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## The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period

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## THE COMPLETE NATURE OF CHRIST

### SOURCES AND STRUCTURES OF A CHRISTOLOGICAL THEURGY IN THE WORKS OF JOHANNES REUCHLIN

Bernd Roling

In his famous work *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), Reginald Scot criticises the magical ideas of a mixed company of believers, who are nevertheless destined to share similar convictions. As England's **demonologist** points out, words are unable to evoke substantial changes, for substance, being immutably embedded in God as His creature, is beyond man's reach. There are some, however, who seem to entertain different opinions: the kabbalists, on the one hand, who claim to be capable of transforming one substance into another, the papists on the other hand, whose creed is no less **determined** by the doctrine of transubstantiation whereby the word enables the incarnation of the Word. Both kabbalist and priest claim to engender a **substantial** change by the words they use, which in the view of the Anglican makes them both guilty of using magic. This belief, Scot asserts, is essentially a fallacy, for no creative relationship connects word and reality, unless God Himself speaks in the act of creation.<sup>1</sup>

Whereas the role of magic in Judaism and Jewish Kabbalah has become increasingly significant to scholars in recent years,<sup>2</sup> hardly any attention has been given to the adoption of magical ideas by Christian kabbalists, while probably only the latter were known to Reginald Scot. This paper investigates to what extent Jewish and oriental magic were deployed in the occultist works of Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), written some sixty years before the *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. Reuchlin can be seen as the second

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<sup>1</sup> Scot, *The Discoverie*, ed. Summers, XII.2, pp. 123-124: *New qualities may be added by humane art, but no new substance can be made or created by man. And seeing that art faileth herin, doubtles neither the illusions or divels, nor the cunning of witches, can bring anie such thing trulie to passe. For by sound of the words nothing commeth, nothinggoeth, otherwise than God in nature hath ordeined to be doone by ordinarie speech, or else by his speciall ordinance*. Scot seems to have grasped Bronislaw Malinowski's idea of the magical word as a 'creative metaphor'. See Tambiah, 'The Magical Power of Words', pp. 185-186.

<sup>2</sup> On magic in the Jewish world, see Idel, 'On Judaism', *passim*.

leading protagonist of Christian Kabbalah next to Pico della Mirandola. In the following pages we shall attempt to identify some of the objects of Scot's criticism and find out on what intrinsic logic a rejection of the transformation of substances as well as ideas connecting magical practice and sacramental event were based. As will be shown in the course of the **argument**, it makes sense to limit oneself to two basic ideas, **firstly**, the assumption of an anthropomorphic angelic macrocosm, and, **secondly**, the picture of a 'complete nature'. This will enable one to explore how both acquire a new, system-immanent shape within Christian Kabbalah. With an eye to keeping the argument within bounds, we shall have to omit related concepts such as the astral body and the transformation within the hypostasised aspects of God, called Sefuot.

### *The angelic macrocosm*

Like late antique philosophy, Judaism did not limit its world to the visible, but created a spiritual architecture to bridge the discomforting gap between God and the world. Ever since the vision of Ezechiel (**Ez.** 1) speculations on the structure of heaven and the throne (**merkavah**) of God loomed large in Judaism. The perhaps most renowned yet partly untypical work of the Merkavah tradition, called *Sefer Hekhalot* or **3 Heno**ch, offers material untouched by theurgic practice.<sup>3</sup> The main protagonist of this work is Rabbi Ishmael, who gains admission into the World of the Throne, where he meets Metatron, the 'Angel of presence', and speaks with him.<sup>4</sup> At this point Metatron reveals that he is Henoch, who was transferred **from** the idolatrous world before the Deluge.<sup>5</sup> He reports that it is true that the angels blamed **hūm** for his human nature (for he was the son of Jared), yet due to his integrity he was permitted to enter the heavens by the side of the angel **Anafiel** and on the wings of the **Shechinah**;<sup>6</sup> in heaven God gives **hūm** 72 wings, which comprise all the world, and 365 starry eyes as the signs of angelic existence.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, all the secrets of the Law and creation are laid open to him.<sup>8</sup> Clad in light, Metatron is henceforth called the lesser

<sup>3</sup> I use the edition of Odeberg, which offers an English translation. See also the new edition of **3 Heno**ch prepared by Schafer, *Synopse*, §§ 1-80; *idem*, *Übersetzung*, vol. 1. On the relationship with Merkavah mysticism, see Grünwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, pp. 191-208.

<sup>4</sup> Odeberg, **3 Heno**ch, chapt. 1, pp. 3-4 (Hebrew), pp. 3-5 (English).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, chapt. 4, pp. 6-8 (Hebrew), pp. 8-13 (English).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, chapt. 6-7, pp. 11-14 (Hebrew), pp. 19-22 (English).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, chapt. 9, pp. 14-15 (Hebrew), pp. 25-26 (English).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, chapt. 11, pp. 16-17 (Hebrew), pp. 30-31 (English). On the transformation of Henoch into an angel, see Schafer, 'Engel und Menschen', pp. 272-275. Schäfer

YHWH, for 'my name is in him'.<sup>9</sup> Princes, angels of elements, stars and planets subject themselves to him. Having finished the story of his transference, Metatron continues with a detailed angelology, which, based on Merkavah mysticism, consists of heavens with the divisions and subdivisions of the angels that govern them, as well as the duties of those divisions concerning both God and the world.<sup>10</sup> The names of the angels are mostly derived from the domain of the cosmos (*Shemesh'el* or *Laila'el*), or, more rarely, from their own hierarchical ranks.<sup>11</sup> On explaining the celestial universe, Metatron points out to Ishmael the dwelling-place of the just souls that either have not yet been born or have already returned to the throne of glory.<sup>12</sup>

To readers from a later age and a different context this narrative offers material which, due to its assumed age and authority, is considered to be of the highest order, since it not only reveals the transformation from a human into an angelic being – assisted by a guardian angel, Anafiel – but also offers an angelic cosmos, subservient to man, and a connection between the highest angelic life-form and the ineffable Name of God. Not least, it provides a model of an assumed Son of God which is open to any kind of further interpretation. Obviously, it is tempting to assume the existence of several hypostases or even to formulate Judaeo-Christian syncretisms that identify the divine form of Metatron with Christ.<sup>13</sup>

