2010); one can find nearly identical material in *The Kabbalah of the Golden Dawn* by W. Wynn Westcott, with a preface by S. L. MacGregor Mathers, ed. Darcy Kuntz [GOLDEN DAWN SERIES 16] (Edmonds: Holmes Publishing Group, 1997).[104]
- *The Magical Mason: Forgotten Hermetic Writings of William Wynn Westcott, Physician and Magus*, edited and introduced by R. A. Gilbert (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1983): PART TWO – KABBALISTIC.

Freemason and Supreme Magus of the Societa Rosicruciana in Anglia, Westcott co-founded the profoundly influential Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn with S. L. M. Mathers and William Robert Woodman. With Mathers, Westcott created a program of esoteric study and practice which encompassed the whole range of the Hermetic-Kabbalistic stream.

Westcott's name is attached to one of the most popular translations of *Sepher Yetzirah*. Westcott's version has been reproduced in print and online countless times, with and without attribution.[105]

Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Kabalah* has been highly regarded by occultists of the Golden Dawn strain since its original publication. Aleister Crowley, in "The Temple of Solomon the King, Book V" (in *The Equinox*, vol. 1, no. 5—London: 1911), pages 71-72, writes,

> For the student unacquainted with the rudiments of the Qabalah we recommend the study of S. L. M. Mathers' "Introduction" to his translation of the three principal books of the Zohar (*i.e.*, *The Kabbalah Unveiled*), and Westcott's "Introduction to the Study of the Qabalah." ... Dr. Westcott's little book is principally valuable for its able defense of the Qabalah as against exotericism and literalism.

In order to "provide some of the texts of greatest value in Hermetic research" (—Westcott's preface to each volume), Westcott, under the motto Sapere Aude, prepared the *Collectanea Hermetica* as a series of pamphlets distributed by the London Theosophical Publishing Society:

1. *The Hermetic Arcanum of Penes Nos Unda Tagi*, 1623 (1893)
2. *The Pymander of Hermes* – Dr. Everard's English Translation of 1650 (1894)
3. *A Short Enquiry concerning the Hermetic Art*, by a Lover of Philalethes, 1714; "An Introduction to Alchemy and Notes" (1894)
4. *Aesch Mezareph, or the Purifying Fire...*, by a Lover of Philalethes, 1714 (1894); rpt. New York: Occult Research Press, n.d. [195?]; reprinted frequently.
5. *Somnium Scipionis: The Vision of Scipio* by Marcus Cicero, "The Golden Verses of Pythagoras," "The Symbols of Pythagoras" (1894)
6. *The Chaldean Oracles of Zoroaster* (1895)
7. *Euphrates, or the Waters of the East*, by Thomas Vaughan, 1655 (1896)

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[104] Not to be confused with Kuntz' edition is *Kabbalah of the Golden Dawn* by Pat Zalewski, on which see above pages 151-152.

[105] For more details about Westcott's *Sepher Yetzirah*, see "Notes on Editions of *Sefer Yetzirah* in English," page 6, at http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/Biblios/syie.pdf or https://www.academia.edu/22875900/Notes_on_Editions_of_Sefer_Yetzirah_in_English

8. *Egyptian Magic*, by Florence Farr (1896)
9. *Numbers: Their Occult Power and Mystic Virtues*, by W. W. Westcott (1902)

The only kabbalistic items in the *Collectanea* are

- Number 4, *Aesch Mezareph*, an odd little work which combines alchemy and *kabbalah*. *Aesch Mezareph* was reconstituted from fragments strewn through the imposing glossary that opens Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata*.[106]
- Number 9, *Numbers*, PART III, THE KABBALAH ON NUMBER, pages 22-32.

An edition of the *Collectanea* was reprinted as *Collectanea Hermetica, Parts 1-10*, with an introduction by R. A. Gilbert (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1998), which adds Westcott's version of *Sepher Yetzirah*.

Regarding Westcott, see

- Gilbert, R. A. (ed.) *A Magus among the Adepts: Essays & Addresses by William Wynn Westcott* (York Beach: Teitan Press, 2012).

S[AMUEL] L[IDDELL] MACGREGOR MATHERS (1854-1918)

- *The Kabbalah Unveiled* (London: George Redway, 1887; revised edition with a preface by Moina Mathers, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1926; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1968—reprinted frequently).

Mathers is a particularly important figure in that he, with William Wynn Westcott, was one of the founders of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. As author of most of the Golden Dawn rituals and many of its instructions, he was instrumental in laying the groundwork for modern occultism. However, as a translator and commentator in the field of *kabbalah*, he was prey to—and perpetuator of—much misunderstanding and misinformation.

An easy way to demonstrate this is to look at a couple of lists which Mathers gives in his well-circulated and often-reproduced work, *The Kabbalah Unveiled*.

On page 14 of Mathers' introduction to *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, as the most important kabbalistic books, Mathers lists the following:

(α) The Sepher Yetzirah and its dependencies.
(β) The Zohar with its developments and commentaries.
(γ) The Sepher Sephiroth and its expansions.
(δ) The Asch Metzareph and its symbolism.

With the first two entries, there can be no argument: the *Sefer Yezirah* and the *Zohar* are two of the most important and influential works in *kabbalah*.[107] But the third and fourth entries simply do not belong.[108]

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[106] APPARATUS IN LIBRUM SOHAR *PARS PRIMA* nempe LOCI COMMUNES KABBALISTICI, Secundum ordinem Alphabeticum concinnati, Qui LEXICI instar esse possunt [APPARATUS TO THE BOOK ZOHAR *FIRST PART* NAMELY KABBALISTIC COMMON-PLACES, ...ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED, ...], [*first system*] pp. 1-740.

[107] *Sefer Yetzirah* was written centuries before the development of *kabbalah*. It was, however, fully incorporated by the earliest kabbalists and previous mystical schools (*e.g.*, the Hasidei Ashkenaz, the *Iyyun* circle) that influenced them.

[108] Westcott does a little better in his "note of the chief of the old Kabalistic treatises" in his *Introduction to the Study of the Kabalah*. After mentioning "Sepher Yetzirah" and the "Zohar" and, dependent on *Kabbala denudata*, enumerating the tracts within it with reasonable accuracy, Westcott adds (page 4),

> Other famous Kabalistic treatises are :—"The Commentary on the Ten Sephiroth," by Rabbi Azariel ben Menachem, 1200 A.D.; "The Alphabet" of Rabbi Akiba; "The Gate of Heaven"; the "Book of Enoch"; "Pardes Rimmonim, or Garden of Pomegranates"; "A treatise on the Emanations"; "Otz ha Chiim, or The Tree of Life" of Chajim Vital;

Mathers identifies *Sepher Sephiroth*, or "Book of Emanations," as a work that "describes, so to speak, the gradual evolution of the Deity from negative into positive existence" (*ibid.*, page 15).[109] Given Mathers' dependence on Knorr von Rosenroth, we can fairly assume "Sepher Sephiroth" refers to the section of *Kabbala denudata* which treats of the unfolding of the tree of the *sefirot*, in outline, then diagrammatic, form based upon the teachings of Isaac Luria *via* the versions of Hayyim Vital, Israel Sarug, and Naftali Hertz Bacharach. It is an item of considerable interest, but not one of the canons of *kabbalah*.[110]

"A[e]sch Metzareph" (*Esh M'zaref*), which Mathers found scattered in pieces through the lengthy glossary that opens *Kabbalah denudata* or in the compilation of these pieces by "a Lover of Philalethes" (1714), is a rather unusual example of the merger of *kabbalah* and alchemy. As such, it is something of a peripheral curiosity, not a central work.

On pages 14-15, Mathers states that the *Zohar* "contains the following most important books":

(α) The SPRA DTzNIOVThA, Siphra Dtzenioutha, of "Book of Concealed Mystery," which is the root and foundation of the Zohar.
(β) The ADRA RBA QDIShA, Idra Rabba Qadisha, or "Greater Holy Assembly": this is a development of the "Book of Concealed Mystery."
(γ) The ADRA ZVTA QDIShA, Idra Zuta Qadisha, or "Lesser Holy Assembly"
(δ) The pneumatical treatise called BITh ALHIM, Beth Elohim, or the "House of Elohim," ...from the doctrines of Rabbi Yitzchaq Loria...
(ε) The "Book of the Revolutions of Souls" ... an expansion of Rabbi Loria's ideas.

