

The Study of Christian Cabala in English

Don Karr

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Part 1

ANYONE WHO HAS read a few books concerning the Western esoteric tradition has encountered, at the very least, references to *cabala*. The spelling varies: In this paper, *kabbalah*, for the most part, refers to Jewish doctrine; *cabala* refers to Christian developments.*

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.”** Perhaps even more frustrating, after co-opting such *kabbalah* as was desired, virtually all Christian Cabalists sought to transform it into a dogmatic weapon to turn back against the Jews to compel their conversion—starting with Ramon Llull (ca. 1232-1316), “the first Christian to acknowledge and appreciate *kabbalah* as a tool of conversion.”† In his book, *The Art of Conversion*, Harvey Hames demonstrates, however, that Llull was “not a Kabbalist, nor was he versed in any particular Kabbalistic approach.”‡

The strand of *cabala* which has become best known began in Renaissance Florence with Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494). Pico sought to harmonize Christian beliefs with *kabbalah*, 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, thought to be the fountainhead of religion and philosophy.‡

* 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, December 2002), at <http://journal.atla.com/ojs/index.php/theolib>.

** For a summary of the differences between Jewish *kabbalah* and Christian *cabala*, especially in the latter’s earliest stages, see (1) Joseph Dan, “Christian Kabbalah: From Mysticism to Esotericism,” in *Western Esotericism and the Science of Religion*, edited by Antoine Faivre & Wouter J. Hanegraaff [GNOSTICA 2] (Leuven: Peeters, 1998); reprinted in Dan’s *Jewish Mysticism*, Volume III: THE MODERN PERIOD (Northvale – Jerusalem: Jason Aronson Inc., 1999), and (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*, edited by Joseph Dan (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1997), also in Dan’s *Jewish Mysticism*, Volume III.

† Harvey J. Hames, *The Art of Conversion: Christianity and Kabbalah in the Thirteenth Century*, Leiden: Brill, 2000: page 27.

‡ Refer, in particular, to Hames’ CHAPTER THREE: “Into the Gates of Wisdom.” On Llull, see ADDENDUM A, ITEMS OF INTEREST: “Goodrick-Clarke,” “Herrera,” “Llull,” “*Man, Myth & Magic*,” “Rossi,” and “Vega.” Llull was further associated with *cabala* through the work *De auditu cabbalistico*, which was erroneously attributed to him.

‡ 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).

There was, however, an earlier expression of *cabala* among the Spanish *conversos* in the late 1200s which continued until the expulsion of the late 1400s. There is not a whole lot on these early Spanish Cabalists, e.g., Abner of Burgos (b. ca. 1270) and Pablo de Heredia (140?-1486), in the English literature available. On Burgos and de Heredia (as well as Pico and his contemporary Abraham Farissol), see Gershom Scholem, “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); 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 chretienne” in *Kabbalistes Chretiens* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1979).*

Two Hebrew letters, purportedly written by Tanna Nehuniah ben Hakanah, were “discovered”—more likely forged—, translated into Latin, and commented upon by Pablo de Heredia: THE EPISTLE OF SECRETS [*Iggeret ha-Sodot* OR *Epistola de secretis*] and THE DECLARATION OF TRUTH (1487 or 1488). The letters were put into English from de Heredia’s Latin by Rodney G. Dennis (Oxford: The Jericho Press, 1998); regrettably, de Heredia’s commentary is not included in Dennis’ translation. *The Epistle* represents “the first recognizable work of Christian kabbalah” and got wide exposure through being quoted in the works of Franciscan theologian Pietro Galatino (1460-1540), which, in turn, influenced Athanasius Kircher (see below, § ATHANASIUS KIRCHER). It is worth noting, though, that Heredia’s *cabala* consists largely of

- (1) quotes from non-existent kabbalistic works (e.g., *Galerazaya*, which Heredia attributed to Rabbi Haccados, namely Rabbi HaKadosh)
- (2) distorted or fake quotes from real kabbalistic sources, such as the *Zohar*.**

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

* On Burgos and Heredia, see also ADDENDUM A, ITEMS OF INTEREST: “Grätz” and “Sirat.”

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).

The promising title, *Spanish Christian Cabala* by Catherine Swietlicki (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), worthy as it is, deals with later (namely, 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).

For more on Teresa of Avila, see ADDENDUM A, ITEMS OF INTEREST: “Burgeson” and “Green.”

Regarding early Spanish Christian-Jewish cross influence, see Elliot R. Wolfson, “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; also in *Along the Path: Studies in Kabbalistic Myth, Symbolism, and Hermeneutics*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995. Wolfson speculates that the motif of the cosmic tree combines Jewish and Christian influences. While doing so, he calls into question traditional lines of inquiry into certain subject matter (namely, the ten *sefirot*) as the major indication of the origins of *kabbalah*. Wolfson 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.

Refer also to Yehuda Liebes, “Christian Influences on the Zohar” in *Studies in the Zohar* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993) and Peter Schäfer, *Mirror of His Beauty: Feminine Images of God from the Bible to the Early Kabbalah* (Princeton – Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), especially Part II. THE QUEST FOR ORIGINS.

** Heredia’s *Galerazaya* should not be confused with the mid-sixteenth-century work, *Galya Raça*, “written under the influence of dreams, visions, and illuminations possessing the power of celestial revelation” by an anonymous author. See Rachel Elijor, “The Doctrine of Transmigration in *Galya Raça*,” in *Essential Papers on Kabbalah*, edited by Lawrence Fine (New York – London: New York University Press, 1995).

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* (Zurich: Rhein-Verlag, 1958), now available in English from New Grail Publishing at www.grailbooks.org—see below, § 17th & 18th CENTURIES: KEMPER – OETINGER.
- Secret, François. *Le Zôhar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Durlacher, 1958)
- _____. *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964)
- Wirszubski, Chaim. *Sheloshah perakim be-toldot ha-Kabalah ha-notsrit* [*Three Chapters in the History of Christian Kabbalah*] (Jerusalem: Modad Bialik, 1975).
- Gorny, Leon. *La Kabbale: Kabbale juive et cabale chrétiennes* (Paris: Pierre Belfond, 1977)
- Wirszubski, Chaim. *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.
- Faivre, Antoine (ed). *Kabbalistes chrétiens* [series CAHIERS DE L’HERMÉTISME], a collection which includes articles by Gershom Scholem (the article mentioned above on page 2), Jacques Fabry, Geneviève Javary, Ernst Benz, Serge Hutin, Hermann Greive, Chaim Wirszubski, Wolf-Dieter Müller-Jahncke, Anna Morisi, Pierre Deghaye, and Geneviève Javary (Paris: Albin Michel, 1979)
- Wirszubski, Chaim. *Ben ha-sbtin : 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)

Two more recent works might be added to this list:

- Kilcher, Andreas. *Die Sprachtheorie der Kabbala als ästhetisches Paradigma: Die Konstruktion einer ästhetischen Kabbala seit der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart - Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 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 7, edited by Daniel Abrams and Avraham Elqayam (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2002).
- *Christliche Kabbala*, edited by Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2003), which contains papers in French (1), German (13), and English (2); the English articles are Sarah Hutton’s “From Christian Kabbalism to Kabalistic Quakerism: the Kabalistic Dialogues of Anne Conway, Henry More, and George Keith,” and Moshe Idel’s “Jewish Thinkers versus Christian Kabbalah.”

Standard works in English include the following, all of which are discussed in greater detail below:*

- Blau, Joseph L. *Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944).
- Yates, Frances. *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).
- _____. *Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).
- Joseph Dan (ed.) *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and Their Christian Interpreters* (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1997). Contributors include 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).

* In spite of its “assertive title” (the author’s term—page 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) except fleetingly 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 review of Wang as ADDENDUM F below, <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/ccineb.pdf>, and, in a less clear format, at *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies*, Volume VI, edited by Arthur Versluis (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2004), at www.esoteric.msu.edu/VolumeVI/Wang.html. \ [NOT FOUND: 10-23-2010]

Christian Kabbalists: John Donne, Giordano Bruno, Ramon Llull, Paracelsus, Athanasius Kircher, Robert Fludd, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola... (Memphis: Books LLC, 2010) offers incomplete reprints of Wikipedia articles with a useful index. The articles are spotty, some showing no connection with *cabala* whatsoever.

SOME USEFUL INTRODUCTORY BOOKS, ARTICLES & CHAPTERS

LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY

- Marsha Keith Schuchard, “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).
- Catherine Swietlicki, “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)—based primarily on François Secret, Frances Yates, and Gershom Scholem.
- Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 1992)
- G. Mallary Masters, “Renaissance Kabbalah,” in *Modern Esoteric Spirituality*, edited by Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1995).
- 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).
- Joseph Dan, “Christian Kabbalah: From Mysticism to Esotericism,” in *Western Esotericism and the Science of Religion*, edited by Antoine Faivre & Wouter J. Hanegraaff [GNOSTICA 2] (Leuven: Peeters, 1998); reprinted in Dan’s *Jewish Mysticism*, Volume III: THE MODERN PERIOD (Northvale – Jerusalem: Jason Aronson Inc., 1999).
- Antoine Faivre, “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).
- Moshe Idel, “Reflections on Kabbalah in Spain and Christian Kabbalah,” in *Hispania Judaica Bulletin*, #2 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999).
- J. H. Laenen, “Popular Literature on ‘Kabbalah’” = CHAPTER 8 of *Jewish Mysticism: An Introduction* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001).
- *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,”* especially PART III: “‘Christian Kabbalah’ in the Renaissance,” PART IV: Enlightenment / Romanticism,” and PART V: Occultist Kabbalah.”
- Kocku von Stuckrad, “Esotericism in the Confessional Age,” = CHAPTER 5 of *Western Esotericism: A Brief History of Secret Knowledge* (London – Oakville: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2005); CHAPTER 3 outlines major developments in *Jewish Kabbalah*.
- Joseph Dan, “Modern Times I: The Christian Kabbalah” = CHAPTER 6 of *Kabbalah: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Richard Smoley, “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).
- Henrik Bogdan, *Western Esotericism and Rituals of Initiation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007); see in particular CHAPTER 3, “Historical Background,” and the last section of CHAPTER 4 (pp. 89-93).
- Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, “Italian Renaissance Magic and Cabala” = CHAPTER 2 of *The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Peter Levenda, “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).

* 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 Noghiera, the scholarly Theologian.

—From *Renaissance to Renaissance* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1973)—pages 3-4.

SOME HISTORIANS

ARTHUR E. WAITE

Arthur E. Waite's *Holy Kabbalah* (London: Williams & Norgate, Ltd, 1929; rpt. New Hyde Park: University Books, 1960, and subsequently; rpt. Carol Publishing Group, 1992; Dover Publications, 2003; Cosimo Classics, 2007), BOOK X, is entitled "Some Christian Students of the Kabbalah." 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 St. Martin, Eliphaz Levi, Papus (Gerard Encausse), Stanislas de Guita, H. P. Blavatsky, and a few others. Waite's survey is quite useful, for its parade of names connected with *cabala*—whether by fact or fancy—takes us from the Renaissance to the end of the nineteenth century. This collection of characters gives some idea of the range of *cabala*'s seepage into occult and theosophic endeavor, including the symbolism of the Freemasons and the Rosicrucians.

For more information on Waite's *Holy Kabbalah*, see below, Part 2: "1902 Waite."

JOSEPH L. BLAU

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 "pioneer" 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 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, 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" is discussed in Chapter Eight, "The Erudites." 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...*, see 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).

FRANCES YATES

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 Lull, 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 such.

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*, edited by Charles S. Singleton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967); reprinted in *Articles on Witchcraft, Magic and Demonology*, Volume 11: RENAISSANCE MAGIC, edited by 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*, edited by William R. Newman and Anthony Grafton (Cambridge – London: MIT Press, 2001).

For recent reviews of the Yates works, see

- Mordechai Feingold, “The Occult Tradition in the English Universities of the Renaissance: A Reassessment,” in *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, edited by Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- S. A. Farmer’s § PROBLEMS IN YATES’S VIEW OF PICO’S MAGIC (pages 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).
- Moshe Idel, “Kabbalah and Hermeticism in Dame Frances Yates’s Renaissance,” in *Ésotérisme, Gnosés & Imaginaire Symbolique: Mélanges offerts à Antoine Faivre* [GNOSTICA 3], edited by Richard Caron, Joscelyn Godwin, Wouter J. Hanegraaff, and Jean-Louis Viellard-Baron (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).