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interprets Henoch's transmutation as an invitation to re-enact the experience of the Merkavah mystics by literary means, whereas Grünwald (*Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, p. 201) even interprets it as a direct answer to the role of Christ. Cf. Idel, 'Enoch is Metatron', pp. 228–236, on the role of Henoch as an *Adam restitutus* who regains the lost state of angelic innocence through a mystical ascent. On the angel Anafiel as a possible mirror of the Creator in close relationship to Metatron, see also Dan, 'Anafiel', *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> Odeberg, 3 *Henoch*, chapt. 12, p. 17 (Hebrew), pp. 32–33 (English); chapt. 14, pp. 18–20 (Hebrew), pp. 36–38 (English). The most detailed discussion of the figure of Metatron so far is offered by Deutsch, *Guardians of the Gate*, pp. 27–47, esp. pp. 34–35: 'Instead of a hard and fast division between human and angelic existence, Enoch-Metatron points to a more fluid ontological and functional continuum. Of course it may be argued, that the true division within Merkavah mysticism existed between God and all of his creatures, including angels. Even this model must be qualified in light of Metatron, however, who not only blurs the boundaries between human and angelic beings, but [...] between angelic and divine existence'.

<sup>10</sup> Odeberg, 3 *Henoch*, with some interpolations, chapt. 17–42, pp. 23–46 (Hebrew), pp. 45–132 (English).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Grünwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, pp. 204–207.

<sup>12</sup> Odeberg, 3 *Henoch*, chapt. 43–44, pp. 46–48 (Hebrew), pp. 132–140 (English).

<sup>13</sup> For a brilliant survey of gnostic and hermetic parallels as well as possible early Christian influences and adaptations, see Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God', pp. 276–288. On later kabbalistic interpretations, see Abrams, 'The Boundaries', pp. 311–316, and

Another text belonging to the field of Merkavah literature is the *Shi'ur Qomah* ('Measurement of the divine'), a work extant in several versions under several names. It explores in a mystically exaggerated manner the concept of the divine *macranthropos* ('great man'), which was sharply criticised by opponents of an anthropomorphic idea of God (such as *Maimonides*).<sup>14</sup> The limbs of God are measured in parasangs to the last detail, almost technically, and fitted with their adequate extensions, their own names and angelic force. Thus, regarding the eyes of God it says: 'The black of His right eye is 10,000,500 parasangs. The name of its prince is *Rachmiel*. The name of the white of His right eye is *Pachakarsiah* and the name of the white of the left eye is *Bazaqtzatqiah*'.<sup>15</sup> As in the *Sefer Hekhalot*, magic is not only absent but explicitly repudiated.<sup>16</sup> More eminent is the metaphysical wisdom of salvation of the *Shi'ur Qomah*, which is not something to be simply put into practice, but, being to some extent a basis of the forthcoming world, should be recited as a *Mishna*.<sup>17</sup> The reader obtains a vision of a *divine* macrocosm, which consists of a number of divine and angelic names and was originally meant as an object of meditation.

*Shi'ur Qomah* and *Sefer Hekhalot* traditions remained close to Ashkenaz-Judaism, were adapted to its needs and enjoyed a multifarious reception.<sup>18</sup> Quite contrary to its original intentions, the *Shi'ur Qomah*, along

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pp. 316-321 on later Jewish-Christian discussions of the relationship between *Metatron* and Christ.

<sup>14</sup> Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah*, pp. 216-217 (Appendix 11). See also Grünwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, pp. 213-217; Scholem, 'Shi'ur Qomah', pp. 12-30; and also, with special regard to Cohen's edition, Schafer, 'Shi'ur Qomah', *passim*. On a possible relationship between *Shi'ur Qomah* and early Christian traditions, see Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God', and Mopsik, 'La datation'.

<sup>15</sup> Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah (Sefer Haqqomah)*, p. 144, w. 89-91.

<sup>16</sup> Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah (Siddur rabbah)*, pp. 52-53, w. 126-142: 'R. Ishmael said: I heard the sweet voice of the Godhead saying, I am the Lord of all souls. All the names stated in this book have no equivalencies, and (regarding) him who knows them but does not use them in magic incantation, I swear [that if he merits reward] he shall surely (thereafter) inherit Paradise (...). On the other hand, should he use (the names magically), his (good reward) shall turn to evil, and I shall give him over to the cruel angel'.

<sup>17</sup> Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah*, p. 152, w. 125-127: 'R. Ishmael said: I and R. Aqiba are guarantors in this matter, that in this world (he is secure) in a good life, and in the world to come, (he may be secure) in a good name, (but) only if he recites this as a *mishna* every day'. Cf. Dan, 'The Concept of Knowledge', *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Wolfson, 'Metatron'; Dan, *The 'Unique Cherub' Circle*, pp. 109-111, 147-148, 240-251; Hermann, 'Re-written Mystical Texts', pp. 109-114. On the problem of the canalisation and modification of several traditions in the Ashkenaz surroundings, see *Ta-Shema*, 'Sifriyatam', esp. p. 309. On the presence of Ashkenaz material in Renaissance Italy, cf. Idel, 'Jewish Mystical Thought', pp. 32-34.

with other cosmological designs, became an integral part of what is probably the most significant collection of magical literature *in* Hebrew, the *Sefer Raziel*, and therefore, eventually, became part of a wider context of magical practices and prescriptions.<sup>19</sup> It was other parts of this collection rather than the *Shi'ur Qomah* that degraded the macranthropos of divine and angelic names to a prelude of magical practice. An important basis for this magical material is *Sefer ha-Razim*, which was edited by Margalioth.<sup>20</sup> Of unsure date,<sup>21</sup> the *Book of Mysteries* justifies its own existence by means of the figure of Noah, who was given a book by the angel Raziel to overcome the imminent danger of the Deluge. It was through his wisdom and knowledge of astrology as well as through the correct **naming** and ritual adoration of the main angelic choirs that Noah was able to tell good **from** bad and to apply apt miracles in any situation.<sup>22</sup>

As stated in the book itself, it provided Solomon with the same wisdom by a chain of tradition.<sup>23</sup> On reading the occultist manual, one can observe the transformation of the cosmological and mystical nature of the wisdom of salvation into a genuinely magical one. Analogous to the seven assumed **firmaments** that reach up to the World of the Throne, **which** is characterised merely by the form of a doxology, the *Sefer ha-Razim* is divided into seven

<sup>19</sup> Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah (Sefer Raziel)*, pp. 77-124. Another cosmological and non magical ingredient is the *Berayta de Ma'aseh Bereshit*, which, referring to creation history, contributes a whole range of angelic names. Cf. Sed, 'Une cosmologie juive'.