It is true that by the time we get to Luria (= Loria), the themes begun in *Sifra Detzeniuta*, (α), and the *Idrot*, (β) and (γ), were considered central to the *Zohar*, but in a purely zoharic context these texts are something of an oddity. Mathers ignored, or was ignorant of, the real core and bulk of the *Zohar*: the running commentary to the Torah.

As with the previous list, the last two items, (δ) and (ε), simply do not belong. As Mathers even notes, they are Lurianic, which separates them from the *Zohar* by some 300 years. *Bet Elohim* was written by Abraham Cohen Herrera (157?-1639), who was a student of Israel Sarug and his version of Lurianic *kabbalah*. The first half of *Sefer ha-Gilgulim* (BOOK OF REVOLUTIONS, or REINCARNATIONS) is Hayyim Vital's version of Luria, *Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim*, as redacted by Meir Poppers; the second half of *Sefer ha-Gilgulim* is not Lurianic, but rather based on older traditions. Mathers encountered all of this stuff in *Kabbala denudata*.

"Rashith ha Galgulim, or Revolutions of Souls" of Isaac de Loria; and especially the writings of the famous Spanish Jew, Ibn Gebirol, who died A.D. 107, and was also called Avicebron, his great works are "The fountain of life" and "The Crown of the Kingdom."

"The Alphabet" of Rabbi Akiba is a pre-kabbalistic (8th or 9th century) pseudepigrahical mystical *midrash* on the shapes of the Hebrew letters, and "The Book of Enoch" likely refers to *The Hebrew Book of Enoch*, or 3 Enoch, which is a late antique or early Medieval text titled *Sefer Hekhalot*. Neither of these works nor the writings of Ibn Gebirol belong on a list of kabbalistic titles.

"Rashith ha Galgulim, or Revolutions of Souls," more accurately *Sefer ha-Gilgulim*, is a compilation by Meir Poppers which appeared in *Kabbala denudata* (tom. II, pars tertia, pages 243-478 of the first system), only the first half of which is Lurianic, and that section was derived from the writings of Hayyim Vital, not Isaac Luria.

[109] The *Sepher Sephiroth* to which Mathers refers is not the work of the same name issued by Aleister Crowley: "SEPHER SEPHIROTH." SVB FIGVRÂ D (ὁ ἀριθμός), by Allen Bennett, Aleister Crowley, and others, in *The Equinox*, Vol. I, No. 3 (London: Wieland & Co., 1912), pp. 500*ff*, paged as i-xvi + 1-101, a table of the *gematriot* of letters, words, and expressions from 1 to 3299, with only occasional entries beyond 1025.

[110] *Kabbala denudata...*, Tome I (Sulzbachi: Typis Abrahami Lichtenthaleri, 1677), *PARS QUARTA*, quæ CONTINET EXPLICATIONEM ARBORUM seu TABULARUM... [*PART FOUR*, A DETAILED EXPLANATION OF THE (KABBALISTIC) TREE OR DIAGRAM..., in 16 figures], [*third system*] pp. 193—255

Quite a few subsequent writers have accepted Mathers' lists, especially the first, as authoritative. For instance, Charles Ponce in *Kabbalah* (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1973), pp. 50-52, includes *Esh Mezaref* in his list, "Other Main Works of Kabbalism." Typical of Ponce, he sets two perfectly viable choices (*Sefer Bahir* and Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim*) against two items with no real place on the list (*Esh Mezaref* and *The Thirty-two Paths of Wisdom*). Mme. Blavatsky, too, referred to *Esh Mezaref* as one of the most important books in *kabbalah*. As noted above, she and Mathers both made heavy use of Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata*.

Mathers' *Kabbalah Unveiled* is an English translation of (α), (β), and (γ) of the second list as rendered from Knorr's Latin in *Kabbala denudata*. The translation is full of extranea—some Knorr's, some Mathers'—so it is hardly a fair representation of these complex texts.[111]

On Mathers' treatment of the *Zohar* refer to page 9 of my "Notes on the *Zohar* in English" at

- HERMETIC KABBALAH › http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/Biblios/zie.pdf
- ACADEMIA.EDU › https://www.academia.edu/22865064/Notes_on_the_Zohar_in_English

About Mathers, note the following:

- Colquhoun, Ithell. *Sword of Wisdom: MacGregor Mathers and "The Golden Dawn,"* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975).

HENRY B. PULLEN-BURRY (1855-1926)

- *Qabalism* (Chicago, Yogi Publication Society, 1925).

  > That which literarians, and bookworms call the Kabalah, is but a strange and more or less valueless set of writings chiefly of Jewish origin; in which scholars, knowing that there is throughout the scripture hidden as well as an open meaning, having striven to discover it; and have recorded their conclusions, often in words as hard to understand, or even get meaning from, as the scriptures themselves. (—*Qabalism*, p. xi)

In spite of the quote above, *Qabalism* clearly discusses the *sefirot*, the four worlds, Adam Kadmon, and Philo as "the most important link we have with the Gnosticism of the Jews" (—*Qabalism*, page 7). Pullen-Burry goes on to give examples of these writings, namely, "the Sepher Yetzirah" and "the Books of the Zohar."

As a member of the Golden Dawn, Pullen-Burry reached the level of Hierophant in 1894 under the motto Anima pura sit.

FLORENCE FARR (1860-1917)

- *The Way of Wisdom. An Investigation of the Meaning of the Hebrew Alphabet Considered as a Remnant of the Chaldean Wisdom* (London: J. M. Watkins, 1900; rpt. Edmonds: Sure Fire Press [= Holmes Publishing Group], 1995).
- *The Magical Writings of Florence Farr*, edited by Darcy Küntz, introduced by Caroline Wise [THE GOLDEN DAWN LEGACY, vol. 1] (Golden Dawn Research Trust, 2012) › https://www.goldendawntrust.com/ [yields Error 522—3/2/2022]

[111] See instead the translations of Roy A. Rosenberg in *The Anatomy of God* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1973), or those of Daniel C. Matt in VOLUMES V, VIII, and IX of *The Zohar* [PRITZKER EDITION] (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009, 2014, and 2016).

Farr was an actress, women's rights pioneer, and notable Golden Dawn leader who "entered the portal" of 5°= 6▫ on August 2, 1891.

The Way of Wisdom presents a brief paragraph for each of the Hebrew letters. Farr promotes these epitomes as comparable to the statements of the intelligences in *The Thirty-two Paths of Wisdom*—or the last twenty-two of them, anyway. She then sets the twelve simple letters in correspondence to the twelve symbols of the Buddhist Wheel of Existence.

NURHO DE MANHAR [WILLIAM WILLIAMS] (*fl.* 1888-1914)

- *The Zohar. Bereshith-Genesis.* Published as a serial in *The Word*, a monthly magazine, ed. H. W. Percival (New York: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1900-14; rpt. San Diego: Wizards Bookshelf, 1978 and 1980; reprinted by Bibliobazaar/Pinnacle Press, 2017).

Nurho de Manhar is the pen-name of early Golden Dawn member, William Williams. His full motto was Nurho d'manhar heulnosh. Williams entered the Golden Dawn in 1888, within a year of its founding, and received his 5°= 6▫ on February 25, 1893. In spite of his Golden Dawn affiliation, Williams' work is an English rendering of the first sections of the *Zohar* in the light of Mme. Blavatsky's theosophical teachings.

On Williams' treatment of the *Zohar*, refer to page 8 of my "Notes on the *Zohar* in English," at HERMETIC KABBALAH (*Digital Brilliance*) or Academia.edu >

http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/Biblios/zie.pdf
https://www.academia.edu/22865064/Notes_on_the_Zohar_in_English

W. B. YEATS (1865-1939)

William Butler Yeats was a prominent member of Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. However, if we take another route, one that follows the broad outlines of esoteric—if not purely kabbalistic—developments described above in §§ THE 'UNKNOWN SUPERIORS' and WILLIAM BLAKE, the formula SWEDENBORG → BLAKE → YEATS could be advanced.