- Hilary Gatti, “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)
- Wouter Hanegraaff’s introductory chapter in *Lodovico Lazzarelli* (discussed below, § LODOVICO LAZZARELLI)

For a “full-length biography,” see *Frances Yates and the Hermetic Tradition* by Marjorie G. Jones (Lake Worth: Ibis Press, 2008).

D[ANIEL]. P[ICKERING]. WALKER

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, 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.

Note also Walker’s work, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972).

PHILIP BEITCHMAN

Criticisms of 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 *kabbalah* 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 scientiarum 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, Kierkegaard, and Kafka, to name a few). Beitchman freely and effectively draws on Gershom Scholem, Frances Yates, (as mentioned) François Secret, Harold Bloom, Lynn Thorndike (see below, ADDENDUM A: ITEMS OF INTEREST) 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.

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 Chapter 1 appear as “Following Lucifer: Miltonic Evil as Gnostic Cabala,” in *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies*, Volume I, edited by Arthur Versluis (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1999), at www.esoteric.msu.edu/Beitchman.html (pp. 61-78).

ADDENDUM F reproduces my extended reviews from *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies* (volumes V and VI, respectively—online at <http://www.esoteric.msu.edu/>) of Sheila Spector’s companion volumes, “*Wonders Divine*”: *The Development of Blake’s Kabbalistic Myth* / “*Glorious Incomprehensible*”: *The Development of Blake’s Kabbalistic Language*, and Robert Wang’s *Rape of Jewish Mysticism by Christian Theologians...*

Also included in ADDENDUM F is a description of *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 [THE KABBALISTIC LIBRARY OF GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA 3 – Giulio Busi, general editor], Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2008.

Go to <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/ccineb.pdf>.

CHRISTIAN CABALISTS & INTERPRETERS

LODOVICO LAZZARELLI (1447-1500)

Lodovico Lazzarelli “played a central role in the rediscovery of Renaissance hermeticism 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...*, page 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). Refer to *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), which 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

- D. P. Walker on Lazzarelli in *Spiritual and Demonic Magic* (1958), pages 64-72.
- Moshe Idel’s article “Hermeticism and Judaism” (§ 5), in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (edited by Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus, Washington: Folger Books, 1988), which discusses “the well-known initiation of Ferdinand of Aragon by Ludovico Lazarelli.”
- Philip Beitchman’s § RADICAL CABALA on Lazzarelli’s *Crater Hermetis*, in *Alchemy of the Word* (pages 117-120)
- Hanegraaff’s article, “Sympathy for the Devil: Renaissance Magic and the Ambivalence of Idols,” in *Esoterica: The Journal*, Volume II (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2000), edited by Arthur Versluis: on-line at www.esoteric.msu.edu (in particular, pp. 21-30)
- Tobias Churton’s § 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).

GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA (1463-1494)

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. Throughout, Pico’s famous *Conclusiones* 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 *kabbalah*. (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), and “Giovanni Pico’s Book of Job,” in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume Thirty-two (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 pages 445-452 (cited above in § SOME HISTORIANS).

Also in English, Pico's *On the Dignity of Man* [aka *Oration on the Dignity of Man*], *On Being and the One*, *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). See *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 and 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], pages 91-2).

A project under the general editorship of Giulio Busi, THE KABBALISTIC LIBRARY OF GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, has thus far produced

- VOLUME 1: *The Great Parchment: Flavius Mithridates' Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, edited by Giulio Busi, with Simonetta Bondoni and Saverio Campanini. Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2004—a text, not treated by Wirszubski in *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, which has been all but unknown until recently.
- VOLUME 2: *The Book Bahir: Flavius Mithridates Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, edited by Saverio Campanini. Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2005.
- VOLUME 3: *Menabem 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. Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2008—the only English-language source for any of Recanati’s writings, accompanied by a full introduction on Recanati and his works. (For a more complete description of Corazzol’s *Menabem Recanati*, see ADDENDUM F of the present paper, at <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/ccineb.pdf>.)

On convert Flavius Mithridates (whose Christian name was Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada) 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 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” – CHAPTER 7 of *Renaissance and Reform: The Italian Contribution*, COLLECTED ESSAYS, VOL. II [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983]).

On Pico’s kabbalistic sources further—and for a fine, albeit brief, general account—refer to 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,” which is § 2 of CHAPTER ONE 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).

On Pico:

- Moshe Idel, “The Magical and Neoplatonic Interpretations of the Kabbalah in the Renaissance,” in both (1) *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Bernard Dov Cooperman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983) and (2) *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, edited by David Ruderman (New York: New York University, 1992)
- John S. Mebane, *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.”
- Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 1992): § PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA AND HIS JEWISH MENTORS

- Klaus Reichert, “Pico della Mirandola and the Beginnings of Christian Kabbala,” in *Mysticism, Magic, and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism*, edited by K. E. Grozinger and Joseph Dan (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995).
- Edward P. Mahoney, “Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Elia del Medigo, Nicoletto Vernia and Agostino Nifo,” in *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: Convegno internazionale di Studi nel Cinquecentesimo Anniversario della Morte (1494-1994)*, a cura di Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Firenze: Leo S. Editore, 1997).
- Brian Copenhaver, “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*, edited by Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999).
- _____. “The Secret of Pico’s *Oration*: Cabala and Renaissance Philosophy,” in *Midwest Studies in Philosophy*, Volume XXXVI [RENAISSANCE AND EARLY MODERN PHILOSOPHY], edited by Peter A. French and Howard K. Wettstein (Morris: University of Minnesota, 2002).
- Moshe Idel’s eight-page passage on Pico in *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. 507-14).
- Kochu von Stuckrad, “Christian Kabbalah and Anti-Jewish Polemics: Pico in Context,” in *Polemical Encounters: Esoteric Discourse and Its Others*, edited by Olav Hammer and Kochu von Stuckrad [ARIES BOOK SERIES: TEXTS AND STUDIES IN WESTERN MYSTICISM, Vol. 6] (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).
- *Pico della Mirandola: New Essays*, edited by M. V. Dougherty. (Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
CONTENTS: 1. INTRODUCTION – M. V. Dougherty; 2. Jill Kraye, “Pico on the Relationship of Rhetoric and Philosophy”; 3. Paul Richard Blum, “Pico, Theology, and the Church”; 4. Michael Sudduth, “Pico della Mirandola’s Philosophy of Religion”; 5. Michael J. B. Allen, “The Birth Day of Venus: Pico as Platonic Exegete in the *Commento* and the *Heptaplus*”; 6. M. V. Dougherty, “Three Precursors to Pico della Mirandola’s Roman Disputation and the Question of Human Nature in the *Oratio*”; 7. Sheila J. Rabin, “Pico on Magic and Astrology”; 8. Carl N. Still, “Pico’s Quest for All Knowledge”; 9. Francesco Borghesi, “A Philosophical Life.”
- Copenhaver, Brian. “Giovanni Pico della Mirandola” (*first published June 3, 2008*) 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/pico-della-mirandola/>
- Brian Ogren, “Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and the Allegorical Veridicality of Transmigration” = CHAPTER SEVEN of *Renaissance and Rebirth: Reincarnation in Early Modern Italian Kabbalah* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009).
- ADDENDUM A, ITEMS OF INTEREST: “Benz,” “Bland,” “Couliano,” “Grätz,” “Idel: *Ascensions...*,” “Idel: ‘Prisca Theologia...’,” “Kristeller,” “Maxwell-Stuart,” “Quispel,” “Schmidt-Biggemann,” “Thorndike,” and “Wind.”

For an excellent bibliography—far more extensive than mine here—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” at <http://www.mvdougherty.com/pico.htm>.

There is quite a bit of material on one of Pico’s mentors, Yohanan ben Isaac Alemanno:

- Busi, Giulio. *Mantua e la qabbalah / Mantua and the Kabbalah*. Milano: Skira editore, 2001. Catalogue for the exhibition of Mantuan kabbalistic manuscripts, Mantova: Palazzo della Ragione (September 2001) and New York: Casa Italiana Zerilli-Marimò Center for Jewish History (March 2002): § 2. THE HUMANISTIC KABBALAH OF YOCHANAN ALEMANNO.
- Herrmann, Klaus. “The Reception of Hekhalot Literature in Yohanan Alemann’s Autograph MS Paris 849,” in *Studies in Jewish Manuscripts*, edited by Joseph Dan and Klaus Herrmann [TEXTS AND STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN JUDAISM 14] (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).
- 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, December 1988).
- _____. *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 us 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*, edited by Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus. Washington: Folger Books, 1988.
- Lelli, Fabrizio. “Biography and Autobiography in Yohanan Alemanno’s Literary Perception,” in *Cultural Intermediaries: Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy*, edited by David B. Ruderman and Giuseppe Veltri (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

- Lesley, Arthur Michael, Jr. “THE SONG OF SOLOMON’S ASCENTS” BY YOHANAN ALEMANN: 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’A LOT 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).

- Ogren, Brian. “Unity and Diversity in *Gilgul*: Yohanan Alemanno” = CHAPTER SIX of *Renaissance and Rebirth: Reincarnation in Early Modern Italian Kabbalah* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009).
- Sirat, Colette. *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990: pages 405-407 and 410 regarding two of Pico’s teachers, Elijah Delmedigo and Johanan Alemanno (§ JEWISH PHILOSOPHERS IN ITALY OF THE QUATTROCENTO).
- Tirosh-Rothschild, Hava. *Between Worlds: The Life and Thought of Rabbi David ben Judah Messer Leon*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991: Chapter 2, § A VISIT TO FLORENCE (pages 44-51) discusses Yohanan Alemanno and his kabbalistic pursuits, Pico della Mirandola’s contact with him, and “the misuse of Kabbalah for Christian missionizing.”

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 Orab, 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. On this, refer to Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann’s “History and Prehistory of the Cabala of JHShVH,” 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). 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*.

On Reuchlin:

- Christian D. Ginsburg’s description of *De verbo mirifico* in *The Kabbalah* (1864; published as *The Essenes and the Kabbalah*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956; rpt. Santa Fe: Sun Books, 1993), pp. 208-213
- S. A. Hirsch, “Johann Pfefferkorn and the Battle of the Books (1892)” AND “Johann Reuchlin, The Father of the Study of Hebrew among Christians (1896),” in *A Book of Essays* (London: Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1905)
- Jerome Friedman’s *Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia*, by (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983). The fourth chapter discusses Reuchlin’s writings, especially *De verbo mirifico*.
- Hieko A. Oberman, “Three Sixteenth-Century Attitudes to Judaism: Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Luther,” in *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Bernard Dov Cooperman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983)
- Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 1992): § JOHANNES REUCHLIN IN DEFENSE OF THE TALMUD
- Charles Zika, “Reuchlin’s *De verbo mirifico* and the Magic Debate of the Late Fifteenth Century,” in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 39 (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1976); reprinted in *Articles on Witchcraft* 11 (New York – London: Garland Publishing, 1992)
- Joseph Dan, “The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin and Its Historical Significance,” in *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and Their Christian Interpreters*, edited by Joseph Dan (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1997); also in

Dan's collected articles, *Jewish Mysticism*, Volume III: THE MODERN PERIOD (Northvale: Jason Aronson Inc., 1999), which also contains Dan's essay, "Christian Kabbalah: From Mysticism to Esotericism."

- Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, "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], edited by Allison Coudert (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999).
- Reuchlin's *Recommendation Whether to Confiscate, Destroy and Burn All Jewish Books: A Classic Treatise against Anti-Semitism* (translated, edited, and with a forward by Peter Wortsman; critical introduction by Elisheva Carlebach. Mahwah: Paulist Press, 2000) written by Reuchlin in 1510.
- Christopher S. Celenza, "The Search for Ancient Wisdom in Early Modern Europe: Reuchlin and the Late Ancient Esoteric Paradigm," in *The Journal of Religious History*, Volume 25, Number 2 (Sydney: Association for the Journal of Religious History, 2001)—an analysis of Reuchlin's *De arte cabalistica*.
- Bernd Roling, "The Complete Nature of Christ: Sources and Structures of a Christological Theurgy in the Works of Johannes Reuchlin," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, edited by Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Leuven: Peeters, 2002)
- Erika Rummel, *The Case against Johann Reuchlin: Religious and Social Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Germany*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002; includes 13 documents concerning the Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn conflict.
- Elliot Wolfson, "Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of the Law: Theurgy and the Christian Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin," in *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts*, Volume 13, edited by Daniel Abrams and Avraham Elqayam (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2005).
- Refer to ADDENDUM A, ITEMS OF INTEREST: "Baron," "Grätz," "Schmidt-Biggemann," "Thorndike."

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).

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). Supplementing this 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."

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), and 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).

CARDINAL EGIDIO DA VITERBO [*or* GILLES DE VITERBE] (1465–1532)

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 often cited by the early Gerona circle. Viterbo's later *Scechina* is "much longer and more comprehensive in its

treatment of Cabalistic themes [than *de litteris*]”—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

- 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.”
- Swietlicki, Catherine. § EGIDIO DA VITERBO in CHAPTER 1 of *Spanish Christian Cabala* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pages 22-25
- Martin, Francis X., *Friar Reformer, and Renaissance Scholar: Life and Work of Giles of Viterbo 1469-1532*, with a foreword by John O’Malley, edited by John E. Rotelle. [THE AUGUSTINIAN SERIES, volume 18] Villanova: Augustinian Press, 1992.
- 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).

Some enduring sources on Egidio are in French: François Secret’s works, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964—pages 106-126) and *Le Zôhar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Durlacher, 1958—pages 34-42).

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* (ed. Joseph Dan, Harvard College Library, 1997).

On Giorgi, see

- CHAPTER IV in Yates’ *Occult Philosophy*
- D. P. Walker’s *Spiritual and Demonic Magic* (pp. 112-119)
- Chaim Wirszubski’s article, “Francesco Giorgio’s Commentary on Giovanni Pico’s Kabbalistic Theses,” in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VOLUME 37 (London: The Warburg Institute, 1974)
- Catherine Swietlicki’s § GIORGI in CHAPTER 1 of *Spanish Christian Cabala* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pages 20-22.
- CHAPTER 6, § 8, GIORGIO VENETO’S (1460-1540) *HARMONIA MUNDI*, in Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann’s *Philosophia Perennis* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 189] (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004).
- Alex Getachew’s odd article, “Zorzi’s Venetian Attack on Renaissance Science,” in *EIR Online: An Online Almanac from Executive Intelligence Review*, Volume 4 Issue Number 51 (December 2005), at http://www.jarouchepub.com/eiw/public/2005/2005_50-52/2005-51/pdf/box12_49.pdf, pages 50-2.
- Saverio Campanini’s article, “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], edited by Giulio Busi (Berlin: Institut für Judaistik, Freie Universität Berlin / Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2006).
- *Readers of French*, refer to the chapters on Giorgi in François Secret’s *Hermetisme et Kabbale* (LEZIONI DELLA SCUOLA DI STUDI SUPERIORI IN NAPOLI 15, Napoli: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, 1992), and § FRANÇOIS GEORGES DE VENISE in Secret’s *Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964—pages 126-140).

JEAN THÉNAUD (fl. 1511-1523)

Franciscan Jean Thénaud, “voyager and cabalist,” was the author of *La Sainte 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*. Thénau's "The 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 Thénau'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>.

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

HENRY CORNELIUS AGRIPPA (1486?-1535)

Following on Pico, Lazzarelli, Giorgi, and Reuchlin was Trithemius' student, Henry 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 prepared by Donald Tyson, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1992), 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 this—with its 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; AND *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. (See ADDENDUM B, "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*.)

De occulta philosophia in English can be viewed on-line at Joseph H. Peterson's TWILIT GROTTO site, www.esotericarchives.com/agrippa/index.html and as page-by-page images from the original in Volume II of *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies* at www.esoteric.msu.edu (2000 > Archival Works, which links to <http://digital.lib.msu.edu/collections/index.cfm?TitleID=247>). *Three Books* is also available in CD from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net. Agrippa's *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum* is available online (in Latin and English) at the Cornell University Library WITCHCRAFT COLLECTION site, at <http://historical.library.cornell.edu/witchcraft/index.html> (click *browse* > opening page: A).

Along with Yates' chapters on Agrippa in *Giordano Bruno...* and *The Occult Philosophy...*, see

- D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, pages 90-6.
- Charles G. Nauert, *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, see pages 129-136.
- John S. Mebane, *Renaissance Magic & the Return of the Golden Age: The Occult Tradition & Marlowe, Jonson, & Shakespeare* (Lincoln – London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989): CHAPTER 4, "Cornelius Agrippa and the Dissemination of Renaissance Magic."

- Marc G. van der Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa: The Humanist Theologian and His Declamations* (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill, 1997)
- Christopher I. Leirich, *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).
- Charles Nauert, "Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim" (*First published Fri Mar 30, 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/agrippa-nettesheim/>

The van der Poel and Leirich 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 vanitate...*, *De nobilitate et præcellentia feminei sexus*, etc.); the latter focuses on *De occulta philosophia*. Particularly on matters of Agrippa's biography, van der Poel and Leirich defer to Nauert as supplemented by the numerous articles of Paola Zambelli, only a few of which are in English, namely,

- "Agrippa as an Author of Prohibited Books" = PART II of *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance*.
- "Magic and Radical Reformation in Agrippa of Nettesheim," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976), AND *Articles on Witchcraft* 11 (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*, edited by 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)

The bibliographies in van der Poel and Leirich are immensely useful: See van der Poel (pp. 277-280) for a complete list of Agrippa's works, and Leirich (pp. 240-243): WORKS ON AGRIPPA. 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}).

Online, see Henry Morley's *Life of Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, Doctor and Knight, Commonly Known as a Magician*, two volumes (London: Chapman & Hall, 1856), digitized by Google, at INTERNET ARCHIVE > <http://www.archive.org/search.php?query=henry%20morley> .

PHILLIPUS THEOPHRASTUS AUREOLUS BOMBASTUS VON HOHENHEIM

known as PARACELSUS (1493-1541)

A 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:

- *Paracelsus: Selected Writings*, edited by Jolande Jacobi, translated by Norbert Guterman [BOLLINGEN SERIES XXVIII] (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979)
- Webster, Charles. "Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine," in *Articles on Witchcraft* 11 (New York – London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992)
- Schipperges, Heinrich. "Paracelsus and His Followers," in *Modern Esoteric Spirituality*, edited by Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman [Volume 21 of WORLD SPIRITUALITY: AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE RELIGIOUS QUEST] (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1995).
- [Paracelsus.] *The Archidoxes of Magic* translated by Robert Turner, 1655 (London: Askin, 1975 rpt. Kila: Kessinger Publishing Company, 1997)
- Weeks, Andrew. *Paracelsus: Speculative Theory and the Crisis of the Early Reformation* [SUNY SERIES IN WESTERN ESOTERIC TRADITIONS] (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997)
- Ball, Philip. *The Devil's Doctor: Paracelsus and the World of Renaissance Magic and Science* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006)

- 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 ZÜRICH PARACELTUS PROJECT [ENGLISH SECTION], online at <http://www.paracelsus.unizh.ch/index.html>.

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*, page 198). Ricius’ four-volume *De caelesti agricultura* was included in Johannes Pistorius’ compendium, *Artis cabalisticæ* (Basileæ: per S. Henricpetri, 1587)—which also contained Rabi Iosephi (Joseph Gikatilla): *De porta*, i.e., *Sha’are Orab*; Leonis Hebræi (Leone Ebreo): *De amore dialogi tres*; Ionnis Revchlini (Johann Reuchlin): *De arte cabalistica*, libri III; *De verbo mirifico*, libri III; Archangeli Bvrgonovenensis (Archangelus of Borgo Nuovo): *Interpretationes in selectiora obscurioraq̄ cabalistarum dogmata*; Abrahami (Abraham the Prophet): *De creatione & cabalisticis*, hebraicè *Sepher ierzira*, liber, i.e., *Sefer Yezirah*.

“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* (pages 67-74). On this work, see Beitchman’s *Alchemy of the Word*: § THE DISSEMINATION OF CABALA (page 169), along with his numerous other references. See also

- Catherine Swietlicki, “Christian Cabala in the Renaissance,” § THE RICCI BROTHERS, in *Spanish Christian Cabala* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pages 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], edited by 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).
- (*readers of French*) § PAUL RICI in François Secret’s *Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (pages 87ff).

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

“One of the most remarkable of the foreign humanists working in Italy at this time [*i.e.*, 1529-1555—DK] 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 and Row, 1959), page 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. ... [Edigio] 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 pages 137-9; see in particular §§ WIDMANSTETTER AS A KABBALIST and THE ANNOTATIONS, pages 162-169. Further references to Widmanstetter appear in Wilkinson’s *Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007). Widmanstetter’s critique of Dattilus is quoted by Scholem in “The Beginnings of Christian Kabbalah” (in *The Christian Kabbalah*, edited by Joseph Dan, Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1997—page 19).

With apparently 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), page 180. Scholem reiterates Widmanstetter’s warning in “Beginnings...,” 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.”

Readers of French, note the segment of Secret’s *Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964—pages 121-123) on Widmanstetter.

GUILLAUME POSTEL (1510-81)

Guillaume Postel produced a Latin translation of the *Sefer Yesirah* and penned some comments on it. “In addition, he translated the *Babir*, part of a commentary of Menahem of Recanati, and a part of the *Bereshith Rabba*.” (—Marion Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel*, page 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, called Madre Zuana, or Mother Johanna—the “Venetian Virgin.” At various times, Postel identified her as mother of the world, the *shekinah*, 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*, page 84). Alas, none of Postel’s translations has been published.

On Postel:

- Geoffrey Butler, “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.”
- William Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510-1581)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957); and Bouwsma’s article, “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).
- Marion L. Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel: Prophet of the Restitution of All Things—His Life and Works* (The Hague – Boston – Hingham: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1981).
- Bernard McGinn, “Cabalists and Christians: Reflections on Cabala in Medieval and Renaissance Thought,” in *Jewish Christians and Christian Jews*, edited by 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.
- Susanna Åkerman, “The Gothic Kabbala: Johannes Bureus, Runic Theosophy, and Northern European Apocalypticism,” in *The Expulsion of the Jews: 1492 and After*, edited by Raymond B. Waddington and Arthur H. Williamson (New York – London: Garland Publishing, 1994)—Åkerman’s final section is entitled GUILLAUME POSTEL AND THE ROSICRUCIAN LION, pp. 188-192.
- 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], edited by 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, six are in English, two in Italian).
- Yvonne Petry, *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).
- Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *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."
- Robert J. Wilkinson, "The Scholars of the *editio princeps*: Postel," in (*idem*) *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007); and Wilkinson, "Northern Scholars: The Role of Postel in the Antwerp Polyglot" = CHAPTER FOUR of *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).

Readers of French should not neglect the works on Postel written or edited by François Secret:

- *Bibliographie des manuscrits de Guillaume Postel*. Genève: Droz, 1970.
- *Guillaume Postel, 1510-1581: et son interprétation du candelabra de Moïse en hébreu, latin, italien et française*, avec une introd. et des notes par François Secret. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1966.
- *Guillaume Postel: apologes et rétractions; manuscrits inédits publiés avec une introd. et des notes par François Secret*. Nieuwkoop, B. de Graaf, 1972.
- *Postel revisité: Nouvelles recherches sur Guillaume Postel et son milieu*. Paris: S. E. H. A. / Milan: Archè, 1998ff.
- *Postelliana: Guillaume Postel: éditées par François Secret*. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1981.

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 Agrippa.

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 § SOME HISTORIANS: FRANCES YATES.