<sup>20</sup> Margalioth's paramount editorial achievement notwithstanding, it is helpful to use Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln*, while reading that edition; *ibidem*, pp. 16-17, for criticism of Margalioth's editorial practice. There is a translation of the *Sefer ha-Razim* by Morgan. See also Grünwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, pp. 225-234; Sed, 'Le Sefer ha-Razim'; Schäfer, 'Jewish Magical Literature', pp. 81-82. On the function of *Sefer ha-Razim* in *Sefer Raziel*, see *Sefer ha-Razim*, ed. Margalioth, pp. 44-46.

<sup>21</sup> Early fourth century according to Margalioth (*Sefer ha-Razim*, p. 24); seventh century according to Grünwald (*Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, p. 226).

<sup>22</sup> *Sefer ha-Razim*, ed. Margalioth, pp. 65-66; *Sepher ha-Razim*, transl. Morgan, pp. 17-20, esp. p. 18: '(Noah learned) from it rituals (that cause) death and rituals (that preserve) life, to understand the evil and the good, to search out (the right) season and moments (for magical rites) (...) to arouse combat to **rule** over spirits and over demons, to send them (wherever you wish) so they will go out like slaves'. On the introduction as a whole, see Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, pp. 191-192. On Jewish magical literature, cf. Veltri, *Magie und Halakha*, pp. 262-264.

<sup>23</sup> *Sefer ha-Razim*, ed. Margalioth, p. 66; *Sepher ha-Razim*, transl. Morgan, p. 19: 'And the Books of Mysteries were disclosed to him and he became very learned in books of understanding, and (so) he ruled over everything he desired, over all spirits and the demons that wander in the world, and from the wisdom of this book he imprisoned and released, and sent out and brought in, and built and prospered'.

parts, each of which shows a basically identical structure. Beginning with a technical description of the structure of the respective heavens, it subsequently assigns the angels of the **firmament** to their particular subdivisions. Then it gives the names of the angels, and their functions in relation to the world. The next step shows how the angelic attributes are applied, and what procedures are necessary for magical use. These are followed by an invocation and – depending on the circumstances – a ritual conclusion of the procedure.<sup>24</sup> Each part of the practice becomes intelligible as it is embedded in an angelic cosmos. The fourth firmament is marked by **fire** and dew, so that the respective divisions are in charge of sun and rain. The procedure is therefore aimed at the mundane influence of this constellation.

Almost the same is true of the invocations arranged according to a deductive scheme, as can be found in different magical contexts.<sup>25</sup> Prior to the invocations, the names of all relevant angels are recited. As may be true for magic in general, the name is the main device of human influence, since pronouncing the name allows admission into the essence of the angel whose services are required.<sup>26</sup> Invocation proper begins with a coercive spell to summon an angel by **referring** to a divine attribute such as a salubrious feat or a mundane aspect of divine power, which is followed by an order to act. Characteristically, the angel can only be conjured by locating him within the attributes of God.<sup>27</sup> The personal wish of the magician is mostly preceded by another spell of command, and an obligatory spell of release concludes the procedure. In our case the angels of the sun are ordered to make the sun appear at night. The conjuring attribute is the totality of the stars, and more specifically, the illuminating omniscience of God, which in the personified shape of the angel representing the sun is placed at the disposal of the addressee.<sup>28</sup> Since it refers to the **tetragrammaton**, and makes

<sup>24</sup> On the structure, see *Sepher ha-Razim*, transl. Morgan, pp. 6-7.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln*, pp. 73, 76. For parallel arrangements on, e.g., amulets, see Swartz, 'Scribal Magic', pp. 178-179.

<sup>26</sup> Fundamental and still useful in this respect is Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberesen*, pp. 117-128; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 78-103. Trachtenberg's work focuses primarily on the *Sefer Raziel*. On the magical name, cf. Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln*, pp. 74-78, and recently Kilcher, *Die Sprachtheorie*, pp. 85-90.

<sup>27</sup> Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln*, pp. 79-96.

<sup>28</sup> *Sefer ha-Razim*, ed. Margalioth, pp. 98-99, ll. 47-57; Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln*, pp. 215-216; *Sepher ha-Razim*, transl. Morgan, pp. 70-71: 'In the name of the Holy King who walks upon the wings of the wind, by the letters of the complete name that was revealed to Adam in the Garden of Eden, (by) the Ruler of the Planets, and the sun, and the moon, who bow down before Him as slaves before their masters, by the name of the wondrous God, I adjure you, that you will make known to me this great miracle that I desire, and that I may see the sun in his power in the **terrestrial** circle (traversed by) his chariot, and let no hidden thing be too diffi-

deliberate use of Hellenistic material (a noteworthy fact with an eye to later adaptations), the invocation contains elements that were to become common with later authors.

Even before the Christian Kabbalah was formally established, the compilation assembled under the title of *Sefer Raziel* was partly translated into Latin, with different names, different sizes as well as divergent supplements and parentheses. There were French and English versions, mixed with several additions from the *Clavicula Salomonis* literature, well known in occultist circles. Direct translations of the parts already included in the *Sefer ha-Razim* also existed.<sup>29</sup> Reuchlin knew the *Liber Razielis*, although he was sceptical towards it.<sup>30</sup> Paolo Ricci († 1541), Maximilian's physician in ordinary, a convert, and colleague of Reuchlin, knew it through his Maecenas.<sup>31</sup> It was Guillaume Postel (who cannot be dealt with here) who, finally, departing from christological premises, connected the tradition of Raziel directly to the polyglot tradition of the Henoch complex.<sup>32</sup> It was already in several works of Reuchlin's idol Pico that the idea of a *transformatio naturae* was linked to the figures of Henoch and Metatron, if perhaps mediated by Abraham Abulafia.<sup>33</sup> It would seem that Reuchlin had at hand the *Sefer Hekhalot* in a translation by Flavius Mithradates, whose text was taken from

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cult for me. Let me see him perfectly today, and let me ask him what I wish, and let him speak with me as a man speaks with his friend and tell me the secret of the depths, and make known to me hidden things, and let no evil thing happen to me'. One more invocation and the spell of release follows. On the invocation, cf. Schäfer, 'Jewish Magical Literature', p. 81. On Greek parallels, cf. Lesses, 'Speaking with Angels', pp. 49-51; on the Greek vocabulary, see Sznol, 'Sefer ha Razim', pp. 277-282. It can easily be imagined what a Renaissance neoplatonist might find in this text.