In Kathleen Raine's words on the end flap of her *W. B. Yeats & the Learning of the Imagination* (Dallas: Dallas Institute Publications, 1999),

> Yeats did not possess Swedenborg's psychic gift, nor Blake's soaring imaginative vision. States of expanded consciousness came to him seldom, and then through magical techniques, mediumship, and other aids towards opening of the mind. Yeats was, one might say, a scientific investigator, but winged by that attitude of imaginative assent which serves to create the reality towards which it is directed—nothing less than the building of worlds—the heaven's and the earth's—the soul inhabits.

In blunt terms, Yeats, according to Raine, was something of a *wannabe*, though not without insight and interesting connections. See Raine's *Yeats the Initiate: Essays on Certain Themes in the Work of W. B. Yeats* (Mountrath, Portlaoise: The Dolmen Press/London: George Allen & Unwin Limited, 1986), especially CHAPTER 5, "Yeats's Debt to Blake," CHAPTER 6, "From Blake to *A Vision*," CHAPTER 7, "Yeats, the Tarot and the Golden Dawn," CHAPTER 8, "Death-in-Life and Life-in-Death," and CHAPTER 9, "Blake, Yeats, and Pythagoras."

In AS ABOVE, SO BELOW: YEATS, CROWLEY, AND QABALAH (Ph.D. dissertation, Binghamton: State University of New York, 1996), Charles Nicholas Serra II, offers the thesis (—page v),

> ...if one comes to Yeats's texts with an understanding of Qabalah in application (*via* Crowley) then one should be able to reconstruct Yeats's deliberately fragmented overstructure or didactic message.

Refer also to Serra's MA thesis, A REËVALUATION OF THE LITERARY WORKS OF EDWARD ALEXANDER (ALEISTER) CROWLEY (Des Moines: Drake University, 1991), Section One: "Yeats and the Golden Dawn."

For writings by Yeats himself, find *On Magic & the Occult* (Turin: Black Letter Press, 2019), which is a collection of essays (including one on Blake), stories, poems, and a play ("The Shadowy Waters").

Further on Yeats:

- Bachchan, Harbans Rai. *W. B. Yeats and Occultism: A Study of His Works in Relation to Indian Lore, the Cabbala, Swedenborg and Theosophy* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965).
- Graf, Susan Johnston. *Talking to the Gods: Occultism in the Work of W. B. Yeats, Arthur Machen, Algernon Blackwood, and Dion Fortune* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016).
  The authors in the title were all members of the Golden Dawn. Chapter 2 is on W. B. Yeats.
- _____. *W. B. Yeats: Twentieth-Century Magus* (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 2000).
  "An in-depth study of Yeats' esoteric practices and beliefs, including excerpts from his Magical Diaries."
- Leavitt, June. *Esoteric Symbols: The Tarot in Yeats, Eliot, and Kafka* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2007).
- Mills, George Harper. *Yeats's Golden Dawn* (London: Macmillan – New York: Harper & Row, 1974).
- Schuchard, Marsha Keith. "Yeats and the 'Unknown Superiors': Swedenborg, Falk and Cagliostro," in *Secret Texts: The Literature of Secret Societies*, eds. Marie Mulvey Roberts and Hugh Ormsby-Lennon (New York: AMS Press, 1994)—more about the "Unknown Superiors" than Yeats.
- Timmermann, Anke. "'Pictures passing before the mind's eye': The Tarot, the Order of the Golden Dawn, and William Butler Yeats's Poetry," in *Societas Magica Newsletter*, Issue 15, Spring 2006—online at http://www.societasmagica.org/

ALEISTER CROWLEY (1875-1947)

- *The Equinox: The Official Organ of the A.·.A.·. The Review of Scientific Illuminism.* Volume I, Numbers 1-10 (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, and Co. Ltd, 1909-13; rpt. York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1972 and 1999).

Crowley had a tumultuous career in the Golden Dawn. These days, he is more associated with the O.T.O. and A.·.A.·. and their "magick."

Crowley's *Equinox* is a grandiose esoteric miscellany which includes Golden Dawn materials as reworked by Crowley, rituals, essays, "knowledge lectures," stories, plays, tables, charts, poetry, book reviews, etc.

Two items of particular interest in the present context appeared in *The Equinox*:

- "Gematria" which is part of "The Temple of Solomon the King, Book V" in vol. 1, no. 5, pp. 71-120.
- "Sepher Sephiroth," which is appended to vol. 1, no. 8, pp. 500 *ff*.

Both were reprinted with *Liber 777* as *The Qabalah of Aleister Crowley* (New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1973). On *Liber 777*, see my comments above, page 151.

Also within *The Equinox* (vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 163-185) is Allan Bennett's paper, "A Note on Genesis," which was reprinted with a preface by Crowley in 1976 and 1977 (New York: Samuel Weiser). Bennett expands on the meaning(s) of Genesis 1:1 "by applying to the Text the Keys of the Qabalah," showing that "[c]ontained therein also are the Divine, Magical, and Terrestrial Formulae of the Passage of the Incomprehensible Nothingness of the Ain Soph to the Perfection of Creation...."

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Books about Aleister Crowley (*listed chronologically*):

1. Symonds, John. *The King of the Shadow Realm: Aleister Crowley: His Life and Magic*. London: Duckworth, 1989. This title incorporates Symond's earlier works, *The Great Beast: The Life of Aleister Crowley* (London – New York: Rider, 1951) and *The Magic of Aleister Crowley* (London: F. Muller, 1958).
2. Cammell, Charles Richard. *Aleister Crowley: The Man, the Mage, the Poet* (New Hyde Park: University Books, 1962).
3. Regardie, Israel. *The Eye in the Triangle: An Interpretation of Aleister Crowley* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1970).
4. Stephenson, P. R., and Regardie, Israel. *The Legend of Aleister Crowley, Being a Study of the Documentary Evidence Relating to a Campaign of Personal Vilification Unparalleled in Literary History* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1970).
5. Grant, Kenneth. *Aleister Crowley and the Hidden God* (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1974).
6. King, Francis. *The Magical World of Aleister Crowley* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc., 1978; rpt. 2004 as *Megatherion: The Magical World of Aleister Crowley* by Creation Books.)
7. Suster, Gerald. *The Legacy of the Beast. The Life, Work and Influence of Aleister Crowley* (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1989).
8. Booth, Martin. *A Magick Life: The Biography of Aleister Crowley* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2000).
9. Sutin, Lawrence. *Do What Thou Wilt: A Life of Aleister Crowley* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).
10. Kaczynski, Richard. *Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley* (Tempe: New Falcon Publications, 2002).
11. Starr, Martin P. *The Unknown God: W. T. Smith and the Thelemites* (Bolingbrook: Teitan Press, 2003).
12. Evans, Dave. *Aleister Crowley and the 20th Century Synthesis of Magick* (2nd revised edition: Hidden Publishing, 2007).

For a review of Symonds, Booth, Sutin, and Kaczynski, see Marco Pasi, "The Neverendingly Told Story: Recent Biographies of Aleister Crowley," in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, volume 3, number 2 (Leiden – Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003), pp. 224-245.

Briefly on Crowley: Henrik Bogdan, "Aleister Crowley: A Prophet for the Modern Age," in *The Occult World*, edited by Christopher Partridge (Abingdon – New York: Routledge, 2015): CHAPTER 28; and "Crowley, Aleister" (Marco Pasi), in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005), VOLUME 1, pp. 281-287.

Counter-Crowley, especially on his claims regarding the plot surrounding the reception of the *Book of the Law*: Richard Cole *et al.*, *Liber L. + vel Bogus. The Real Confession of Aleister Crowley Sub Figura LXXX; Being Parts I & II(A) of The Governing Dynamics of Thelema (A Work in Progress)*, edited by Sadie Sparks (2nd edition – [UK]: privately published, 2014).

A sampling of Crowley's works:

1. *Gems from the Equinox: All the Magical Writings, Instructions by Aleister Crowley for His own Magical Order*, ed. Israel Regardie (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1974).
2. *Magick in Theory and Practice* ([Paris]: published for subscribers only [Lecram Press], 1929); reprinted as PART III of *Magick: Liber ABA: Book 4* (York Beach: Weiser Books, PARTS I-III, 1983 & PARTS I-IV, 1994; revised & enlarged edition, 1997)—known as the "Blue Brick"; issued more recently as *Aleister Crowley's Four Books of Magick*, edited, introduced, and annotated by Stephen Skinner: BOOK FOUR, LIBER ABA (London: Watkins Publishing, 2021)—not available in the US.
3. *Magick without Tears* (Phoenix: Falcon Press, 1973).
4. *Liber Aleph vel CXI: The Book of Wisdom and Folly* (West Point: Thelema Publishing Company, 1962; rpt. York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1991).
5. *The Book of Thoth: A Short Essay on the Tarot of the Egyptians* (California OTO: 1944; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1969 and subsequently).