Recent 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 Child Publishing, 1992; rpt. Kila: Kessinger Publishing, n.d.). A typescript of *A True and Faithful Relation...* is available online at the Cornell University Library's WITCHCRAFT COLLECTION at <http://racerel.library.cornell.edu:8090/Dienst/UI/1.0/Display/cul.witch/039?abstract>.
- a discussion of *A True and Faithful Relation...* 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."
- *Hieroglyphic Monad* (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). The best edition remains 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), which shows the original on pages facing the translation.
- *The Heptarchia Mystica of John Dee*, edited by Robert Turner (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1983 & 1986).
- Geoffrey James' edition of *The Enochian Magick of Dr. John Dee* (St. Paul, Llewellyn Publications, 1984 & 1994).
- *The Secrets of John Dee*, introduction and commentary by Gordon James (Edmonds: Holmes Publishing Group, 1995)
- *John Dee: Essential Readings*, selected and introduced by Gerald Suster. Wellingborough [GB]: Crucible, 1986; reprinted in the WESTERN ESOTERIC MASTERS SERIES, Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2003.
- *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery: Original Sourcebook of Enochian Magic* FROM THE COLLECTED WORKS KNOWN AS MYSTERIORUM LIBRI QUINQUE, edited by Joseph H. Peterson (York Beach: Weiser Books, 2003), which is a

welcome reprint of *Mysteriorum Libri Quinque: Five Books of Mystical Exercises of John Dee* [MAGNUM OPUS - HERMETIC SOURCE WORKS SERIES, 20] hand-bound by Adam McLean, limited edition of 250 copies in 1985.

An interesting addition 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." (—page 37) "The two manuscripts transcribed in Part 3 of this book are Sloane MS 307 and Sloane MS 3821, both from the British Library." (—page 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 Solomonian Archangels & Demon Princes* AND *The Goetia of Dr Rudd: Angels and Demons*. Add to this 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

- 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 pages 170-199.
 - Woolley, Benjamin. *The Queen's Conjurer: 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."
 - Szonyi, 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 Kabbalah* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE HISTORY OF IDEAS (= INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES), 193]. Dordrecht: Springer, 2006.
Refer in particular to PART THREE: DEE AND THE OCCULT SCIENCES, 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*].
- [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).]

Significant short works, articles, and chapters on Dee:

- M[ontague]. R[hodes]. James' *Lists of Manuscripts Formerly Owned by Dr. John Dee*, with preface and identifications. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921.

- E. M. Butler's *Myth of the Magus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948; rpt 1979), PART II, CHAPTER IV, § (a) *Dee and Kelley* (pages 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* (pages 258-281).
- Michael T. Walton and Phyllis J. Walton's piece, "The Geometrical Kabbalahs of John Dee and Johannes Kepler: The Hebrew Tradition and the Mathematical Study of Nature," in *Experiencing Nature: Proceedings of a Conference in Honor of Allen G. Debus*, edited by Paul H. Theerman and Karen Hunger Parshall (Dordrecht – Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997); also see 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). Further, there is Walton's on-line article on Dee and Fludd, "Hermetic Cabala and the Monas Hieroglyphica and the Mosaical Philosophy," in *Grey Lodge Occult Review*, Issue #9 / ESSENTIA, vol. 2 (Summer 1981), at http://www.greyloodge.org/occultreview/glor_009/hermetic_cabala.htm
- Nicholas H. 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*, edited by Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- 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* 11 (New York – London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992).
- Urszula Szulakowska's "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*, edited by William R. Newman and Anthony Grafton. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2006).
- James Justin Sledge's "Between *Loagaeth* and *Cosening*: Towards and Etiology of Jonh Dee's Dairies," in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, VOLUME 10, NUMBER 1 (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010).
- Stephen Clucas' "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).

One source looming behind many of these 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 and at TWILIT GROTTTO (selected writings) at www.esotericarchives.com/dee/index.html.

Dozens of books have been written about Enochian magic as derived from Dee's work with Edward Kelley for the simple reason that the Golden Dawn (see Part 3, below) 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 *magickians*, many of whom added elements which are quite alien to Dee's work even while omitting well-nigh half of his original system. For an accurate impression of Dee and Kelley's *entire* system, see Donald Tyson's *Enochian Magic for Beginners* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1997). The title is misleading: Tyson's book is a thorough introduction, description, and appraisal.

"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. *Enochian World of Aleister Crowley: Enochian Sex Magick* (Scottsdale: New Falcon Publications, 1991).
- 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).
- 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 Publications: 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).

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 learned—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: page 55), the “others” being 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 U. Press, 1975; rpt University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

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: page 97). Refer to Yates’ *Occult Philosophy*, pages 67-71 and Bodin’s *On the Demon-Mania of Witches*, translated by Randy A. Scott, with an introduction by Jonathan L. Pearl (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995).

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: § SOME 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*, page 257)

Compare *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*, page 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 4, edited by 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 (*i.e.*, the star textual witness) out from under de Leon-Jones’ thesis. (On Leone Ebreo, see ADDENDUM D: “The Problem of Leone Ebreo’s *Dialoghi*.”). The text in question, *Cabala del cavallo pegaseo* (THE CABALA OF

PEGASUS)—attributed 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*...” (—page 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). Also look for Bruno’s *CAUSE, PRINCIPLE AND UNITY and Essays on Magic*, edited by Richard J. Blackwell and Robert de Lucca... [CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY], (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), and Bruno’s *Cantus Circaeus: The Incantation of Circe* TOGETHER WITH *The Judiciary* BEING THE *Art of Memory*, translated by Darius Klein (Seattle: Ouroboros Press, 2009).

Further see

- Dorothea Waley Singer, *Giordano Bruno: His Life and Thought, with Annotated Translation of His Work*, ON THE INFINITE UNIVERSE AND WORLDS (New York: Henry Schuman, 1950).
- Mordechai Feingold’s “Occult Tradition in the English Universities of the Renaissance: A Reassessment,” in *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, edited by Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Edward A. Gosslin, “Bruno’s ‘French Connection’: A Historiographical Debate,” in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (Washington: Folger Books, 1988).
- Nuccio Ordine, *Giordano Bruno and the Philosophy of the Ass*, translated by Henryk Baranski in collaboration with Arielle Sailer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
- Hilary Gatti, *Giordano Bruno and Renaissance Science* (Ithaca – London: Cornell University Press, 1999) in which Gatti treats Bruno the scientific thinker and mathematician rather than Bruno the “Hermetic Magus”—the title Frances Yates gave him.
- Paolo Rossi, “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).
- Paola Zambelli, “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).
- Ingrid Rowland, *Giordano Bruno: Philosopher / Heretic* (New York: Farrar, Straus and 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*, page 61).

SHAKESPEARE (1564-1616)

Quite a few works discuss the occult in Shakespeare, e.g., Frances Yates’ *Occult Philosophy*... (CHAPTER XII of which is entitled “Shakespeare and the Christian Cabala: Francesco Giorgi and *The Merchant of Venice*) and *The Theatre of the World*, as mentioned above; 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); and the more extensive treatment of Arthur Versluis’ *Shakespeare the Magus* (St. Paul: Grail Publishing, 2001). Two writers have given Shakespeare’s connections with *kabbalah*, or *cabbalah*, 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 le Fevre de la Boderie (1578). 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, namely, he 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 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, page 13)
- 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, page 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. (—page 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 (—page 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—fleeting indications of the general messiness of this otherwise intriguing book.

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," recounts Susanna Åkerman (—"The Gothic Kabbala: Johannes Bureus, Runic Theosophy, and Northern European Apocalypticism," in *The Expulsion of the Jews: 1492 and After*, edited by 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" (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*, edited by Tore Ahlbäck [SCRIPTA INSTITUTUM DONNERIANI ABOENSIS XX], Åbo/Turku: Donner Institute in Religious and Cultural History, 2008; page 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).

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 *Summum Bonum* and charted their correspondences with the planets and holy names in *The Mosaicall Philosophy*. Cabalistic material appears as well in *Utriusque cosmic...historia*. Interestingly, while Fludd claimed Menahem Recanati as his kabbalistic authority, his sources were more apparently Pico (who, in fact, drew extensively, albeit selectively, from Recanati), Reuchlin, 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, p. 171ff of the 1659 (= Kessinger) edition. *Mosaicall Philosophy* is discussed in the seventeenth chapter of J. B. Craven’s *Dr. Robert Fludd: The English Rosicrucian, Life and Writings* (listed below). 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 treatment of *The Mosaicall Philosophy* in ADDENDUM B: Seventeenth-century Printed Works on Christian Cabala in English (at <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/ccineb.pdf>).

Along with Craven’s treatment of *Utriusque cosmic...historia* (in *Dr. Robert Fludd...*, CHAPTERS 9 through 13), sections of it 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.

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 cosmic...historia* resides in VOLUME II, TRACTATE II, has not yet, 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).

Further, on or by Fludd:

- 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*.
- Fludd’s writing, “The Rosicrucian Brotherhood,” which is Book IV of *Summum Bonum*, in Paul M. Allen (ed.), *A Christian Rosenkreutz Anthology* (Blauvelt: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1968 and 2000), pages 293-323.
- William H. Huffman, *Robert Fludd and the End of the Renaissance* (London – New York: Routledge, 1988)

- *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).
- Joscelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 1979).
- Michael T. Walton's article on Dee and Fludd, "Hermetic Cabala and the Monas Hieroglyphica and the Mosaical Philosophy," in *Grey Lodge Occult Review*, Issue #9 / ESSENTIA, Volume 2 (Summer 1981), online at http://www.greyloodge.org/occultreview/glor_009/hermetic_cabala.htm
- "Robert Fludd: The Divine Alchemy of the Eye of God," in Urszula 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).
- Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, "Robert Fludd's Kabbalistic Cosmos," in *Platonism at the Origins of Modernity: Studies on Platonism and Early Modern Philosophy*, edited by Douglas Hedley and Sarah Hutton [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 196]. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), which discusses the cabalistic content of Fludd's *Utriusque Cosmi historia II: Tomi Secundi Tractatus secundus, Sectio prima: De Theosophico, Cabalístico et Physiologico utriusque mundi discursu* (Frankfort: 1621).
- Robert S. Westman, "Nature, Art and Psyche: Jung, Pauli, and the Kepler-Fludd Polemic," in *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, edited by Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- THE ALCHEMY WEBSITE: "Titlepages to Robert Fludd's Books" at www.alchemywebsite.com/fluddtit.html; articles on Fludd by Ron Heisler and Sharon M. W. → SCHOLARLY ARTICLES ON ALCHEMY at http://www.alchemywebsite.com/articles_scholarly_individuals.html.

JACOB BÖHME (1575-1624)

My ADDENDUM D, "The Problem of Leone Ebreo's *Dialoghi*," sets out an array of quotes from 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*. To illustrate, Gershom Scholem notes, "...students (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 Bohemian guise" (—*Kabbalah*, page 200). 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." Such 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*, edited by Tore Ahlbäck [SCRIPTA INSTITUTUM 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*—DK] of the covenant," 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 answers by Jacob Behmen...*, London: Matth. Simmons..., 1647).

Here is a trim selection of sources on Böhme, 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*, Lull, 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*, edited by Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman [Volume 21 of WORLD SPIRITUALITY: AN ENCYCLOPEDIA 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)
- 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 Boehme 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); pages 117-128 and 187-192.

Perhaps the best works on Böhme and his descendents (e.g., John Pordage, Johann Georg Gichtel, Friedrich Christoph Oetenger—on Oetenger, see below) 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).

ATHANASIUS KIRCHER (1601-1680)

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.” (Yates makes similar comments about Robert Fludd.) 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 maintained similar erroneous attitudes toward *cabala* and *Hebraica*. See Yates’ discussion in *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (pp. 416-423).

There are five wonderfully illustrated works on Kircher:

- Joscelyn Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher: A Renaissance Man in Search of Lost Knowledge* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1979).
- *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).
- Ingrid D. Rowland, *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* edited by Daniel Stolzenberg (Stanford: Stanford University Libraries, 2001), a series of articles which also 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/>.
- Joscelyn Godwin, *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....”

Recent 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: ANTIQUARIANISM, ORIENTAL STUDIES AND OCCULT PHILOSOPHY ON THE WORK OF ATHANASIUS KIRCHER (Ph.D. dissertation: Stanford: Stanford University, 2004), especially Chapter Four, “How to Read a Jesuit Treatise on the Kabbalah,” which discusses Kircher’s [Latin] sources of *kabbalah*.