<sup>29</sup> On the Latin *Liber Razielis*, see *Sefer ha-Razim*, ed. Margalioth, pp. 54-55 (con-cise), and Secret, 'Sur quelques traductions', *passim*, but esp. pp. 240-241 on the Latin translation of the parts from the *Sefer ha-Razim*.

<sup>30</sup> Thus, after an extended catalogue of kabbalistic authorities, he writes in the first book of *De arte cabalistica: Nolo addere librum Salomoni sub nomine Razielis inscriptum, quia est fictio magica*. Cf. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, p. 94. Goodman's bilingual edition is based on a facsimile of the Latin edition (Hanau, 1517).

<sup>31</sup> A translation was dedicated to the spiritual director of Paolo Ricci, Frederigo Gomez de Lisboa, by Bemadinus Moronus, another protagonist of the early Christian Kabbalah. Cf. Secret, 'Un cabbaliste chrétien oublié'.

<sup>32</sup> See Secret, 'Le Raziel et le livre d'Enoch', pp. 119-136.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Pico, *De hominis dignitate / Von der Würde des Menschen*, pp. 6-8; Pico, *Commentary*, pp. 554, 147 and 181. On the influence of Abulafia, cf. Wirszubski, *Pico's Encounter*, pp. 231-234. On Pico's use of Metatron, see esp. Copenhagen, 'L'occulto in Pico', pp. 231-232.

the *Sodei Razzaya* of Eleazar of Worms.<sup>34</sup> Lodovico Lazzarelli, who was far less well-known, associates a person's transfiguration through a magical token with a whole catalogue of occultist topics. Furthermore, he cites the *Tabula semphorae Rasiel*, a book called *Spectaculum Liber Enoch Hermetis*, as well as an *Almadel et pentagonus*.<sup>35</sup> The *Shi'ur Qomah* had already been used one century earlier, in an entirely different context, by the convert and apologist Abner of Burgos, who became famous under the name Alfonso de Valladolid, and whose aim it was to find an equivalent of the incarnation in Jewish literature.<sup>36</sup>

### *The complete nature*

Let us now **turn** to the concept of the *natura completa* and the idea of one's personal angel as the object of magic. This concept of the complete nature was coined by two Plotinian texts mediated by Arabic sources. One of them, Iamblichus's *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum*, can be seen as a basis for a theurgical approach to one's personal daimon. The other, the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*, which is based on an excerpt from the *Enneads*, in original fashion establishes the idea of a mystical self-interpretation on a higher level.<sup>37</sup> Both texts existed in Latin versions when the Christian Kabbalah reached its peak.<sup>38</sup> According to Iamblichus, a daimon is attributed to every person, and can be made the object of theurgical operations.<sup>39</sup> Where-

<sup>34</sup> On these manuscripts, see Hermann, 'The Reception', pp. 38-39; Wirszubski, *Pico's Encounter*, p. 16; Lelli, 'Pico', pp. 206-208 and 210-211.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Garin, *et al.*, *Testi umanistici*, pp. 38-39 (*Epistola Enoch*), pp. 68-69 (*Crater Ermetis*); Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 171-173. See also Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, pp. 5-6 (Poimandres 24-25). On *Almadel*, see the contribution by Jan R. Veenstra in this volume.

<sup>36</sup> Alfonso de Valladolid, *Mostrador*, vol. 1, pp. 21-22 (17r), pp. 158-159 (85r); Alfonso de Valladolid, *Teshuvot la Meharef*, pp. 36-37 (51a). See also Scholem, 'Considérations', pp. 28-29, 43.

<sup>37</sup> I have used Iamblique, *Les mystères*, transl. Des Places (VIII.6, IX.10, pp. 199-210) and *Theologie des Aristoteles*, ed. Dieterici.

<sup>38</sup> Marsilio Ficino provided an abridged translation of *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum* (Venice, 1497, 1503). The relevant sections are found in Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis Aegyptiorum*, fols. 71-76. The *Uthuludija Aristotalis* was published in Rome in 1519, entirely paraphrased, entitled *Sapientissimi Aristotelis Stagiritae Theologia sive mistica philosophia secundum Aegyptios noviter reperta et in Latinum castigatissime redacta*. Immediately after its publication, it was used in proving Aristotle's indebtedness to Plato. See Mahoney, 'Pier Nicola Castellani', pp. 387-390. On the neoplatonic context of this work, see D'Ancona Costa, 'Il Tema'. In its reception and interpretation, see Vajda, 'Les notes d'Avicenne', pp. 346-406; Avicenna, *Epistola*, XLII-XLIV, pp. 140-144.

<sup>39</sup> On the concept of **theurgy** in late Antiquity in general, cf. Lewy, *Chaldaean*

as the lower **soul** remains subject to stellar influence and, hence, to fate, the intelligible soul, being connected with the divine world, can free itself from the **determinant** power of the stars.<sup>40</sup> The personal daimon as an individual principle can be ritually conjured up in order to function as a catalyst in this connection. He is free from the disposition of the ascendent and, as a **manifestation** of a universal power geared to an individual person, he fills the intelligible soul and enables it to prepare its own apotheosis.<sup>41</sup> Thus the private daimon might be characterised as a person's **pre-existent** ideal, as the driving force on the way to divinity. Hence, in Iamblichus's view, the personal daimon does not refer to a certain part of a person, nor does a person possess more than one daimon.<sup>42</sup> He is a product of the divine will and devotes himself to the theurgist only on divine command.<sup>43</sup> The *Theology of Aristotle* speculates on how the contemplative subject leaves the bounds of his body, a notion that would become a prototype in later Arabic and Hebrew philosophy. In the highly articulate Arabic version of the *Theology*, the thinker, turning to his soul, **enters** – like a hypostasis – his essence (**dat**) within which he is elevated to the illuminated divine sphere, perceiving himself as one of its constituent parts. He knows and experiences himself as known, as an object of knowledge. This condition lasts only a short time, and the contemplation of his soul as an object of light ends with the contemplator being incarnated anew.<sup>44</sup>

Both conceptions are **amalgamised** in the *Picatrix*, the *Ghayat al-Hakim*.<sup>45</sup> Magic in this way becomes a method of perfecting oneself, i.e. a practice of philosophers, and hence receives a place in the making of the universe and the hierarchy of substances. Beyond its particular applications, magic in this form means a technique of individual dematerialisation, constantly referring to the divine.<sup>46</sup> This makes the *Ghayat al-Hakim* (as perhaps no other work from the end of Antiquity to the beginning of the

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*Oracles*, pp. 177-226. For a survey of more recent literature on the concept of theurgy in Iamblichus and others, see Shaw, 'Theurgy', pp. 2-13.