FRATER ACHAD [CHARLES STANSFIELD JONES] (1886-1959)

- *The Anatomy of the Body of God, Being the Supreme Revelation of Cosmic Consciousness* (Chicago: The Collegium Ad Spiritum Sanctum, 1925; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1969).[SY]
- *The Chalice of Ecstasy, Being a Magical and Qabalistic Interpretation of the Drama of Parzival* (Chicago: Yogi Publication Society, 1923; Edmonds: Holmes Publishing Group, 1994).
- *The Egyptian Revival, or The Ever-coming Son in the Light of Tarot* (Chicago: The Collegium Ad Spiritum Sanctum, 1923; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1969).
- "Horus, Isis, and QBL," in *The Equinox*, Volume III, Number 10, ed. Hymenaeus Beta X [William Breeze] (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1986 and 1990).
- *I.N.R.I. De Mysteriis Rosae Rubae et Aurae Crucis* (Chicago: The Collegium Ad Spiritum Sanctum, 1924; rpt. Edmunds: Sure Fire Press, 1989).
- *Liber 31* – 1918/1948 (San Francisco: Level Press, 1974); this edition includes "Additional Notes on Liber Legis," *Liber QNA*, and "Gambling with the World."
- *Q.B.L. or The Bride's Reception, Being a Short Qabbalistic Treatise on the Tree of Life* (Chicago: privately printed, 1922; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1969).
- *XXXI Hymns to the Star Goddess Who Is Not* (Chicago: W. Ransom, 1923); also in *Tree:* 3, ed. David Meltzer (Santa Barbara: Christopher Books, Winter 1972), pp. 66-80.

Frater Achad is generally considered Aleister Crowley's most important student in the O.T.O.—A.˙.A.˙. stream. Crowley even referred to Achad as his "Magickal Son."

Achad expanded upon Golden Dawn *qabalah*, instituting some of his own variations on such things as the attributions of the Hebrew letters and their correspondences to the paths of the kabbalistic *tree of life*. Indeed, in his books of the 'twenties, he turns the attribution system established by the Golden Dawn completely upside-down.

For a *deep dive* into Achad's astounding occult career, see

- Cornelius, J. Edward. *Crossing the Abyss and into the Aeon of the Daughter: the magickal story of Aleister Crowley and Charles Stansfeld Jones*, edited by Erica M. Cornelius (Berkeley: privately issued, 2020).
- Kaczynski, Richard. *Panic in Detroit: The Magician and the Motor City*, revised and expanded BLUE EQUINOX CENTENNIAL EDITION ([n.p.]: privately issued, 2019).
- *The Incoming of the Aeon of Maat: Letters between Charles Stansfeld Jones, Gerald York & others, 1948-1949*, collected, edited, footnoted and introduced by Michael Barham and Michael Staley (London: Starfire Publishing Ltd., 2020).

There is a summary of Achad's *qabalah* in my *Approaching the Kabbalah of Maat* (York Beach: Black Jackal Press, 2013), pages 28-33.

KENNETH GRANT / THE O.T.O.

Another more recent writer, considered by an adamant few to be Crowley's true heir, is Kenneth Grant (1924-2011), whose numerous books treat a kind of *qabalah* throughout. See, for example, Grant's summary statements regarding the qabalistic tradition in *Beyond the Mauve Zone* (London: Starfire Publishing Ltd, 1999), Chapter 8: "The Metaphysics of Transmission."

For an overview of Grant, see Dave Evans, "Trafficking with an Onslaught of Weirdness: Kenneth Grant and the Magical Revival," in *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic*, Issue 2 (Oxford: Mandrake of Oxford, 2004), pp. 226-259; and Evans' *History of British Magick after Crowley* ([n.p.]: Hidden Publishing, 2007).

Refer to my comments on the *qabalah* of Crowley, Frater Achad, and Grant in *Approaching the Kabbalah of Maat*, pages 18-41, *et passim*.

Mention of these three inevitably leads to the subject of the O.T.O., *Ordo Templi Orientis*—a can of worms, indeed.[112] Perhaps the best single book on this still-functioning order is *O.T.O. Rituals and Sex Magick*, by Theodor Reuss and Aleister Crowley, compiled and edited by A. R. Naylor, introduced by Peter-R. Koenig (Thame: I-H-O Books, 1999). Sale of the book was discontinued due to legal actions taken by the O.T.O. regarding copyright violations. Thus, it almost immediately fell out of print, soon selling for many times its original $50 cover price. The bulk of the book is O.T.O. "secret" documents, which the active O.T.O. groups were (are) not pleased to see in print. Further controversy surrounded the introduction—and assessments—of Peter-R. Koenig. Much of the material which appears in *O.T.O. Rituals...* can be found at Koenig's well-crafted website, THE ORDO TEMPLI ORIENTIS PHENOMENON at http://www.parareligion.ch/.

Back in 1973, a similar negative reaction greeted Francis King's edition of the O.T.O. material: *The Secret Rituals of the O.T.O.* (New York: Samuel Weiser). This work was reissued by Richard T. Cole in 2004, "REVISED & UPDATED," as a "deluxe, hand-numbered limited edition to 666 copies" on CD-ROM (Austin: O.T.O. New Media). The CD includes King's text in two formats (*read-only* and Microsoft Word), "Scans of documents relating to the work," G. M. Kelly's review of the Naylor/Koenig work cited above, two fancy degree certificates, a woodcut of the eastern Mediterranean which supposedly depicts a "symbolic journey" relevant to the Minerval Degree, a two-page typescript entitled "A Short History of Saladin," and scans of the CD's own packaging—*plus* a three-part photo gallery containing

(1) 16 photos of Crowley from throughout his adult life
(2) 16 more photos of Crowley in various ritual postures and costumes
(3) "The Women," within which is a subsection devoted to Leah Hirsig claiming seven previously unpublished photographs, five of which are quite obviously doctored.

All the while, an unidentified fragment of Shostakovich (?) piece drones in the background.

[112] Regarding the O.T.O. as a "can of worms," refer to the accounts of two long-standing members: the late James Wasserman, *In the Center of the Fire* (Lake Work: Ibis Press, 2012), which covers the years 1966-1989, and J. Edward Cornelius, *Changing of the Guard* (Berkeley: [privately issued], 2019), which covers the years 1989-1993.

For the "can of worms" in the first half of the twentieth century, see, for example, Richard Kaczynski's *Panic in Detroit* – BLUE EQUINOX CENTENNIAL EDITION, revised and expanded edition (independently published, 2019).

CHARLES WILLIAMS (1886-1945)

Charles Williams was the author of "marvelous" novels, such as *Many Dimensions* (1930), *War in Heaven* (1930), *Shadows of Ecstasy* (1933), and *Descent to Hell* (1937). He came to Western esotericism *via* Arthur Waite and his Fellowship of the Rosy Cross, which based its curriculum on Golden Dawn material.

Williams' connections with *kabbalah* are described in Aren Roukema's *Esotericism and Narrative: The Occult Fiction of Charles Williams* [ARIES BOOK SERIES, 24] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2018), CHAPTER 4, "Kabbalah: Charles Williams and the Middle Pillar," pages 151-181. The chapter opens with a useful brief assessment: "A. E. Waite and Modern Occult Kabbalah," pages 154-159.

DION FORTUNE [VIOLET MARY FIRTH] 1890-1950

Originally in the Golden Dawn, Dion Fortune left (1922) to form the Fraternity of the Inner Light. While Fortune carried on Golden Dawn traditions, she added innovations that she received from "Ascended Masters." These teachings are collected in Fortune's posthumously published work, *The Cosmic Doctrine*, written in the years 1923 and 1924 (Toddington: Helios Book Service, 1966; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1976).

By its own account, *The Cosmic Doctrine* chronicles the "Inner Plane" teachings, received from "one of the 'Great Masters,'" covering all aspects of the material and spiritual universe(s), their "evolutions," "influences," and "laws."