Kircher is also 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). See also Susanna Åkerman's "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*, edited by Tore Ahlbäck [SCRIPTA INSTITUTUM DONNERIANI ABOENSIS XX] (Åbo/Turku: Donner Institute in Religious and Cultural History, 2008): § THE JESUIT MISSION IN STOCKHOLM AND ATHANASIOS KIRCHER, pp. 22-3.

On the Internet, there is a list of web pages which treat Kircher at KIRCHERIANUM VITUALE (<http://www.phonurgia.se/rendel/cgi-bin/kircher/kircherianum1.cgi>). One site not listed there, the attractive MUSEUM OF JURASIC TECHNOLOGY (www.mjt.org), has a series of articles on Kircher's life and works in "Collections and Exhibitions, Gallery 6": THE COOLIDGE PAVILION.

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 cabalism 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. (—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 "Milton and the *Conjectura Cabbalistica*," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume XVIII, Numbers 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" (—page 90 [my brackets—DK]). Alas, Saurat fell prey to the distorted French translation of the *Zohar* by Jean de Pauly: *Sepher ha-Zohar (Le Livre de la Zohar)*, 6 volumes (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906-11).

On the other hand, 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, Pittsburg: 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. Sections (§§ 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, edited by Arthur Versluis (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1999), www.esoteric.msu.edu/Beitchman.html (pp. 61-78).

Note also J. 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*, edited by 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).

ANTONIA OF WÜRTMBERG (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], page 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 Alterpiece in Bad Teinach," in *Hermetic Journal* 12 [Edinburgh: Summer 1981], page 21-26; also online at McLean's ALCHEMY WEB SITE: http://www.alchemywebsite.com/bad_teinach.html).

The central panel of the alterpiece 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*, edited by Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Metheny [Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996], page 107).

"[O]ne of Oetinger's most important works, *Öffentliches Denkmal der Lebtafel* (1763)," is a commentary on Antonia's kabbalistic painting (—Glenn Alexander Magee, *Hegel and the Hermetic Tradition* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001], page 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 Riiss zu Sephiroth* ('Diagrams to 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], page 510).

See, in particular, Ernst Benz, *Christian Kabbalah* (pages 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*. The painting can be seen at THE ALCHEMY WEB SITE, noted above.

17th CENTURY : FRANCIS MERCURY VAN HELMONT, KNORR VON ROSENROTH,
 & THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS

Refer to ADDENDUM B, “Seventeenth-century Printed Works on Christian Cabala in English,” at <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/ccineb.pdf>, for a catalogue of title pages, excerpts, and sources from H. C. Agrippa, John Brinsley, Anne Conway, Robert Fludd, F. M. van Helmont, Henry More, Thomas Vaughan, and Abbé de Villars.

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:

- “A Cambridge Platonist’s Kabbalist Nightmare,” in *Journal for the History of Ideas*, XXXVI: 4 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976)—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)
- “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)
- “Leibniz and the Kabbalah,” in *Leibniz, Mysticism and Religion* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 158], edited by Allison P. Coudert, Richard Popkin, and Gordon M. Weiner (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1998) This article appears as CHAPTER 13 of Coudert’s *Impact of the Kabbalah...* cited below.
- “The *Kabbala denudata*,” in *The Columbia History of Western Philosophy*, edited by 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 [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 173], edited by Matt Goldish and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001)
- “Five Seventeenth-Century Christian Hebraists,” in *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, edited by 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 Spaeth (Moses Germanus),” in *Secret Conversions to Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Martin Mulsow and Richard Popkin [BRILL’S STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY, vol. 122] (Leiden: Brill, 2004)

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: Rosenroth, 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:

- with Taylor Corse, Allison Coudert produced an annotated translation of van Helmont’s *Alphabet of Nature* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).
- printed as a chap book is *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).

- my transcriptions of SELECTED WRITINGS OF FRANCIS MERCURIUS VAN HELMONT are online at <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/VanHelmont/index.htm>, and excerpts from these appear in ADDENDUM B (at <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/ccineb.pdf>).

Also find 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 (pages 13-23).

KNORR VON ROSENROTH (1636-1689)

Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, as translator, annotator, and editor, published the two-volume *Kabbala denudata* (KABBALAH UNVEILED), which virtually alone represented authentic (Jewish) *kabbalah* to Christian Europe until the mid-nineteenth century. These tomes contain 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 Hayim Vital), and others, with commentaries by Rosenroth himself and Henry More, and—appended to some later editions—a summary of Christian *cabala* (*Adumbratio Kabbalæ Christianæ*) by F. M. van Helmont—all in Latin translation.

ADDENDUM C (at <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/ccineb.pdf>) outlines the contents of *Kabbala denudata* and lists sources in English. Refer to the items by Allison Coudert, noted above, especially *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century*, which devotes a substantial section to Rosenroth and the ingredients of *Kabbala denudata*. Also treating Rosenroth 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], edited by Richard Caron, Joscelyn Godwin, Wouter J Hanegraaff, and Jean-Louis Viellard-Baron (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).

Also find Moshe Idel's *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*. Also discussing Knorr von Rosenroth and *Kabbala denudata*, Klaus Reichert summarizes developments in "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*, edited by K. E. Grozinger and Joseph Dan (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995).

THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS

- Gerald R Cragg (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.
- Frederick James Powicke's *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.
- *Cambridge Platonist Spirituality*, edited by Charles Taliaferro and Alison J. Tepley (New York: Paulist Press, 2004), which contains excerpts from the writings of Cudworth, Whichcote, Culverwell, John Smith, More, Peter Sterry, and Anne Conway.
- For a fine brief account: Sarah Hutton's article, "The Cambridge Platonists," in *The Columbia History of Western Philosophy*, edited by Richard H. Popkin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

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 Volume 2 of *Henry More: Major Philosophical Works* (9 vols.), edited by G. A. J. Rogers [series: THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS] (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 1997). *Conjectura...* is also available on a nicely prepared CD from YE OLD BOOK SHOPPE; contact by email: jbmorgan@cox.net. For further comments on More's "Cabbalistical" works, see ADDENDUM B. Refer also to ADDENDUM C, "The Contents of *Kabbala denudata...*" on More's material within that work, some of which is in English or has been put into English.

Further, see

- Ward, Richard. *The Life of [the Learned and Pious Dr.] Henry More, Parts 1 & 2* [London: Joseph Downing, 1710], edited by Sarah Hutton, Cecil Courtney, Michelle Courtney, Robert Crocker and Rupert Hall [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 167] (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000)
- George, Edward Augustus. *Seventeenth Century Men of Latitude: Forerunners of the New Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908): § HENRY MORE, 1614-1687 (pages 109-128)
- 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).
- 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, edited by Sarah Hutton, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992)
- Lichtenstein, Aharon. *Henry More: The Rational Theology of a Cambridge Platonist*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).
- Brown, C. C. "The Mere Numbers of Henry More's Cabbala," in *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Volume 10, Number 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 (London: Taylor and Francis, Ltd., 1980)
- Mulligan, Lotte. "'Reason,' 'Right Reason,' and 'Revelation' in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England," in *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, edited by Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- *Henry More: The Immortality of the Soul*, edited by A[lexander] Jacob. [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 122] (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1987).
- *Henry More's Manual of Metaphysics: A Translation of the ENCHIRIDIUM METAPHYSICUM* (1679), with introduction and notes by Alexander Jacob (Hildesheim – New York: G. Olms Verlag, 1995).
- 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). In the present context, see especially 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."
- Coudert, Allison. "Henry More, the Kabbalah, and the Quakers," in *Philosophy, Science, and Religion in England*, edited by 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...*, cited above.
- Fouke, Daniel C. *The Enthusiastical Concerns of Dr. Henry More: Religious Meaning and the Psychology of Delusion*. Leiden – New York – Köln: E. J. Brill, 1997.
- 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 von Rosenroth.

- 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/>

RALPH CUDWORTH (1617-1688)

One becomes frustrated trying to find evidence of any real *cabalistic* influence in Cudworth. A. E. Waite correctly acknowledges that “Cudworth connects but superficially with Kabbalism” (—*The Holy Kabbalah*, page 480; on Waite, refer to § SOME HISTORIANS, above). Thus, beware of Kessinger’s pointless offprint of less than three pages of 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. *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*, edited by Douglas Hedley and Sarah Hutton [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 196] (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008): (1) Leslie Armour’s “Trinity, Community and Love: Cudworth’s Platonism and the Idea of God,” (2) Jean-Louis Breteau’s “Chaos and Order in Cudworth’s Thought,” and (3) Robin Attfield’s “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 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* [CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY Series], edited by Allison Coudert and Taylor Corse (Cambridge University Press, 1996). In addition, refer to

- 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, edited by Sarah Hutton, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992)
- 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).
- Byrne, David. ANNE CONWAY: AN INTELLECTUAL PORTRAIT OF A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY COUNTESS. PhD. dissertation (Claremont: Claremont Graduate University, 2005)
- White, Carol Wayne. *The Legacy of Anne Conway (1631-1679): Reverberations from a Mystical Naturalism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008)

THOMAS BURNET (1635-1715)

Theologian Burnet was a contemporary of the Cambridge Platonists, though not one of them. In *Archæologia 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 devises *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" *Tellurinus 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 Futurities; 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 pages 200-201)

On Burnet, see

- A. E. Waite, *The Holy Kabbalah*, § XIV.—THOMAS BURNET, pages 482-485 (—ref. § SOME HISTORIANS, above)—the source of the phrase "slender knowledge."
- Philip Almond's *Heaven & Hell in Enlightenment England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chapter 4. "The Last Day," § HELL ON EARTH (pages 119-123).
- Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* is available at THE INTERNET ARCHIVE at www.archive.org/search.php?query=thomas%20burnet%20sacred%20theory%20AND%20mediatype%3Atexts.

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,” [my brackets—DK] writes Matt Goldish in *Judaism in the Theology of Sir Isaac Newton* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 157] (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998: p. 161). 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 Newton could not abide.

On Newton and *kabbalah*,

- Goldish, Matt. “Newton on Kabbalah,” in *The Books of Nature and Scripture* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 139] (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1994)
- 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)

Also see

- 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, edited by Brian P. Levack (New York – London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992).
- _____ . “Newton and Alchemy,” in *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, edited by Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

LEIBNIZ (1646-1716)

On Leibniz, along with the numerous articles by Allison Coudert already listed and her book, *Leibniz and Kabbalah* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1995), see

- Merchant, Carolyn. “Leibniz and Newton” = CHAPTER 12 of *The Death of Nature: Women Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980; rpt 1989 and 1990 (with a new preface).
- *Leibnizian Inquiries: A Group of Essays*, edited by 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* [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 158], edited by Allison P. Coudert, Richard Popkin, and Gordon M. Weiner (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*) Keith Schuchard’s “Leibniz, Benzelius, and the Kabbalistic Roots of Swedish Illuminism.”

17th & 18th CENTURIES : KEMPER – OETINGER

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], pages 42-43, quoting Pinchas Lapide, *Hebrew in the Church*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984, page 76) [my brackets—DK]

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], page 97). In *Mapping Messianic Jewish Theology: A Constructive Approach* (Milton Keynes – Colorado Springs – Hyderabad: Paternoster/Authentic Media, 2009), Richard Harvey writes (page 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. [my brackets—DK]

On Kemper see, in particular, Elliot R. Wolfson's "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], edited by Matt Goldish and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001). Also note the final pages (137-138) of Boaz Huss' article, "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*, edited by Chanita Goodblatt and Howard Kreisel (Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2006). A passage from the oft-cited study of Hans-Joachim Schoeps, *Barocke Juden, Christen, Judenchristen* (Bern – Munich: Francke Verlag, 1965), concerning Kemper 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, December 1990).

Ernst Benz' *Christian Kabbalah: Neglected Child of Theology*, translated into English by Kenneth W. Wesche, edited by Robert J. Faas (St. Paul: Grailstone Press, 2004), opens with "The Beginnings of Christian Kabbalism," a rather swift chapter following Scholem's article of the same name. 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"—page 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 (1702-1782) throughout the book and 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" (—page 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).