<sup>40</sup> Iamblique, *Les mystères*, VIII.6-8, pp. 199-202.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, IX.1-6, pp. 202-207.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, IX.7-8, pp. 207-208.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, IX.9-10, pp. 208-210.

<sup>44</sup> *Theologie des Aristoteles*, ed. Dieterici, pp. 8-9 (Arabic and German); see also pp. 44, 45. Cf. the identical commentary of Avicenna (Vajda, 'Les notes', pp. 360-361 and 378-379). It is based on *Ennead* IV.8.1-2: cf. Plotinus, *Schriften*, vol. 1a, pp. 128-129. The Arabic adaptation has been greatly extended in terms of imagery and mystical significance; hence cf. Plotinus, *Opera*, vol. 2, *Enneades* IV-V, pp. 224-225.

<sup>45</sup> Pseudo Al-Magriti, *Das Ziel des Weisen* (Arabic). Cf. '*Picatrix*', transl. Ritter (German); *Picatrix*, ed. Pingree (Latin).

<sup>46</sup> On this point, cf. Perrone Compagni, 'Picatrix latinus', p. 247.

Renaissance) develop a philosophical theory of magic, using a medley of neoplatonic, Aristotelian and gnostic-hermetic ideas, as employed especially by the Brethren of Purity in their theory of emanation.<sup>47</sup> The assumption of a 'complete nature', too, should be looked at against the background of this theoretical legitimation, since it has a bearing on our later discussions.<sup>48</sup> From an absolute hyle, God, the first **Form**, issues forth absolute intellect, soul, the heavenly world and the material world in a chain of emanations, with the soul being located amongst the spheres of God, intellect, heaven, and the elementary world.<sup>49</sup> The 'intellect of the universe' which actualises any material potentiality in the universe, contrasts with the soul of the universe, which represents the beginning of all corporeal substance and is led to knowledge by virtue of the intellect, in a neoplatonic manner. To this are added the terms of 'universal intellect' (sensus *generalis*), being the absolute form of man abstracted from matter, 'universal soul' (spiritus generalis), as a single term for the individual, as well as man by and for himself, as an object of knowledge.<sup>50</sup>

The *Picatrix* introduces an imaginary Empedocles, who argues that, during the ontological succession of creation, changes in substance are evoked, firstly, by the divine will, secondly, by the intellect, thirdly, by the soul, fourthly, by the stellar world, and lastly by the elements. Potentially, the will appears in the form of God, actually, however, in the intellect. Likewise, the intellect is potentially in the will, actually in the soul, while the heavenly world appears potentially in the soul and is realised in the world of the elements." Reality and potentiality, form and matter consequently are terms relative to the respective higher and lower. The '**Aim** of the Wise' (ghayat al-hakim) is for the individual soul to merge into the intellect of the universe, meaning the actual will of God, through knowledge, and through the actualisation of the absolute human (of the *sensus generalis*). The

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<sup>47</sup> On this point, cf. '*Picatrix*' (German), pp. xxiii-xxix; Perrone Compagni, '*Picatrix latinus*', pp. 249-250; Pingree, 'Some of the Sources', pp. 1-5.

<sup>48</sup> With respect to a possible theory of magic, Helmut Ritter, however, already stated in his introduction to the German *Picatrix* 'daß wir eine solche Theorie aus den disiecta membra von Andeutungen, Zitaten und oft nur halb verstandenen – und nur halb verständlichen Auszügen aus allen möglichen Schriften, zum großen Teil Pseudoepigraphen, erst zusammen suchen müssen' (pp. xxxiii-xxxiv).

<sup>49</sup> *Picatrix*, Book 4, chapter 1: Pseudo Al-Magnti, pp. 286-287; '*Picatrix*' (German), pp. 297-298; *Picatrix* (Latin), pp. 174-175.

<sup>50</sup> *Picatrix*, Book 4, chapter 1: Pseudo Al-Magriti, pp. 291-291; '*Picatrix*' (German), pp. 302-304; *Picatrix* (Latin), pp. 177-178, on this point cf. Perrone Compagni, '*Picatrix latinus*', pp. 252-255.

<sup>51</sup> *Picatrix*, Book 3, chapter 12: Pseudo Al-Magriti, p. 285; '*Picatrix*' (German), p. 296; this section is missing in the Latin version.



As soon as the microcosm has been integrated into the *natura completa* (thus resuming the 'Aim of the Wise', according to Socrates), the soul puts itself 'in the Sun's stead' and attracts the rays of wisdom<sup>57</sup>. Here, Iamblichus's driving force, the daimon, can be recognised, which in the shape of the superior self and the intelligible essence of the individual, allows the theurgist to approach his timeless grounds. In this context, it would seem that a person's *natura completa* is his own ideality, accomplished through a spiritual mediator and through stellar influence. It is the embodiment of the universal in the concrete and hence the personified knowledge of one's own immortality within the macrocosm.

The idea of an individual angelic power in the cosmos which can be ritually addressed and which enables participation in the universal, occurs less frequently in Jewish medieval magic. *Sefer ha-Tamar*, the *Book of the palm-tree* by Abu Aflah from Syracuse, is one of the few later treatises containing theoretical comments on magic. Originally written in Arabic, this work today exists only in a Hebrew translation, edited by Gerschom Scholem.<sup>58</sup> Along with the Hebrew *Picatrix*, with adaptations of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and the material later included in the *Book of Raziel*, it belonged to a canon of occultist literature in Italy. This is proved by the didactic *Opera* of Yohanan Alemanno, who worked towards a canon of writings pertinent to the various branches of science and learning.<sup>59</sup> As he says, Abu

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<sup>57</sup> *Picatrix*, Book 3, chapter 6: Pseudo Al-Magriti, pp. 187-194; 'Picatrix' (German), pp. 198-206; *Picatrix* (Latin), pp. 108-112. Apart from a brief reference (*natura completa est Sol sapientis et eius radix luminum*), Socrates's evocations of the sun-image are missing from the Latin text.