According to biographer Janine Chapman, "*The Cosmic Doctrine* is supposed to be a re-written version of *The Seven Aphorisms of Creation*, which are compilations of notes taken at Dr. Moriarty's lectures and which are the *real* 'secrets of Dr. Taverner,' the fictitious name Dion gave to Moriarty when she wrote her book, *The Secrets of Dr. Taverner*" (—*Quest for Dion Fortune* [York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1993]: p. 14).[113] For more on Fortune's "Moriarty period," see *The Story of Dion Fortune*, by Charles Fielding and Carr Collins (Dallas: Star and Cross, 1985; rpt. Loughborough: Thoth Publications, 1998), pp. 31-35 *et passim*.

More pertinent to the subject-at-hand is Fortune's immensely popular book, *The Mystical Qabalah* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1935; reprinted frequently). This work is considered a "classic," essential reading for students of the Western esoteric stream as exemplified by the Golden Dawn and its heirs. *The Mystical Qabalah* remains a staple in the literature of *qabalah*, dubbed by Fortune "the Yoga of the West."

Further regarding Dion Fortune, see Alan Richardson's *Aleister Crowley and Dion Fortune: The Logos of the Aeon and the Shakti of the Age* (Woodbury: Llewellyn Worldwide, 2009) and Susan Johnston Graf's *Talking to the Gods: Occultism in the Work of W. B. Yeats, Arthur Machen, Algernon Blackwood, and Dion Fortune* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016): CHAPTER 5.

[113] See Dion Fortune, *The Secrets of Dr. Taverner*, with an Introductory Essay on the Work of a Modern Occult Fraternity by Gareth Knight (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1962; rpt. 1971). The Llewellyn edition has a hilariously awful cover. The "Occult Fraternity" of the sub-title is the Fraternity of the Inner Light.

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FRANCIS ISRAEL REGARDIE (1907-1985)

- *A Garden of Pomegranates: An Outline of the Qabalah* (London: Rider & Co., 1932; rpt. St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1970).
- *The Middle Pillar. A Co-Relation of the Principles of Analytical Psychology and the Elementary Techniques of Magic* (Chicago: Aries Press, 1936; rpt. St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1970).
- *The Tree of Life: A Study in Magic* (London: Rider & Co., 1932; New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1969).
- *Ceremonial Magic: A Guide to the Mechanisms of Ritual* (Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press, 1980 and 1982).

Though Jewish by birth, Regardie was a major exponent of the Western esoteric tradition and its *qabalah*—not Scholem's *kabbalah*. In his lifetime, Regardie was at *ground zero* of the Western occult tradition: he was a member of an offshoot of the Golden Dawn *and* served as a secretary/companion to Aleister Crowley.

Regardie was a member of the Stella Matutina order, which taught the Golden Dawn curriculum, but which Regardie found in "a state of demoralization and decay."[114]

> Rightly or wrongly, Regardie came to the conclusion that the Order's teachings would not survive unless they were published: he therefore left the Stella Matutina and deliberately broke the oath of secrecy he had taken at his initiation by publishing the majority of the Golden Dawn manuscripts in four large volumes.[115]

In the years 1937 to 1940, Regardie published *The Golden Dawn: An Account of the Teaching, Rites and Ceremonies of the Hermetic Order of The Golden Dawn*, in four volumes (Chicago: Aries Press), which offered to the public virtually all of the teachings and practices of this till-then secret organization.

All of the books listed above are considered classics of Western esoteric literature. They were written and released at a time when there was very little available in print on the subject of *qabalah* and high magic(k)—certainly nothing so plain and clear as Regardie's works.

- *A Garden of Pomegranates* is an insider's summary of the Golden Dawn's *qabalah*.
- *The Middle Pillar* gives instructions for and expansions of the "Qabalistic Cross" and "Lesser Banishing Ritual," both of which are basic to Golden Dawn practice.[116]
- *The Tree of Life*, considered by some Regardie's *magnum opus*, explains the gamut of "high magic(k)" deployed by both the Golden Dawn and Crowley's Ordo Templi Orientis (O.T.O.), brought into a (relatively) unified system under the organizing principle of *qabalah*.

On Regardie:

- Suster, Gerald. *Crowley's Apprentice: The Life and Ideas of Israel Regardie* (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1990).

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[114] Francis King, *The Rites of Modern Occult Magic* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1970), page 154.

[115] *ibid.*, pages 154-155.

[116] The "Lesser Banishing Ritual" is also called the "Lesser Banishing Ritual of the Pentagram," sometimes simply referred to as "LRBP."

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A SELECTION OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY BOOKS ON KABBALAH/CABALA/QABALAH TO 1958[117]

What follows is a selection of works from the early twentieth century which treat *kabbalah* in one of its various forms and were written in, or have been translated into, English. These are given in chronological order; the year in the left margin indicates the date of first edition of the work listed.

1901

Harris (OR Harry), Maurice H. *Hebraic Literature. Translations from the Talmud, Midrashim and Kabbala* (Washington & London: M. Walter Dunne, Publisher, 1901).

Harris' § "The Kabbala" contains the same extracts given by Paul Isaac Hershon (1880)—see above in § NINETEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS..., Hershon.

1902

Fluegel, Maurice. *Philosophy, Qabala and Vedānta* (Baltimore: H. Fluegel & Co., 1902).

The subtitle reads, "Comparative Metaphysics and Ethics, Rationalism and Mysticism of the Jews, the Hindus and most of the Historic Nations, as links and developments of one chain of Universal Philosophy."

1903

Begley, Walter. *Biblia Cabalistica, or The Cabalistic Bible* (London: Nutt, 1903; rpt. Belle Fourche: Kessinger Publishing, 2010; Sagwan Press, 2015; Wentworth Press, 2019).

Written "for lovers and collectors of literary curiosities," this book treats "HOW THE VARIOUS NUMERICAL CABALAS HAVE BEEN CURIOUSLY APPLIED TO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES" (from the preface and title page). According to Begley, there is an old *cabala* and a new *cabala*. "The first is mainly Hebrew, and occasionally Greek; the second is almost entirely Latin, and of much later invention, not being heard of till about A.D. 1530" (p. 3). Begley's book treats the latter, "the record of Christian fancy on Christian themes"—primarily by way of *gematria*. Knowledge of Latin and German is helpful.

1904

Machen, Arthur; and Waite, A. E. *The House of the Hidden Light* (privately printed, 1904); rpt. edited by R. A. Gilbert (Yorkshire/London: Tartarus Press/Ferret Fantasy, 2003; paperback reprint: North Yorkshire: Tartarus Press, 2017).

Machen and Waite were members of the Golden Dawn. The meaning and purpose of this book has been puzzled over for over 100 years now. Gilbert concludes his introduction, "...let *The House of the Hidden Light* remain what it is: a record of a quest in which two men sought to find their souls by way of earthly love, a quest in which, against all odds, they attained" (page xxxii). In other words, the book is comprised of letters between Machen and Waite describing their Bohemian London night-life, albeit heavily coded in occult language. The end flap warns, "It may not be the great

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[117] Here again, it would be profitable to compare my listings with those in Sheila Spector's *Jewish Mysticism: An Annotated Bibliography on Kabbalah in English* (New York – London: Garland Publishing, 1984), § O: "Non-Jewish Kabbalah," pp. 309-357.

Spector's listings go through 1983. She includes—and comments on—quite a few items not given notice in my paper:

- early 20th-century books which touch upon *kabbalah*, or *cabala*, briefly or incidentally, such as George Alexander Kohut's *Ezra Stiles and the Jews* (New York: Philip Cowen, 1902).
- works which I have never encountered, for example Laurel Miller's *Kabbalistic Numerology or, The true science of numbers, letters, words and their astrological allocations according to the Kabbala* (New York: Metaphysical Publishing House, 1921) and F. Schneider Schwartz' *True Mysteries of Life: The Psychology of the Bible, the Kabbalah, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Vantage Press, 1957).
- 20th-century articles.

magical text that some had hoped for...." *House* was originally printed in 1904 in a limited run of three copies; the 2003 edition was limited to 350—which may have been overly optimistic.

See Wouter J. Hanegraaff, "Mysteries of Sex in the House of the Hidden Light: Arthur Edward Waite and the Kabbalah," in *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts*, Volume Forty, edited by Daniel Abrams with guest editors Christian Wiese and George Y. Kohler (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2018), pp. 163-182.