17th & 18th CENTURIES : THE CONFLATION OF CABALA & ALCHEMY

Toward the end of his sub-chapter on Christian *cabala* (—*Kabbalah*, pages 196-201), Gershom Scholem writes of the blending of *cabala* and alchemy. [My additions appear in brackets.—DK]

As early as the late 16th century [with, for example, Paracelsus—see above, § 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 Sapientiae Aeternae* (1609) [the eleven plates from *Amphitheatrum* with explanations are in Paul M. Allen, *A Rosenkreutz Anthology* (Blauvelt: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1968), pages 273-292], Blaise de Vigenère, *Traité du Feu* (1617), Abraham von Frankenberg, Robert Fludd (1574–1637) [see above, § FLUDD and ADDENDUM B], and Thomas Vaughan (1622–1666) [see ADDENDUM B], and reaches its apogee in Georg von Welling's *Opus Mago-Cabbalisticum* (1735) [recently translated by Joseph G. McVeigh and edited by Lon Milo DuQuette, San Francisco – Newburyport: Weiser Books, 2006] and the many books of F. C. Oetinger (1702–1782) [see immediately above], whose influence is discernible in the works of such great figures of German idealist philosophy as Hegel [treated below] 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, as indicated below in Part 2]. (—*Kabbalah*, page 200 [my brackets throughout—DK])

Refer to Scholem's *Alchemy and Kabbalah*, translated from the German by Klaus Ottmann [= “Alchemie und Kabbala” in *Eranos Yearbook* 46 (1977)] (Putnam: Spring Publications, 2006).

THE ‘UNKNOWN SUPERIORS’: SWEDENBORG, CAGLIOSTRO, & FALK

In the eighteenth century, quite a bit of kabbalistic influence appears to trace to a single individual. There is evidence that, among others, Emanuel Swedenborg* (1688-1772) and Alessandro Cagliostro (1743-1795) were indebted to Samuel Falk (ca 1710-1782), 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. 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:

* 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*, edited by 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:

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| • <i>Apocalypse Explained</i> (6 volumes) | • <i>Conjugal Love</i> | • <i>Heaven and Hell</i> |
| • <i>Apocalypse Revealed</i> (2 volumes) | • <i>The Divine Love and Divine Wisdom</i> | • <i>The Spiritual Diary</i> (5 volumes) |
| • <i>Arcana Coelestia</i> (12 volumes) | • <i>The Divine Providence</i> | • <i>True Christian Religion</i> (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://store.newchurch.org/home.php?cat=377>

- FREEMASONRY, SECRET SOCIETIES, AND THE CONTINUITY OF THE OCCULT TRADITION IN ENGLISH LITERATURE (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin: 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*, edited by 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, edited by 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," *Rending the Veil: Concealment and Revelation of Secrets in the History of Religions*, edited Elliot R. Wolfson (New York: Seven Bridges Press, 1999), which 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], edited by Matt Goldish and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2001).

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 Michal Oron, "Dr. Samuel Falk and the Eibeschuetz-Emden Controversy," in *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism*, edited by Karl Erich Grozinger and Joseph Dan (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), and Cecil Roth, "The King and the Cabalist," in Roth's *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1962).

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..." page 97), a "crypto-Sabbatian" and author of an extended commentary on the *Zohar*. On Kemper, see above § 17th & 18th CENTURIES: KEMPER – OETINGER.

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, part 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 Caestia*] and other works, as well as the relevant secondary literature, has convinced him [Hanegraaff] that the 'exoteric' Swedenborg defended by [Swedenborg biographers] Lamm and Jonsson is much closer to the truth than the 'esoteric' one [of Benz and Schuchard]" (—pages xx-xxi). 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.

[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).]

Of interest in the present context are these articles by Jane 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)
- “Swedenborg Studies 2002: ‘On the Shoulders of Giants,’” in *The New Philosophy Online* (ISSUE: January-June 2002) <http://www.newphilosophyonline.net/journal/article.php?page=1002&issue=106> and at *New Church History* : ARTICLES (Bryn Athen: The Academy of the New Church, n.d.) <http://newchurchhistory.org/articles/jkwh2002.php#top>
- “Emanuel Swedenborg and the Kabbalistic Tradition,” in *Ésotérisme, Gnozes & Imaginaire Symbolique: Mélanges offerts à Antoine Faivre* [= GNOSTICA 3], edited by Richard Caron, Joscelyn Godwin, Wouter J Hanegraaff, and Jean-Louis Viellard-Baron (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).

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 us 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 Lullist 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, page 7).

On Cagliostro, refer to

- 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...,” (from *New Age Magazine*, 1919; rpt Edmonds: Sure Fire Press, 1994, and Kessinger Publishing, 2007)
- Waite, Arthur Edward. *A New Encyclopedia of Freemasonry...* (London, Rider & Co., 1923; rpt, New Hyde Park: University Books, 1970): pages 89-99
- Shirley, Ralph. *Occultists & Mystics of All Ages* (New Hyde Park: University Books, 1972): CHAPTER 6
- Godwin, *Theosophical Enlightenment* (noted above), pages 97-101
- 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).

WILLIAM BLAKE (1757-1827)

If we follow this line of Cabalists, Swedenborgians, and Freemasons, we eventually trip over William Blake, who, as we have seen, is discussed in the dissertation of Marsha Keith Schuchard. See also Schuchard's 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*, edited by Steve Clark and David Worrall (London – New York: Macmillan Press Ltd / St. Martins 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, edited by Arthur Versluis (2000, on-line at www.esoteric.msu.edu/VolumeII/BlakeFull.html).
 “Why Mrs. Blake Cried...” was immensely expanded—and then, I’ve been informed, 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*, edited by Sheila A. Spector (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)
- “William Blake, George Cumberland, and the Visionary Art of Exotic Erotica,” in *Esotericism, Art, and Imagination*, edited by 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* (www.esoteric.msu.edu), Volume V (2003); and Joseph Viscomi’s piece, “In the Caves of Heaven and Hell: Swedenborg and Printmaking in Blake’s *Marriage*,” in *Blake in the Nineties*, edited by 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. Thus, most welcome is the recent study of the influence of *kabbalah/cabala* on Blake: 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).

[See my full-length review of Spector’s volumes on Blake in Addendum F below, at <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/ccineb.pdf>, and at *Esoterica*: V (edited by Arthur Versluis [East Lansing: MSU, 2003]) at www.esoteric.msu.edu/VolumeV/Reviews/Spector.html.]

Spector writes (“*Wonders Divine*,” page 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.

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*, edited by 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).

In *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly* 46 (volume 12, number 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 (page 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*.

The only other lengthy treatment of Blake’s *kabbalah* which I have seen is Clay Mathew Bowman’s 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). Then, there is Asloob Ahmad Ansari’s article, “Blake and the Kabbalah,” in *William Blake: Essays for S. Foster Damon*, edited by Alvin H. Rosenfeld (Providence: Brown University Press, 1969). Neither the Bowman nor the Ansari, however, is as useful as the works listed above by Schuchard and Spector. 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).

Refer also to Jos van Meurs’ deft “William Blake and His Gnostic Myths,” in *Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times*, edited by 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.

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 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 to 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*, edited by Will Dudley (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009).

Online, see G. W. F. Hegel, “Kabbalah and Gnosticism” [an excerpt from Hegel’s LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY, translated from Hegel’s *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie ii*, (Theorie Werkausgabe, Bd. 19), Frankfurt a.M., Suhrkamp Verlag, 1977, 426-430]; translation and notes by Scott J. Thompson at http://www.wbenjamin.org/hegel_kabbalah.html#fn3.

W. B. YEATS (1865-1939)

With William Butler Yeats, we are getting ahead of ourselves. However, following the broad outlines of esoteric—if not purely (or *really*) kabbalistic—developments described above (§§ THE ‘UNKNOWN SUPERIORS’ and WILLIAM BLAKE), the formula SWEDENBORG → BLAKE → YEATS could be advanced. In Kathleen Raine’s words (quoted 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 other words, 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, “. . .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” (—page v). Refer also to Serra’s MA thesis, A REÉVALUATION OF THE LITERARY WORKS OF EDWARD ALEXANDER (ALEISTER) CROWLEY (Des Moines: Drake University, 1991), especially Section One: “Yeats and the Golden Dawn.”

Further on Yeats:

- Harbans Rai Bachchan’s *W. B. Yeats and Occultism: A Study of His Works in Relation to Indian Lore, the Cabbala, Swedenborg and Theosophy* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965)
- George Harper Mills’ *Yeats’s Golden Dawn* (London: Macmillan / New York: Harper & Row, 1974).
- Anke Timmermann’s “‘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/>

Part 2*

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 which we know of, his book inaugurated an era of renewed interest in medieval and 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*, by Alison L. Butler (M.A. thesis, 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). Other accounts of Barrett can be found in Christopher McIntosh, *The Devil's Bookshelf* (Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press, 1985—CHAPTER 13, “Magic in the Nineteenth Century”), and Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994—CHAPTER SIX, “Neophytes and Initiates”).

When the nineteenth century was about at its midpoint, there began a fairly steady stream of European works on *kabbalah* and *cabala*. Some of these were serious, even 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 doctrines and currents, as did Eliphas Levi, H. P. Blavatsky, Papus, and Aleister Crowley. Some notable authors apparently had 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 Christian) esoteric readers and researchers—even today—often very much in spite of the contributions of Jewish and Christian scholars of the last seventy-plus years.

* 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,” pages 309-357. The first division of § O, “Primary Sources,” begins with “J.F.'s” 1651 translation of Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*; ironically, the second division, “Secondary Sources,” begins with Francis Barrett's *Magus* (1801). Spector's listings go through 1983. She includes—and comments on—quite a few items not given notice in my paper:

- 19th- and early 20th-century books which touch upon *kabbalah*, or *cabala*, briefly or incidentally, like William Story's *Proportions of the Human Figure...* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1866) and 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* (New York: Metaphysical Publishing House, 1921) and F. Schneider Schwartz' *True Mysteries of Life* (New York: Vantage Press, 1957)
- 19th- and 20th-century articles

Among the books treating *kabbalah/cabala* which were written in English—or which have been translated into English—are the following, in roughly chronological order. (Dates in the left margin generally indicate the first edition of the earliest—if not the only—work listed by each writer noted.)

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; facsimile available on CD from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net

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,” pages 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, page 184)

1843

Franck, Adolphe. *The Kabbalah: Religious Philosophy of the Hebrews*. French original, 1843; German translation 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. (The 1926 edition is included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of “24 Scarce Facsimile Works,” from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

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* was a vital force at the “heart and soul” of Judaism, not the aberrant and heretical side shoot 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 Yesirah* 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: Eliphas Levi, 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 Elphas Levi,” 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).

Levi, Eliphas. *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 and New York: Samuel Weiser, 1973.

The Book of Splendours contains a compacted paraphrase of *Idra Rabba* from the *Zohar* (though Levi refers to it as “The Idra Suta”) and the oft-reprinted short piece, “The Elements of the Qabalah in Ten Lessons: The Letters of Eliphas Levi” (1891), which also appears in Papus' *Qabalab* (listed below), and independently as *The Elements of the Kabbalah in Ten Lessons*, edited by Darcy Kuntz [GOLDEN DAWN SERIES 13], Edmonds: Holmes Publishing Group, 1997.

_____. *The Great Secret. Lessons on the Mysteries of Occultism, including Magnetism, Astral Emanations, Divination and Creative Omnipotence.* French original, 1868; English translation, Thorsons Publishers Ltd, 1975; rpt. Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press and New York: Samuel Weiser, 1981.

_____. *The History of Magic.* French original, 1860; English translation by A. E. Waite, London: William Rider and Son Ltd, 1913; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1969.

_____. *The Key of the Mysteries.* French original, 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, New York: Samuel Weiser, 1974.

1855-6 _____. *Transcendental Magic.* French original in two parts: 1. *The Doctrine of Transcendental Magic* (1855); 2. *The Ritual of Transcendental Magic* (1856). 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.