<sup>58</sup> *Sefer ha-Tamar*, ed. Scholem, and in German translation: *Das Buch von der Palme*. On further alchemical writings by Abu Aflah, see Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, pp. 98-118. For a helpful survey of the contents of *Sefer ha-Tamar*, see Pines, 'Le Sefer ha-Tamar', pp. 335-344. On Abu Aflah, see also Scholem, *Alchemie und Kabbalah*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>59</sup> Idel, 'The Magical and Neoplatonic Interpretations', pp. 191-195, esp. pp. 192-193 on the diverse Hebrew manuscripts of the *Picatrix*. Cf. also Idel, 'Hermeticism and Judaism', pp. 66-70. Alemanno testifies to the significance of magical and Hekhaloth literature in the Jewish-Italian Renaissance and to the influence of learned Jews on the Christian environment. On the importance of magical studies in generating a 'perfect man' and for a catalogue of useful works, see Idel, 'The Study Program', pp. 310-312. On the importance of Hekhaloth literature as part of the 'Oral Torah', see Yohanan Alemanno himself, *Hay ha-'olamim*, p. 72 (Hebrew), pp. 108-109 (Italian). Cf. Hermann, 'The Reception', pp. 36-37 (on Alemanno's knowledge and his own manuscript of *Sefer Raziel*), and pp. 41-72 (on his rendering of 3 *Henoch*). On the *Claviculae*, see the survey (with some mistakes) by Kiesewetter, *Faust*, pp. 324-342; also Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, vol. 2, pp. 279-283, but esp. Butler, *Ritual magic*, pp. 47-80. On the Hebrew *Key of Solomon*, cf. Rohrbacher-Sticker, 'Mafteah Shelomo', pp. 263-270, *passim*, and Hermann Gollancz's

Aflah describes in his work the 'Pneumatic Science' that leads to God and his angels and reveals what 'the gods' (or, as with Scholem, the *pneumata*) keep secret.<sup>60</sup> Far beyond imagination or merely practical or theoretical virtues, magic follows a 'fifth path' that 'frees the inner from its shell'. By means of symbols, Abu Aflah explains that it is 'the last link in the chain', 'a deep pail' or vessel, i.e. the effective recipient of the superior emanation~.~'

God knows two preserving forces: 'the Useful' beneath the last sphere, and the 'natural' (*tiv'i*) or 'proper', superior to this sphere.<sup>62</sup> To this division is linked a cosmology of 'sparks', hierarchically unfolding downwards to the last spark that is directly applicable to man.<sup>63</sup> Tempting as it may be to see in these sparks the separate intelligences that, philosophically, find their ends in the agent intellect, the language of Abu Aflah in the course of the text is closely linked to the *Theology of Aristotle*. The collective last spark 'illuminates the face of the one who loves it' and communicates to him God's will, the highest truth of magic, which the recipient is meant to keep secret.<sup>64</sup> The revelation of the divine will present in the final spark, is passed on to the magician by heralds (*maggidim*) linked to stars.<sup>65</sup> As in the case with conjurable angels or demons, their appearance depends on sublunary processes and pharmaceutical mixtures serving as a medium between Maggid and man.<sup>66</sup> In the practical part of the *Sefer ha-Tamar*, a birdlike oracular figure binds the magical emanation of the Maggid.<sup>67</sup> Truth is defined by how much the practitioner is able to perceive, and it depends on the individual's intelligence to what extent the Maggid can make himself visible by means of a 'mixture'. Although the last spark, being intelligible and *natural*, is looked at by the whole *sublunar* world, the relationship of mediator and conjurer is purely personal, adapted to the latter's intelligence. The image prevalent in the *Ghayat al-Hakim* of a transpersonal humankind magically becoming the contemplator's own nature finds its equivalent in Abu Aflah.<sup>68</sup> This idea is elaborated in Solomon's *cryptical* aphorisms that are appended to the work as a theoretical extension. A specific element is

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study and edition (Gollancz, *Clavicula Salomonis*, 1903, and *Sepher Maphteah*).

<sup>60</sup> *Sefer ha-Tamar*, p. 186 (Hebrew), p. 9 (German); pp. 188-189 (Hebrew), pp. 12-13 (German).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 190-191 (Hebrew), pp. 16-17 (German).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 193 (Hebrew), p. 19 (German).

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 193-194 (Hebrew), p. 20-21 (German).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 193-194 (Hebrew), pp. 20-21 (German).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 195 (Hebrew), p. 22 (German).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 195-196 (Hebrew), pp. 23-24 (German).

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 198-199 (Hebrew), pp. 27-29 (German).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. the remarks on the *Picatrix* by Pines, 'Le Sefer ha-Tamar', pp. 352-358.

attributed to each object as an essence or principle, which accounts for the overall goals and is in **tum** rooted in a principle. The better the principle is received by the object, the purer the identity of both.<sup>69</sup> The whole idea is derived from an imaginary *Book of Perfection* that might point at the *natura completa*. There is **an** aphorism dealing with such perfection as can be gained through the right 'mixture' and the enlightenment caused by it.<sup>70</sup> Another saying (provided I interpret it correctly) suggests that the intelligible entity is not discernible as such, despite its being adapted to the Maggid individually.<sup>71</sup>

### *Christianising adaptations*

Richard Kieckhefer and Roland Mathiesen made a promising attempt at finding Jewish material in medieval Latin texts of magic. Especially remarkable is Honorius's *Liber iuratus* which, in a central part, contains a ritual evocation of a *visio beatifica*.<sup>72</sup> It is preceded by 28 days of preparation during which the sacraments are received repeatedly and the soul is cleansed. It is accompanied by Latin prayers containing fictitious Hebrew phrases, and in the finale, which is introduced by lengthy invocations of divine names in Hebrew, one hundred more pre-eminently Hebrew words are **written** in a field of ashes, in a closed room. In the last conjuration **an-**