1908

Peeke, Margaret Bloodgood. *Numbers and Letters, or The Thirty-Two Paths of Wisdom* (1908; rpt. Belle Fourche: Kessinger Publishing, n.d.; Andesite Press, 2015).

Infusions of Christian doctrine, coinages such as "Sephiroths" and the dedication to Dr. Gerard Encausse (= Papus) give apt clues regarding this work's mode and orientation.

1909

Bayley, Harold. *A New Light on the Renaissance Displayed in Contemporary Emblems* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1909; rpt. Andesite Press, 2017 & Franklin Classics, 2018).

In CHAPTER VII, "The Kabbalah," Bayley writes, "The points of contact between the Kabbalah and the Albigensian Church of the Holy Spirit are therefore so numerous that the two systems may be said at times to merge completely into one another" (—page 99). He goes on to describe the use of *notaricon* (stating "Dante made frequent use of this Kabbalistic system of *notaricon*..."—page 100) and *theruma*, the meanings of the letters as numbers and shapes (illustrating, however, with Latin letters), and the indications of certain two-fold "veiling terms" (such as "sun and moon," "active and passive," leading up to the point that "Swedenborg expressed the same duality by the terms 'Will' and 'Understanding,' by the reconcilement of which man becomes an angel"—page 106).

Wilson, Epiphanius. *Hebrew Literature, comprising Talmudic Treatises, Hebrew Melodies and the Kabbalah Unveiled* (London – New York: The Colonial Press, 1909).

As the title suggests, the "Kabbalah Unveiled" in this volume is S. L. M. Mathers' translation of THE LESSER HOLY ASSEMBLY.

1910

Sperling, H. "Jewish Mysticism," in *Aspects of the Hebrew Genius: A Volume of Essays on Jewish Literature and Thought*, ed. Leon Simon (London: George Routledge & Sons, Limited / New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1910; rpt. Wentworth Press, 2019).

On the first page of this 32-page history, Sperling writes that "mysticism is the raw material of religion" (p. 145). He concludes, "For there is in Judaism a wholesome synthesis of legalism and mysticism, which has saved it from becoming either a visionary castle in the air or a petrified body of formulas" (p. 176).

1912

Kozminsky, Dr. Isadore. *Numbers: Their Meaning and Magic*: 1st edition [= *Numbers: Their Magic and Mystery*] (Melbourne: J. C. Stephens, 1905; Boston: Occult and Modern Thought Book Centre, 1918; London: William Rider and Son, Ltd., 1912 & 1924; 2nd enlarged edition: New York—London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927; London: Rider & Co., 1972; New York: Samuel Weiser 1972 & 1977; Vintage/Ebury [Random House], 1985; Ballantrae reprint, 2000).

(—also titled *Numbers and Their Practical Application*)

"In treating in an entirely elementary fashion a subject so vast as that of *numbers*, it is in my opinion necessary that the wisdom of Quaballistical lore should be presented in an easy and intelligible form" (p. iii). The "Quaballistical lore" referred to is principally numerology, or number/letter equivalents, as in the conventional Hebrew values, applied to our Roman alphabet as well as other "systems of valuations set down to the mystic Pythagoras" (FOREWORD, p. 84).

Mordell, Phineas. *The Origins of the Letters and Numerals According to the Sefer Yetzirah* ("The present thesis appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series for April 1912 vol. II, and for April 1913 vol. III. Published by Dropsie College Philadelphia Pa." SUPPLEMENT: "A Solution of

the Pythagorean Number Philosophy." "Copyright 1922 by Phineas Mordell"; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1975.)[SY]

1913

Abelson, J[oshua]. *Jewish Mysticism* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1913; reprinted frequently).

> "Joshua Abelson's 1913 monograph, *Jewish Mysticism*, was an early step forward in the critical appreciation of the history of ideas and literature of Jewish mysticism."
>
> —Daniel Abrams, *Kabbalistic Manuscripts and Textual Theory*, 2nd revised edition (Jerusalem: Magnes Press/Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2013), p. 285.

Pick, Bernhard. *The Cabala: Its Influence on Judaism and Christianity* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1913; rpt. La Salle: Open Court, 1974).

> "As soon as the Cabala became better known, Christians betook themselves to its study and paid it greatest attention because of the supposed agreement of its teachings with the dogmas of the Christian Church." (*The Cabala*, p. 100)

Sepharial [Walter Gorn-Old]. *The Kabala of Numbers. The Original Source Book in Numerology*, in two volumes (Philadelphia: David McKay Company, 1913, revised 1928; one-volume edition: 1933, enlarged 1942; rpt. Van Nuys: Newcastle Publishing Co. Inc., 1974; Ballantrae reprint, 2000; Kessinger reprint, 2003).

> Cabalistic numerology of the Western esoteric sort, namely, the occult significance of numbers and ratios according to "Greeks, Aryans, and Egyptians," as well as the Hebrews. The correspondences of numerology and astrology dominate.

1914

Mordell, Phineas. *The Origin of Letters and Numerals according to the Sefer Yetzirah* (Philadelphia: self-published, 1914; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1975).[SY]

> Contents as shown above, 1912, without the supplement.

1916

Coleville, W. J. *Kabbalah, The Harmony of Opposites: A Treatise Elucidating Bible Allegories and the Significance of Numbers* (New York: Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Co., 1916; rpt. Kilo: Kessinger Publishing, n.d.; Wentworth Press, 2016).

> Coleville's readable presentation is derived from previous English sources (C. D. Ginsburg, translations of Éliphas Lévi, S. L. M. Mathers, A. E. Waite, etc.). Coleville emphasizes the kabbalistic view of the human soul and includes a chapter entitled "Kabbalistic Doctrine Concerning Cause and Effect (Karma)."

1917

Bond, Frederick Bligh; and Lea, Thomas Simcox. *Gematria. A Preliminary Investigation of the Cabala* (1917; rpt. London: Research Into Lost Knowledge Organisation Trust, 1977).

> Though some Hebrew *gematriot* appear toward the beginning, this work is primarily concerned with Greek letters and their values.

Horne, Charles F. (contributing editor). *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, VOLUME IV: *Medieval Hebrew: The Midrash, The Kabbalah* (New York and London: Parke, Austin, and Lipscomb, 1917).

> The chapter II, "The Kabbalah, or Secret Tradition from unknown date to A.D. 1305," contains Westcott's translation of *Sepher Yetzirah* and Mathers' translation of *Sifre Dtzeniuta* (THE BOOK OF CONCEALED MYSTERY) and *Idra Rabba* (THE GREATER HOLY ASSEMBLY).

1918

Gewurz, Elias. *The Hidden Treasures of the Ancient Qabalah.* Vol. I: THE TRANSMUTATION OF PASSION INTO POWER (Chicago: Yogi Publication Society, 1918).

_____. *The Mysteries of the Qabalah.* Vol. II, "Written down by seven pupils of E. G. (Chicago: Yogi Publication Society, 1922).

∞

Gewurz' works are of the Western esoteric type as influenced by Mme. Blavatsky, Golden Dawn writers, and the Masonic cabalists. One of the "seven pupils of E. G." who wrote down *The Mysteries* was L. A. Bosman, mentioned above in Scholem's comments regarding Mme. Blavatsky. Bosman's *Mysteries of the Qabalah* (London: The Dharma Press, 1913 & 1916; rpt Kila: Kessinger, 2003) is identical to PART II (pp. 54—99) of Gewurz' 1922 Yogi edition.

1919

Evans, Henry Ridgely. *The Cabala and Freemasonry* (Washington, D. C.: 1919).

The Cabala and Freemasonry is an offprint of "The Cabbalistic Tree of Life" from *The New Age Magazine*, Volume XXVII (Washington: The Supreme Council 33° A• & A• Scottish Rite of Freemasonry S•J•U•S•A•, 1919), pp. 339-344. Even while drawing on Albert Pike's *Morals and Dogma* and the third volume of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Evans refers to "Sephiroths" (p. 342) and, alas, "H. Khunrath's *Kabbala Denudata*" (p. 343).

1920

Boyle, Veolita Parke. *The Fundamental Principles of Yi-King, Tao: The Cabbalas of Egypt and the Hebrews* (New York: Azoth Publishing Company, 1920; Chicago: Occult Publishing Company, 1929; London: W & G Foyle, 1934; rpt. of the 1929 edition, Kila: Kessinger Publishing, [ca. 2000]).