Levi's works are eloquent, fascinating—and highly influential—mayhem. On Levi and his milieu, see

- Christopher McIntosh, *Eliphas Levi and the French Occult Revival* (London: Rider Publishers, 1972; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1975)
- Thomas A. Williams, *Eliphas Levi: Master of Occultism* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1975).
- Robert Lesley Uzzel, *THE KABBALISTIC THOUGHT OF ELIPHAS LEVI 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).
- Lynn R. Wilkinson, "Politics, Magic, and Language: Swedenborgianism in the works of Alphonse-Louis Constant, a.k.a. Eliphas Lévi," in Wilkinson's *Dream of an Absolute Language: Emanuel Swedenborg & French Literary Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).
- Wouter J. Hanegraaff, "The Beginnings of Occultist Kabbalah: Adolphe Franck and Elphas Levi," in *Kabbalah and Modernity*—noted above.

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 (included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of "24 Scarce Facsimile Works," from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net): 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*, pages 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. (The 1920 edition is included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of “24 Scarce Facsimile Works,” from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

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—Grätz’s. 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* predated *kabbalah* by centuries. *Gematria* in particular, which is so often treated as central to the *kabbalah* by Christian commentators, played only a limited role in such kabbalistic classics as the *Zohar*, the works of Moses Cordovero, and the Lurianic compendia assembled by Hayim Vital. See Scholem’s article, “Gematria,” in *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1974; New York: Dorset Press, 1987); and Dan’s comments in “Christian Kabbalah: From Mysticism to Esotericism,” in *Western Esotericism and the Science of Religion*, edited by A. Faivre and W. Hanegraaff (Leuven: Peeters, 1998: pp. 127-8).

1870

Jennings, Hargrave. *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 *The Rosicrucians*, “[T]his whole Book is but the translation and exposition of his highly-prized and very scarce works ... our own countryman, Robert Flood or Fludd (Robertus de Fluctibus), the famous physician and philosopher (1574-1637)” (—PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION, page xi. See also VOLUME II [3rd edition], Chapter the Twenty-First, “Remarks Relating to the Great Mystic—Robert ‘de Fluctibus’”—page 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. *Rosicrucians*... and Jennings’ other books served as source-works for the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor and Mme. Blavatsky. (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 Eliphas Levi’s *Dogma and Ritual of High Magic* [1854] and Mme. Blavatsky’s *Isis Unveiled* [1877]. Oddly, nothing of Jennings’ is included 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.)

For accounts of Jennings, see Joscelyn Godwin’s *Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), pages 261-275, Godwin’s article, “Hargrave Jennings,” in *The Hermetic Journal*

1991, edited by Adam McLean (London: Hermetic Research Trust), pages 49-77; and VOLUME III of R. Swinburne Clymer's *Book of Rosierucia* (Quakertown: Philosophical Publishing Company, 1949), pages 60-66. On the Internet, see the biographical sketch at *The Invisible Basilica of Sabazius*, www.hermetic.com/sabazius/jennings.htm.

1871

Pike, Albert. *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry*. 1871; copyright 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 esoteria. 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, the book is quite full of kabbalistic references and passages. Unfortunately, the bulk of these were lifted from one of the most unreliable sources: Eliphas Levi, whom Pike quotes freely without acknowledgement. (See "Levi's Kabbalistic Thought in America: Albert Pike," in Uzzel, THE KABBALISTIC THOUGHT OF ELIPHAS LEVI... = *Éliphas Lévi and the Kabbalah*, noted above: "Levi—1855-6.") 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). Pike also makes numerous references to works which appear in Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata*.

See also James T. [Jim] Tresner II, *Albert Pike: The Man Behind the Monument* [SCOTTISH RITE RESEARCH SOCIETY] (New York: M. Evans and Company, 1995).

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 Eliphas Levi, Freemasonry, and New England Transcendentalism (1830s-60s, which included Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry 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 of the Kessinger edition) 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 reissuer of Skinner's *Key*, refers to it as "the most esoteric work we sell."

1877

Blavatsky, H. P. *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 Kabbalah and the Kabbalists at the Close of the Nineteenth Century,” and “Tetragrammaton” in *Kabbalah and Kabbalism*, 1881-92, rpt., Los Angeles: The Theosophy Company, n.d.

These two articles from *Kabbalah and Kabbalism* are reprinted in *Zohar* by Nurho de Manhar [San Diego: Wizards Bookshelf, 1978] pp. 396-424 (see below). The other articles in *Kabbalah and Kabbalism* are “Isis Unveiled and the Visishtadwaita,” “Stray Thoughts on Death and Satan,” and “A Posthumous Publication.”

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.

(*Book of Dzryan*, Stanza II, § 1)

Throughout the compendious works of Mme. Blavatsky (hereafter HPB), *Isis Unveiled* and *The Secret Doctrine*, are numerous references to *kabbalah*, and some passages which deal at length with kabbalistic doctrine. But in the collection of articles published together as *Kabbalah and Kabbalism*, HPB made it most clear that she believed that

1. “Kabbalah” was inferior to “our (Eastern) septenary system”;
2. kabbalistic writings had “all suffered corruptions in their content by sectarian editors”;
3. there was “evidence of occult knowledge in the West,” even though HPB saw fit to expose “[its] limitations” and point to “the misleading character of Kabbalistic symbolism.”

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, Sepher Dzeniuta and a few others, as their own undeniable property and as Kabbalistic works,” 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.

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 Psychological Research: 1883, report)

Gershom Scholem writes (*Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 398-9)

There can be little doubt in my opinion that the famous stanzas of the mysterious Book Dzryan 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.

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. (Some editions of *Kabbala denudata* concluded with F. M. van Helmont’s *Adumbratio Kabbalæ Christiana*, namely, translating the full title, an *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.*)
2. Eliphas Levi, 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).
3. S. L. MacGregor Mathers, who was also dependent upon Rosenroth and Levi.
4. Isaac Myer, whose earnest study contains many errors, some of which even HPB did not commit, as, for example, Myer’s mix-up of the roles and order of the *sefirot*, calling *binah* the second and *hokhmah* the third (Myer, *Qabbalah*, pp. 259-63).

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 Rosenroth’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.

1877

Pancoast, S[eth]. *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.

Pancoast makes two remarks in his introduction which, along with his ties with Mme. Blavatsky (as her physician), 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...

...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.

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.

Pancoast combines Kabbalistic Theosophy, the science and medicine of his day with its fascination with magnetism and electricity, and esoteric methods of “assisting nature” with “applications of Light” for the purpose of physical and mental health.

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 (included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of “24 Scarce Facsimile Works,” from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net).

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 Lubot ha Brit*.

1887

Westcott, William Wynn. *Sefer 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 edited by Darcy Kuntz, Edmonds: Holmes Publication Group, 1996. (The 2nd edition is included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of “24 Scarce Facsimile Works,” from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

On Westcott’s *Sefer Yetzirah*, see my comments in “Notes on Editions of *Sefer Yetzirah* in English” at <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/syie.pdf>.

_____. *Aesh Mezareph, or the Purifying Fire.* London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1894; rpt. New York: Occult Research Press, n.d.; rpt. Edmonds: Holmes Publication Group, 1996.

See ADDENDUM C regarding *Aesh Mezareph*, as it appears in *Kabbala denudata*.

_____. *An Introduction to the Study of the Kabbalah.* London: J. M. Watkins, 1910 and 1926; rpt. Kila: Kessinger Publishing, n.d. (The edition from Allied Publications, New York, [n.d.] is on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of “24 Scarce Facsimile Works,” from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

One can find nearly identical material in *The Kabbalah of the Golden Dawn* by W.W. Westcott, with a preface by S. L. MacGregor Mathers, edited by Darcy Kuntz [GOLDEN DAWN SERIES 16], Edmonds: Holmes Publishing Group, 1997; and in R. A. Gilbert’s edition of Westcott’s writings, *The Magical Mason*, Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1983.

Westcott’s *Introduction...* was highly regarded by occultists of the Golden Dawn strain. Aleister Crowley, in *The Equinox* (vol. 1, no. 5, 1911) 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 principle books of the Zohar, 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.”

Mathers, S[amuel] L[jiddell] MacGregor. *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 (included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of “24 Scarce Facsimile Works,” from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

Mathers is a particularly important figure in that he, with W. W. Westcott, was one of the founders 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 *The Kabbalah Unveiled*.

On page 14, 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 Yetzirah* and the *Zohar* are two of the most important and influential works in *kabbalah*. But the third and fourth entries simply do not belong. With evidence of Mathers' dependence on Rosenroth, we can fairly assume the “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 Israel Sarug's version of the teachings of Isaac Luria. It is an item of considerable interest, but not one of the canons of *kabbalah*. “Asch Metzareph” (*Esh M'zoref*) 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 and 15, Mathers gives a list of “the most important books” contained in the *Zohar*:

- (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* 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 simply do not belong. As Mathers even notes, they are Lurianic, which separates them from the *Zohar* by nearly 300 years.

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), pages 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 Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata*.

Mathers' *Kabbalah Unveiled* is an English translation of (a), (b), and (c) of the second list as rendered from Knorr von Rosenroth's Latin: *Kabbala denudata*. The translation is full of extranea—some Rosenroth's, some Mathers'—so it is hardly a fair representation of these complex texts. I recommend the translation of Roy A. Rosenberg: *The Anatomy of God*, New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1973.

1888

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 Yebuda 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 (included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of "24 Scarce Facsimile Works," from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

Myer's book discusses 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*. Myer confused, or reinterpreted, some doctrine, e.g., the roles and order of the second and third *sefirot*: *hokhmah* and *binah*.

Page, Thomas Frederick. *The Golden Fleece: A Book of Jewish Cabalism*. Laconia, N. H.: [published by the author], 1888.

A few paragraphs (from pages 10 and 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.

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.

1892

Papus [Gerard Encausse]. *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.

Through its associations with the Hebrew letters, tarot is here *cabalized* in the tradition of Eliphaz Levi.

_____. *Qabalab: Secret Tradition of the West*. French original, 1892; English translation, Wellingborough: Thorsons and New York: Samuel Weiser, 1977.

Qabalab is a hodge-podge of Jewish and Christian, cabalistic and non-cabalistic elements. Several writers contributed to the work: Eliphaz Levi, Saint-Yves d'Alveydre, and "Sedir." 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*.

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"—in a code reminiscent of **IF U CN RD THIS**, with a few other signs and symbols (such as ✕ and ⚡) thrown in. Thus, "W-t. ws. th-n. s-d. t. u-." is "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.

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 comments in Part 1 above, § AGRIPPA, and ADDENDUM B.

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)

Stirling, William. *The Canon. An Exposition of the Pagan Mystery Perpetuated in the Cabala as the Rule of All the Arts*. Elkin Matthews, 1897; rpt. London: Research Into Lost Knowledge Organisation Trust, 1974 and 1981; rpt. York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1999 (included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of "24 Scarce Facsimile Works," from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

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.

1900

Farr, Florence. *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.

For each of the Hebrew letters, Farr (a Golden Dawn member) presents a brief paragraph; she 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. *The Zobar. Bereshith-Genesis.* Published as a serial in *The Word*, a monthly magazine edited by H. W. Percival, New York: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1900-14; rpt. San Diego: Wizards Bookshelf, 1978 and 1980.

Nurho's work is a translation of the first sections of the *Zobar* rendered in the light of Mme. Blavatsky's teachings. Nurho was a member of the Golden Dawn whose real name was William Williams.

1901

Harris (OR Harry), Maurice H. *Hebraic Literature. Translations from the Talmud, Midrashim and Kabbala.* Washington & London: M. Walter Dunne, Publisher, 1901 (included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of "24 Scarce Facsimile Works," from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

Harris' § "The Kabbala" contains the same extracts given by Paul Isaac Hershon (1880).

1902

Waite, Arthur Edward. *Doctrine and Literature of the Kabbalah.* London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1902. (Included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, CD of "24 Scarce Facsimile Works," from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

_____. *The Secret Doctrine in Israel.* London: Rider and Co., 1913 (included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of "24 Scarce Facsimile Works," from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

The two titles above are also included on the CD, *The Works of A. E. Waite*, volume 1, also available from Ye Old Book Shoppe.