<sup>69</sup> *Sefer ha-Tamar*, Aphorism 5: p. 207 (Hebrew), p. 40 (German).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, Aphorism 10: p. 208 (Hebrew), p. 42 (German), translation Scholem: 'Die Herzen neigen sich dem Wollen zu, und das Wollen der Mischung, und die Mischung dem gottlichen Willen. Und der gottliche Wille bedeutet Verkündigung, und die Verkiindigung bedeutet Erleuchtung, und die Erleuchtung bedeutet Vollkommenheit, und die Vollkommenheit bedeutet Verborgenes und dies ist im Buch des Willens auseinandergesetzt'.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*, Aphorism 17: p. 210 (Hebrew), p. 45 (German), translation Scholem: 'Die Funken folgen der Ausbreitung des (Lichtes) nicht, denn die Ausbreitung ist für sie Mangelhaftigkeit, wohl aber folgt die Ausbreitung ihnen, und würden sie nicht fliehen, würde (jene) nicht existieren. Und wie schwer wäre der Versuch, wäre nicht sein Nutzen, und wie groß die Mühe, wäre nicht das Entziicken. Die Wände erloschen, die Riistungen streifen ab, und die Häuser werden eingerissen, und die Furcht vor ihnen breitet sich aus. Wäre sie nicht, so wäre sie schon verloren, und wäre sie nicht unverloren, so existierten ihre Trager nicht. Und es ist nichts Erstaunliches am Wunder, und da es nicht gewußt wird, wird es nicht bewiesen, und da es bewahrt und verschlossen war, holten es die Propheten hervor und hatten Erfolg. Und es ist im Buch der Prophetie auseinandergesetzt'. Considering the oracle-like use of language, of course, no interpretation could claim to be definite.

<sup>72</sup> Mathiesen, 'A Thirteenth-Century Ritual', pp. 143-147. On the history and transmission of this work, see: Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, vol. 2, pp. 283-289; cf. also Waite, *The Book of Black Magic*, pp. 95-101; and Butler, *Ritual magic*, pp. 89-100.

gelic names are, as we have already seen, equipped with attributes: 'Hospek who **madest** the dry rod flourish in Josephs Hand'. After yet another spell ending in *consummatum est*, which is followed by a direct hint at the incarnation of Christ, the conjurer – with reference to St. Stephen – succeeds in contemplating in his sleep the heavenly palace and the divine majesty as well as the angelic choirs.<sup>73</sup> It could be that this is an adaptation of Jewish Merkavah mysticism presented here in a deliberately Christian appearance.<sup>74</sup> What is unusual is the Metatron-like self-transference, which can be ritually obtained. This seems to point in the direction of **Henoch**-traditions, since the angelic and divine names in Hebrew also occur in Latin texts and, through its association with the **transfiguration** of Christ, it anticipates later ideas.

Abraham of Worms's *Book of the Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage* holds an exceptional position as regards the reception of traditions outlined so far. Not fully researched, it raises more questions than it answers.<sup>75</sup> It is still unclear how this inherently mystical text, which is only preserved in later manuscripts, corresponds to ideas of Christian and Jewish magic; moreover, it is also unclear in which language it was originally composed, since different versions survive in French, **German**, and Hebrew. Suggestions on when it was written vary from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, depending on the author's identity.<sup>76</sup> Was he a Jew who

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<sup>73</sup> Mathiesen, 'A Thirteenth-Century Ritual', pp. 150-155, see also Honorius, *The Sworn Book*, chapt. 13, pp. 60-68, and the final formula on p. 67: 'Only God, Stoexhor; Ablay, Scyystalgaona; Fullarite; Resphiomoma; Remiare; Baceda; Canona; Onlepot; who said on the Cross, it is finished'.

<sup>74</sup> Kieckhefer, 'The Devil's Contemplatives', pp. 253-257 and pp. 261-263.

<sup>75</sup> As one of the key texts of the Golden Dawn the French version was translated into English by MacGregor Mathers (*The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*). There is a German version of unclear origin, dated Cologne, 1725, though obviously issued later: *Die ägyptischen großen Offenbarungen in sich begreifend die aufgefundenen Geheimnisbücher Moses; oder des Juden Abraham von Worms Buch der wahren Praktik in der uralten göttlichen Magie*. It differs from Mathers's version in structure and, partly, in contents. It is pre-eminently on this edition that Jorg von Ins's 'vergleichende Textausgabe' (Abraham von Worms, *Das Buch der wahren Praktik*) is based. In addition to plagiarism from Mathers and a modern French translation, it contains a typescript from the inheritance of Carl Gustav Jung as well as a late eighteenth-century manuscript from the Leopold-Sophien-Library in Überlingen. The French manuscript (in the Bibliothèque nationale) and the Hebrew version of the Bodleian Library were not read by Von Ins. On these manuscripts, see Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, pp. 272-273, 277; on pp. 271-288, Patai presents the most reasonable analysis, although mostly focused on alchemical themes.

<sup>76</sup> In a first approach, Scholem identifies the author as a Jew (*Alchemie und Kabbalah*, p. 29). In a later publication (Scholem, 'Zelem', pp. 248-273, note 23, p. 309) he looks upon the author as someone writing under the influence of Pico della

lived amongst Christians? Or was he a Christian or a convert acquainted with Christian Kabbalah, who wished to be seen as a Jewish author in order to present his ideas as unbiased by religious dogma? As we shall see, one cannot deny there are parallels with Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* in certain passages. Yet it would appear sensible to see Abraham of Worms more as a precursor of Reuchlin's conception of Christian magic, for he lacks a proper philosophical synthesis (which might have served as a legitimation for the magical ritual), quite contrary to the cosmological architecture characteristic of the sixteenth century. Also, there is no reference to any authority, although this genre is usually littered with quotations. However, it undeniably resembles the works mentioned earlier, which are combined into a new ritualistic context. It **cannot** be definitely refuted that Abraham knew Reuchlin, yet it would appear debatable whether a transcultural foundation of the relevant sources – together with the influence of practical needs – enforced and thus anticipated a synthesis. Finally, it should not be overlooked that Jewish-Christian amalgamations contributed to occultist literature long before Christian Kabbalah, just as speculations on central themes of Judaism – such as the unpronounceable name of the tetragrammaton – had their place in Latin literature long before the Renaissance.<sup>77</sup>

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Mirandola, and leaves the question of his religion unresolved. Although he intended to write another treatise on these manuscripts, in fact he did not. Jorg von Ins tries to prove that Abraham was a Jew acquainted with magic in the environment of the Ethiopian *Falasha* (cf. Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, pp. 41–46). Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, pp. 273–280, 285–288, dates Abraham about 1400, reading the autobiography as an authentic mirror of history and trying – perhaps rightly – to prove, by stylistic analysis of the French text and the magical squares, that the author was a native Hebrew speaker. Kilcher, *Die Sprachtheorie*, pp. 184–185, suggests a non-Jewish author of the sixteenth century on behalf of parallel phrases from Agrippa of Nettesheim regarding definitions of magic and Kabbalah. I dare not judge for myself without having looked at the manuscripts; however, there is reason to see in the author a sixteenth- or even seventeenth-century convert acquainted with Hebrew and Latin literature who endeavours to develop a new form of ritual magic from the knowledge of both traditions. Still, why is there no trace of its reception in any sixteenth-century work on the subject; why did this text remain undiscovered by John Dee whose library contained almost every work of angelic magic?