The nature of this work, which is at once eclectic and uncritical, can be exemplified by its CHAPTER III, "Definitions of Letters and Numbers," where meanings according to the "Hebrew Cabbala" and "Chinese Tao and Yi-King" are given for the 26 letters of the English alphabet. Boyle's sources for "Hebrew" are S. L. M. Mathers, Isaac Myer, Éliphas Lévi, and Papus.

1921

Fabre d'Olivet [Antoine]. *The Hebraic Tongue Restored, and the True Meaning of the Hebrew Words re-established and Proved by their Radical Analysis*, Done into English by Nayán Louise Redfield (New York – London: G. P. Putnam's Sons – The Knickerbocker Press, 1921—original: *Langue Hébraïque Restituée, et le Véritable sens des mots Hébreux, rétabli et prouvé par leur analyse radicale*, 2 volumes Paris: Chez l'auteur/Barrois/Eberhart, 1815/1816).

Refer to Arthur McCalla's article on Fabre d'Olivet in VOLUME 1 of *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, ed. Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005) pp. 350-4, where Fabre d'Olivet is described as an "immensely curious and massively erudite self-proclaimed Neo-Pythagorean." The thesis of *Hebraic Tongue* is that "The Mosaic cosmogony ... contains the principle of all science, ancient and modern." (—McCalla, p. 350)

1922

Hirsch, S[amuel]. A[braham]. *The Cabbalists & Other Essays* (London: William Heinemann, 1922).

Hirsch begins the title essay, "It is hoped that the time has passed when the term 'Jewish Cabbala' suggested the notion of a store-house of magic, black art, and witchcraft." (—p. 1).

"The Cabbalists" originally appeared in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Volume 20, Number 1 (London: October 1907) under the title "Jewish Mystics—an Appreciation."

Maeterlinck, Maurice. *The Great Secret*, translated by Bernard Miall (New York: The Century Company, 1922, GB release [S.I.]: Methuem, 1922; rpt New Hyde Park: University Books, 1969).

Maeterlinck follows Adolph Franck (see above: "1843 • Franck") in his chapter VIII, "The Cabala," which discusses the *Sefer Yetzirah* and the *Zohar*. Among the other brief chapters: VII – THE GNOSTICS AND NEOPLATONISTS, IX – THE ALCHEMISTS, and X – THE MODERN OCCULTISTS; chapter X touches on "Éliphas Lévi and his books, with their alarming titles," "Madame Blavatzky" (*sic*), and "Rudolph Steiner."

1923

Stenring, Knut. *The Book of Formation by Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph* Including the 32 Paths of Wisdom...with an introduction by Arthur Edward Waite (Philadelphia: McKay, 1923; rpt. New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1970).[SY]

∞

Though it is a much better and more interesting piece of work, Stenring's *Book of Formation* has been overshadowed by Westcott's edition of *Sefer Yezirah*.

1925

Hall, Manly Palmer. *The Sacred Magic of the Qabbalah* ([n.p.]: G, Raymond Brown Printing Company, 1925; revised edition, Los Angeles: Hall Publishing Company, 1929 & 1936; rpt. Los Angeles: Philosophical Research Society, 1945).

Introduction: THE SCIENCE OF THE DIVINE NAMES
Part 1: KEYS OF THE SACRED WISDOM
Part 2: THE MYSTERY OF THE NUMBERS
Part 3: THE POWER OF INVOCATION AND THE SCIENCE OF THE SACRED NAMES

Newman, Louis Israel. *Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements* [COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL STUDIES, vol. XXIII] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1925).

See § KABBALAH AND CATHARISM (page 175) and § THE KABBALAH IN MEDIEVAL CHRISTENDOM (page 176). § EXPONENTS OF THE THEORETICAL KABBALAH, discusses Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, and Arnold of Villanova (pages 176-178) along with Abraham Abulafia and Raymond Lully [Llull]; then to § THE PRACTICAL KABBALAH IN MEDIEVAL CHRISTENDOM (pages 183-185). Later §§ include ZWINGLI AND THE KABBALAH (pages 488-490), ZWINGLI AND THE REUCHLIN AFFAIR (pages 490-492), SERVETUS AND THE KABBALAH (pages 568-569), and LUTHER'S INTEREST IN HEBREW, KABBALAH AND THE RABBIS (pages 622-625).

Agobard (779-840), an anti-Jewish polemicist, comes in a bit early to have been influenced by what we have determined to be *kabbalah*. Arnold (1240-1311), on the other hand, lived at the right time and dwelled in the right neighborhood (Catalonia) to have brushed up against some *kabbalah*.

See Maurice Kriegel, "The Reckonings of Nahmanides and Arnold of Villanova: In the Early Contacts between Christian Millenarianism and Jewish Messianism," in *Jewish History*, Volume 26, Issue 1 (Springer, 2012), pages 1-70: "A major stimulus for Arnold's eschatological ideas was his wrestling with messianic notions widespread among Jews, especially kabbalists." (—from the ABSTRACT)

1927

Case, Paul Foster. *The True and Invisible Rosicrucian Order. An Interpretation of the Rosicrucian Allegory and an Explanation of the Ten Rosicrucian Grades* ([n.p.]: privately printed, 1927; 3rd revised edition, San Marino: privately printed, 1933; 4th revised edition, York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1985 and subsequently).

In the manner of the Golden Dawn, Case connects the Rosicrucian grades with the *sefirot* of the kabbalistic *tree of life* and groupings of tarot cards. Case's distillations of Western occult doctrine serve as the core teachings of an order which is still active: The Builders of the Adytum (BOTA) of Los Angeles.

1928

Case, Paul Foster. *The Book of Tokens: Tarot Meditations. 22 Meditations on the Ageless Wisdom* ([n.p.]: privately printed, 1928; 2nd edition → 10th edition, Los Angeles: Builders of the Adytum, 1947 → 1983).

"These unusual and beautiful Qabalistic meditations were inspirationally written by the recognized world authority in *Tarot* and *Qabalah*, Dr. Paul Foster Case." (from the PREFACE)

Hall, M[anly] P[almer]. *The Secret Teachings of All Ages: An Encyclopedic Outline of Masonic, Hermetic, Qabbalistic and Rosicrucian Symbolical Philosophy* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker Co., 1928; rpt. Los Angeles: The Philosophical Research Society, 1978).[SY]

The subtitle, "*An Encyclopedic Outline...*," is certainly fitting. As far as *cabala* is concerned, Hall's sources are all familiar to us from the present discussion: Barrett, Blavatsky, Fludd, Franck, Ginsburg, Khunrath, Kircher, Knorr von Rosenroth, Lévi, Mathers, Myer, Papus, Paracelsus, Pike, Stenring, Waite, and Westcott.

∞

1929

De Givry, Grillot. *Picture Museum of Sorcery, Magic, and Alchemy* [original French: *Le Musee des sorciers, mages et alchimistes.* Paris: 1929], translated by J. Courtney Locke (Boston: Houghton, 1931; rpt. New Hyde Park: University Books Inc., 1963); rpt. as *Witchcraft, Magic and Alchemy* (New York: Dover, 1971).

Picture Museum... has been described as a "coffee-table book" of the Medieval and Renaissance occult, which gives the false impression that it is a trivial work. It just happens to contain a lot of illustrations. See in particular § THE JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN CABBALISTS, pp. 205-219.

1930

Saurat, Denis. *Literature and the Occult Tradition: Studies in Philosophical Poetry*, translated from the French by Dorothy Bolton (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1930 & 1938; rpt. New York: Haskell House, 1966).

The midsection of the book deals with "The Cabala"; passages from Jean de Pauly's French rendition (Paris, 1906-11) of the *Zohar* are quoted. Saurat believed that within the *Zohar* one could find "the expression of occult doctrine" which "in a more or less diluted form, reached our poets" (Spenser, Milton, Blake, Shelley, Whitman, Goethe, Nietzsche, Hugo, and others). The final section, "The Philosophical Ideas of Edmund Spenser," concludes with "Spenser and the Cabala."

1931

Waton, Harry. *The Kabbalah and Spinoza's Philosophy as a Basis of Universal History:*

BOOK ONE: *The Philosophy of the Kabbalah* (New York: Spinoza Institute of America, 1931).