_____. *The Holy Kabbalah* (incorporating the two titles above). London: Williams and Norgate Ltd, 1929; rpt. New Hyde Park: University Books, 1960 and subsequently.

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 and French translations available to him, in particular Jean de Pauly's *Le Livre de la Splendeur*, a Christianized French rendering of the *Zobar* which has unfortunately been relied upon by a host of twentieth-century occultists, historians, and writers, including Denis Saurat and Anais Nin.

1903

Begley, Walter. *Biblia Cabalistica, or The Cabalistic Bible.* London: Nutt, 1903; rpt. Belle Fourche: Kessinger Publishing, n.d.

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.

1908

Peeke, Margaret B. *Numbers and Letters, or The Thirty-Two Paths of Wisdom.* 1908; rpt. Belle Fourche: Kessinger Publishing, n.d.

Infusions of Christian doctrine, coinages such as "Sephiroths" and the dedication to Dr. Gerard Encausse (= Papus) give apt clues regarding this work's viability and orientation.

1909

Bayley, Harold. *A New Light on the Renaissance Displayed in Contemporary Emblems.* London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1909.

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 reconciliation of which man becomes an angel”—page 106).

Bennett, Allan. “A Note on Genesis,” in *The Equinox: The Official Organ of the A. A. A., The Review of Scientific Illuminism*, Volume 1, Number 2; edited by Aleister Crowley. London: (Simpkin, Marshall) 1909; Bennett’s article with a preface by Crowley was reprinted New York: Samuel Weiser, 1976.

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....”

Crowley, Aleister. *The Equinox: The Official Organ of the A. A. A., The Review of Scientific Illuminism.* Volume I, Numbers 1-10, London: (Simpkin, Marshall) 1909-13; rpt. York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1972 and 1999.

The Equinox is a grandiose esoteric miscellany which includes Golden Dawn materials (as reworked by Crowley), rituals, essays, “knowledge lectures,” stories, plays, tables, charts, poetry, etc. Two items of particular interest in the present context were extracted from *The Equinox*, namely “Gematria” (from vol. 1, no. 5) and “Sepher Sephiroth” (from vol. 1, no. 8), reprinted with *Liber 777* as *The Qabalah of Aleister Crowley* (New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1973). See comments below in Part 3 regarding Crowley and *Liber 777*.

Wilson, Epiphanius. *Hebrew Literature, comprising Talmudic Treatises, Hebrew Melodies and the Kabbalah Unveiled.* London – New York: The Colonial Press, 1909 (included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of “24 Scarce Facsimile Works,” from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

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*, edited by Leon Simon (London: George Routledge & Sons, Limited / New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1910).

On the first page of this 32-page history, Sperling writes that “mysticism is the raw material of religion” (page 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” (page 176).

1912

Kozminsky, Isadore. *Numbers: Their Meaning and Magic.* 1st edition (= *Numbers: Their Magic and Mystery*): London: (Rider?), 1912; 2nd enlarged edition: New York—London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1927; London:

Rider & Co., 1972; New York: Samuel Weiser 1972 and 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” (page 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).

1913

Pick, Bernhard. *The Cabala: Its Influence on Judaism and Christianity*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1913; rpt La Salle: Open Court, 1974 (included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of “24 Scarce Facsimile Works,” from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

“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.” (page 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.

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. (included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of “24 Scarce Facsimile Works,” from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

Coleville’s readable presentation is derived from previous English sources (C. D. Ginsburg, translations of Eliphaz Levi, 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 Qabalab*. Vol. I: THE TRANSMUTATION OF PASSION INTO POWER. Chicago: Yogi Publication Society, 1918.

_____. *The Mysteries of the Qabalab*. Vol. II, “Written down by seven pupils of E. G. Chicago: Yogi Publication Society, 1922.

(Both works are included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of “24 Scarce Facsimile Works,” from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net.)

Gewurz’ works are of the Hermetic-Cabalist 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, 1916; rpt Kila: Kessinger, 2003) is identical to PART II (pp. 54—99) of the 1922 Yogi edition.

1919

Evans, Henry Ridgely. *The Cabala and Freemasonry*. Washington, D. C.: 1919.

The Cabala and Freemasonry is a mere 19 pages, even with illustrations and diagrams. One suspects that it is an excerpts from—or came to be included in—one of Evans’ numerous books

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. Folye, 1934; rpt of the 1929 edition, Kila: Kessinger Publishing, n.d. (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, Eliphas Levi, 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. Putnams 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, 1815/16]

Refer to Arthur McCalla’s article on Fabre d’Olivet in VOLUME 1 of *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, edited by Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005) pages 350-4, where he 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, page 355).

1922

Hirsch, S[amuel]. A[braham]. *The Cabbalists and 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.” (—page 1). “The Cabbalists” originally appeared in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Volume 20, Number 1 (London: October 1907) under the title “Jewish Mystics—an Appreciation.”

1922

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 Yezirah* 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 “Eliphas Levi 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 (included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of “24 Scarce Facsimile Works,” from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

For details on Stenring's translation—and Waite's introduction—see my “Notes on Editions of *Sefer Yezirah* in English” at <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/syie.pdf> Though Stenring's is a much better piece of work, it has been overshadowed by Westcott's edition of *Sefer Yezirah*, which has been reprinted many times and shows up in dozens of sites on the Internet.

Fortune, Dion. *The Cosmic Doctrine*. 1923-4; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1976.

The Cosmic Doctrine gives an account of “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 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; for more on Fortune's “Moriarty period,” see *The Story of Dion Fortune* by Charles Fielding and Carr Collins, Dallas: Star and Cross, 1985).

1924

Frater Achad [Charles Stansfield Jones]. *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.

_____. *The Chalice of Ecstasy, Being a Magical and Qabalistic Interpretation of the Drama of Parzival*. Chicago, 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, edited by 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. Edmonds: 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: 1922; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1969

_____. *XXXI Hymns to the Star Goddess Who Is Not*. Chicago: W. Ransom, 1923); also in *Tree: 3*, edited by David Meltzer, Santa Barbara: Christopher Books, Winter 1972: pp. 66-80.

Frater Achad is generally considered Aleister Crowley's most important student. Achad expands upon the Golden Dawn *qabalah*, establishing 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*; in his books of the 'twenties, he turns the attribution system established by the Golden Dawn completely upside-down.

A more recent writer, considered by some to be Crowley's true heir, is Kenneth Grant, whose numerous books treat *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), pages 226-259, and Evans' *History of British Magick after Crowley* (n.p.: Hidden Publishing, 2007). Further, refer to my comments on Grant (and Frater Achad) in “Approaching the Kabbalah of Maat: Altered Trees and the Procession of the Æons” (2006-9) at <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/maat/AKM.pdf>.

Mention of Grant inevitably leads to the subject of the O.T.O., *Ordo Templi Orientis*—a can of worms, indeed. 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). The book almost immediately fell out of print, soon commanding high prices, many times its original \$50 cover price. The bulk of the book is O.T.O. documents, which, apparently, the active O.T.O. groups are not pleased to see in print. Further controversy surrounds the introduction—and assessments—of Peter-R. Koenig. Much of the material which appears in *O.T.O. Rituals...* can be seen at Koenig’s well-crafted website, *The Ordo Templi Orientis Phenomenon* at www.cyberlink.ch/~koenig/.

A similar negative reaction greeted Francis King’s edition of the O.T.O. material in 1973, *The Secret Rituals of the O.T.O.* (New York: Samuel Weiser)—which was reissued 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, 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, and
- (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 Shostakovich (?) piece drones in the background.

1925

Pullen-Burry, Henry B. *Qabalism*. Chicago, Yogi Publication Society, 1925 (included on *English Kabbalah: 19th & 20th Centuries*, a CD of “24 Scarce Facsimile Works,” from Ye Old Book Shoppe; contact by email at jbmorgan@cox.net)

That which literarians, and bookworms call the Kabbalah, 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. (—page xi)

Pullen-Burry goes on to give examples of these writings: “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*. *Qabalism*, in spite of the quote above, discusses the *sefirot*, the four worlds, Adam Kadmon, and Philo as “the most important link we have with the Gnosticism of the Jews” (p. 7).

1928

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.

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, Levi, Mathers, Myer, Papus, Paracelsus, Pike, Stenring, Rosenroth, Waite, and Westcott.

_____. *The Sacred Magic of the Qabbalah*. Los Angeles: Philosophical Research Society, 1929/1936/1945.

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

1932

Regardie, Francis Israel. *A Garden of Pomegranates: An Outline of the Qabalah.* London: Rider and Co., 1932; rpt. St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1970.

A Garden... is an insider's summary of the Golden Dawn's *qabalah*. See below: 1936, "Part 3," and "ADDENDUM A, ITEMS OF INTEREST" for other works by Regardie.

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 Eliphaz Levi, 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."

1935

Fortune, Dion. *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. Regarding Dion Fortune, see the comments below and ADDENDUM A, ITEMS OF INTEREST.

1936

Regardie, Israel. *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 Middle Pillar gives instructions for expansions of the "Qabalistic Cross" and "Lesser Banishing Ritual," both of which are basic to Golden Dawn practice.

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's *Secret Wisdom* 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*, Levi's *History of Magic*, Myer's *Qabbalah*, Ariel Bension's *Zohar in Moslem and Christian Spain*, and Knut Stenring's translation of *Sefer Yesirah*.

Part 3

THE HERMETIC ORDER OF THE GOLDEN DAWN was founded in the 1880s by S. L. M. Mathers, W. W. Westcott (both of whom are represented in the list above at 1887), and a third, apparently less significant, gentleman named W. R. Woodman. Mathers and Westcott concocted an eclectic program of occult study containing quite a bit of *cabala* as derived from Christian sources we have discussed: Agrippa, Dee, Rosenroth, etc. For better or worse, Golden Dawn teachings have become the cornerstone for much—if not most—of the occult work practiced today. 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)

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.”

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), 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, St. Paul in 1969). Beyond Regardie's full selection, other books which present Golden Dawn documents of some significance include the following:

Mathers, S. L. MacGregor, et al. *Astral Projection, Ritual Magic, and Alchemy*. Edited by 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.

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.

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. *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 (*sic*) 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 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, Eliphaz Levi, 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 above in Part 2 of the present paper are considered “classics of qabalah”: Mathers' *Kabbalah Unveiled* and 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* which are often recommended by students of Golden Dawn-type occultism are Waite's *Holy Kabbalah*, Myer's *Qabalah*, and 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 “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 books given in the footnotes contain mistakes. As an inexpensive source showing what has become of *cabala*, 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 complete—and certainly more readable—introduction to the Golden Dawn's Magical *cabala*. Neither as inclusive nor as well presented as Greer's *Paths of Wisdom* is the similar wisdom of *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.”

Recent 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.* The second volume, *The Golden Dawn Journal*, Book 2, is subtitled “Qabalah: Theory and Magic,” edited by Chic Cicero and Sandra Tabatha Cicero (St. Paul: Llewellyn, 1994).** 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.) *kabbalah* through the twentieth century, refer to my survey, “Approaching the Kabbalah of Maat,” at Colin Low's HERMETIC KABBALAH: <http://www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/maat/AKM.pdf>.]

* 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.

** 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 Rosenroth; or Harvey Newstrom's article in Book IV, “In the Beginning was the Word,” which draws on the *Sefer Yetzirah* and *Sefer Bahir*—along with *The Key of Solomon*—in a discussion of the sundry epithets for each of the ten *sefirot*.

- Some basic readings on the *qabalab* of the Golden Dawn:
 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—somewhat less available than the Llewellyn edition).
 2. Dion Fortune's *Mystical Qabalab* (reprinted many times).
 3. 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).
 4. Gareth Knight's *Practical Guide to Qabalistic Symbolism* (available through Weiser reprints).
 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 Qabalab 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 *Sepher Yetzirah* (in print from several publishers and on the Internet at dozens of sites)
 - b. Mathers' *Kabbalah Unveiled* (available both in print and on the Internet)
- On Aleister Crowley
 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. (Reprinted in 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).

- A sampling of Crowley's works:
 1. *Gems from the Equinox: All the Magical Writings, Instructions by Aleister Crowley for His own Magical Order*, edited by 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).
 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).