BOOK TWO: *The Philosophy of Spinoza* (New York: Spinoza Institute of America, 1932).

Rabbi Harry Waton was a "Kabbalist, Marxist, Spinozist, Jewish Supremacist" who believed that "the Jewish soul speaks an eternal language: and we saw, on the other hand, that the soul of the non-Jews speaks a temporary language."—*A Program for the Jews and an Answer to All Anti-Semites* (New York: Committee for the Preservation of the Jews, 1939), p. 101.

Waton states in *The Philosophy of the Kabbalah* (pp. 14-15),

> Spinoza's philosophy is the profoundest, sublimest, boldest and most universal system of thought in the realm of philosophy; but the philosophy of the Kabbalah transcends even the philosophy of Spinoza. In the whole range of crystallized thought there is no system that can compare with the Kabbalah.

1931

Simon, Maurice; Sperling, Harry; and Levertoff, Paul. *The Zohar* [5 vols.] (London: Soncino Press, Ltd., 1931-4; reprinted frequently by Soncino Press, London & New York.

On the Soncino *Zohar*, see my remarks in "Notes on the *Zohar* in English," pp. 3-4.

- at HERMETIC KABBALAH - http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/Biblios/zie.pdf
- at ACADEMIA.EDU - https://www.academia.edu/22865064/Notes_on_the_Zohar_in_English

1932

Bension, Ariel. *The Zohar in Moslem and Christian Spain*, with an introduction by Sir Denison Ross (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1932; rpt. New York: Hermon Press, 1974).

1934

Ancona, Sergius Gortan. *The Substance of Adam: A Complete System of Cosmogony Founded on the Kabbala* (London: Rider & Co., 1934; rpt Brampton: Ballantrae Reprint (www.ballantrae-reprint.com—alas, off-line 12/15/07; however, Kessinger Publishing picked up the title in 2003).

Part One: THE FOUR WORLDS OF THE UNIVERSE

Part Two: THE WORLD OF THE MAN OF FLESH IN ACTION

Quoting such sources as the Bible (Old and New Testaments), the Zohar, *The Emerald Tablet*, and some Latin Pico-like CABBALISTIC DOGMA(S), Ancona presents "the western tradition" which, by way of "the great works of Éliphas Lévi, Saint-Yves d'Alveydre and Fabre d'Olivet ... goes back consistently and without interruption to what was given to the white race by its three great

interpreters of God—Rama, Orpheus and Moses—and by direct grace of the Prince of the Archangels, the Son, Jesus the Christ."

Thorndike, Lynn. *History of Magic & Experimental Science* [HISTORY OF SCIENCE SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS, New Series IV] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923-1958):

- VOLUME IV. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (1934):
  - Chapter LIX, "Magic in Dispute, I: Pico della Mirandola, Bernard Basin, Pedro Garcia"
  - Chapter LX, "Magic in Dispute, II: Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, Reuchlin, Trithemius"
- VOLUMES V & VI. The Sixteenth Century (1941):
  - Chapter VIII, "Agrippa and the Occult"
  - Chapter XLIV, "Mystic Philosophy: Words and Numbers"
- VOLUME VII. The Seventeenth Century (1958):
  - Chapter XX, "The Underground World of Kircher and Becher."

History of Magic may yet be the most important single resource in its field, though these volumes require perseverance and some skepticism. Here one finds raw material—lots of it—but Thorndike's conclusions and opinions should not be taken as the last word. However, the comments of the late Ioan Culianu (1950-1991) are much too dismissive:

> A history of magic during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance has yet to be written. New discoveries and, above all, new interpretive viewpoints, have made obsolete the few existing syntheses, like those of Lynn Thorndike, Kurt Seligmann, or Emile Grillot de Givry. Any scholar who still relies on these works—especially on the first—is by no means better off than would be an anthropologist who relied exclusively on James G. Frazer. (—"Magic in Medieval and Renaissance Europe," in *Hidden Truths: Magic, Alchemy, and the Occult*, edited by Lawrence E. Sullivan [New York: Macmillan, 1989], page 110.)

Fairer appraisals of Thorndike's *magnum opus* appear in Claire Fanger's introductory article in *Conjuring Spirits* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), pp. ix-x, and in Wayne Shumaker's comments in *Natural Magic and Modern Science* (Binghamton: State University of New York, 1989), pp. 209-211.

1935

Fortune, Dion. *The Mystical Qabalah* (London: Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1935).

1937

Fuller, J. F. C. *The Secret Wisdom of the Qabalah. A Study in Jewish Mystical Thought* (London: Rider and Company, 1937; rpt. Chicago: Yogi Publication Society, n.d.)

Fuller, while noted as a formidable Major General in the British Army, was also a student of Aleister Crowley, though the two eventually had a falling-out (this was common with Crowley). Fuller produced some fifty books, writing on military history and theory as well as on occult subjects.

Fuller's *Secret Wisdom of the Qabalah* is an effort to introduce the core of "Qabalistic" doctrine, covering cosmogony, notions of good and evil, fall and redemption, etc., drawing on the *Zohar* (the translation prepared by Simon, Sperling, and Levertoff, referred to as *The Soncino Edition*), Ginsburg's *Kabbalah*, Waite's *Holy Kabbalah*, Lévi's *History of Magic*, Myer's *Qabbalah*, Ariel Bension's *Zohar in Moslem and Christian Spain*, and Knut Stenring's translation of *Sefer Yezirah*.

1938

Weston, Warren. *Father of Lies* (London: Militant Christian Patriots Publications, 1938; rpt. CPA Book Publisher, 1999).

CHAPTER 4. The Kabbalah – Key to Judaism, pp. 49-72

1941

Doreal, Dr. M. *Sepher Yetzirah. The Book of Creation. The Kabbalah Unveiled.* A Verse by Verse Analysis (Sedalia: Brotherhood of the White Temple, 1941).[SY]

Doreal's typescript is illustrated by fold-out charts of THE TWENTY-TWO LETTERS and THE EMANATION OF THE TWENTY-TWO LETTERS, along with numerous diagrams through the text. His treatment betrays the influence of Mme. Blavatsky, Wynn Westcott, and S. L. M. Mathers.

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Scholem, Gershom. *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House, 1941; reprinted frequently: New York: Schocken Books).

Scholem's work must be seen as the starting point for serious scholarship on [Jewish] *kabbalah*, which, since the publication of *Major Trends*..., has burgeoned.

1943

Trachtenberg, Joshua. "Europe Discovers the Kabbalah," = CHAPTER 5 of *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943; Philadelphia – Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1983), pages 76-87.

1944

Blau, Joseph L. *Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944; rpt. Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1965).

1948

Seligmann, Kurt. *The History of Magic* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1948).

Seligmann's *History of Magic*—also published as *The Mirror of Magic*—is often compared with de Givry's *Picture Museum*..., for it too is full of illustrations. Seligmann's work is generally considered the better of the two. See § CABALA, pp.338-358, and § PORTRAITS: "Pico della Mirandola" (pp.309-311), "Agrippa von Nettesheim" (pp. 314-318), "Guillaume Postel" (pp. 327-329).

1949

Dyer, Roberta Coldren. *The Sepher Yetzirah (The Book of Formation): A Treatise on the Secret Science of Christhood as Presented in the Qabalistic Doctrines of the Hebrews and the Traditions of the Egyptians: charts original* (Evanston: Omen Press, 1949).[SY]

Scholem, Gershom (ed.) *Zohar: The Book of Splendor* (New York: Schocken Books, 1949).

1954

Bokser, Ben Zion. *From the World of the cabbalah: The Philosopny of Rabbi Judah Loew of Prague* (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1954; rpt. London: Vision Press, 1957).

1955

Ginsburg, Christian D. *The Essenes: Their History and Doctrine. Kabbalah: Its Doctrines, Development and Literature* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956).

1957

Runes, Dagobart D. (foreword) *The Wisdom of the Kabbalah, as represented by chapters taken from the book Zohar* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957)—S. L. MacGregor Mathers' translation.

Schwartz, F. Schneider. *The True Mysteries of Life: The Psychology of the Bible, the Kabbalah, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Vantage Press, 1957).

1958

Wallman, Joseph. *The Kabalah: From Its Inception to Its Evanescence* (Brooklyn: Theological Research Publishing Company, 1958).

CHAPTER X. "Christian Kabalists," pp. 208-216.