<sup>77</sup> For an example of Jewish rituals in Christian occultist literature, see Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, pp. 115–116, especially the 'Semiforas', p. 344 (no. 42), a mis-carriage of a permutated tetragrammaton, or the 'Speculum Lilit', pp. 242–243 (no. 23). On the spread of Hebrew in magical texts in farther regions, see Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief*, pp. 271–274. On the use of names taken from *Sefer Raziel*, see also Swanton, 'A Fifteenth-Century Cabalistic Memorandum', pp. 259–261. Arnaldus of Villanova provided information on Christian-Jewish controversies in his *Alloctutio super Tetragrammaton*, which anticipated Reuchlin's basic ideas without there being any proof that Reuchlin actually knew the work. Another source on these con-

The work by Abraham is introduced by a fictional autobiography that leads the author along the courts of late medieval Europe.<sup>78</sup> At the end of this long journey, he meets Abramelin who **addresses** him in 'Chaldaean', and appears to the seeker after he has invoked the sacred Name.<sup>79</sup> Abramelin is the only one who introduces him into the secrets of true magic. Abraham defines the concept: Christians as well as pagans and Jews nearly always use wrong techniques based on constellations, stones, herbs or the ointment used by witches.<sup>80</sup> Practices such as these **spring** from diabolic influence, and confuse God and Belial, the latter of whom should be avoided on any account since he invented **sorcery**.<sup>81</sup> True magic, founded in God as the one true artist who creates substance from nought, is entirely **different**,<sup>82</sup> since it works through the angel, who is personally attributed to **man** from all eternity by virtue of the order of creation, and who is the only power to give man governance over subaltern spirits.<sup>83</sup> According to Abraham, this form of angelic magic (in which we can easily **recognise** the *natura completa* or the Maggid of the Sefer *ha-Tamar*) is justified by the Holy Kabbalah and is allowed to be used only by the first-begotten.<sup>84</sup> Magic and Kabbalah (a term propagated by the author without any further specification) are closely related.<sup>85</sup> Both are God's noblest creatures, the Kabbalah

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traversies is the *Dialogi contra Judaeos* by the convert Petrus Alfonsi. Cf. Carreras Artau, 'La *Allocutio*'; Colomer, 'La *interpretación*', *passim*; and McGinn, 'Reflections on Kabbalah', pp. 12-16.

<sup>78</sup> Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, pp. 273-280.

<sup>79</sup> *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, 1.4, pp. 11-12; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, 1.4, pp. 15-16; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 1.4, pp. 75-77.

<sup>80</sup> *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, 1.5, pp. 15-19; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, 1.5, pp. 18-14; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, pp. 81-85.

<sup>81</sup> Abramelin, ed. Mathers, 11.10, p. 7; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 11.10, pp. 103-104.

<sup>82</sup> *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, 1.4, pp. 13-14; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 1.4, p. 78.

<sup>83</sup> Abramelin, ed. Mathers, 1.7, pp. 24-26; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, 1.7, pp. 43-44; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 1.7, p. 95.

<sup>84</sup> Abramelin, ed. Mathers, 1.9, p. 36; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, pp. 100-101.

<sup>85</sup> Mathers knew the Cabala *denudata* well and asserted (Abramelin, ed. Mathers, 11.20, pp. 145-147) that Abraham, in commenting on a square used for reviving the dead, apparently knew of the *zoharic* Kabbalah and its threefold soul. According to Abraham, a corpse can be revived within seven years after a person's death. While the soul already dwells in the place of bliss or judgement, the lingering *spiritus* can be evoked in a Signum and used for oracles, as a life-giving power. The existence of a medium between body and soul was a trite idea even before the Renaissance and as such certainly not typical of the Kabbalah. The citations from the Zohar made by Von Ins (cf., e.g., p. 18) are, if at all significant, merely topical.

representing the 'divine mystery', and magic the 'divine wisdom or *Magia*'. The latter, often besmeared with the 'excrement of false practice' is the younger and should be clad in 'fear of God and justice'.<sup>86</sup> Fervent prayer and faith in God can compensate one's lack of **knowledge** of the **Kabbalah**.<sup>87</sup> Magic is characterised – as with Iamblichus – as entirely independent of temporal determinants, and, if Pesach and Easter prove suitable due to their spiritual quality, then also magic can be undertaken at any time, independent of stellar influence."<sup>88</sup>

The main topic of the ritual manual is conjuring the private angel, which is achieved in the following way. It starts with a lengthy phase of spiritual cleansing, much like the one described in the *Liber iuratus*, lasting 6 to 18 months, depending on the version. The ritual includes persistent prayer, which was also experienced by Abraham as a hermit,<sup>89</sup> and with the use of a child and sets of numerical squares the angel is invoked.<sup>90</sup> Then follows the only prayer printed word for word (generally **free** prayer is recommended) which leads up to an unction with sacred oil, enabling the mystagogue to dispense divine grace and wisdom and to engage in angelic **conversation**.<sup>91</sup> The practitioner applies the oil to the pillars of the altar, writing on its edges: "In whatever place it may be wherein Commemoration of My Name shall be made, I will come onto you and I will bless you".<sup>92</sup> The combination of ointment, tetragrammaton and angelic appearance is interesting.<sup>93</sup> It is then that the angel is said to appear, first to the child, then

<sup>86</sup> Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, III.1, pp. 182-183; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, II.1, pp. 116-117.

<sup>87</sup> Only in *Abramelin* (Mathers, I.9, p. 37).

<sup>88</sup> *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, II.4, p. 57, II.5, p. 60; cf. Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, 111.4, pp. 199-200.

<sup>89</sup> *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, I.7, pp. 24-25; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, I.7, pp. 93-94.

<sup>90</sup> *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, I.12, pp. 45-46, II.13, p. 81; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, I.12, p. 107, II.13, p. 146.

<sup>91</sup> *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, 111.12, pp. 79-80; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, III.12, p. 241: 'Heilige mich durch dieß Oel deiner Heiligmachung, womit du alle meine Gesellen geheiligt hast und reinige mich darmit und alles was mir zugehört, damit ich recht geheiligt und gereinigt, würdig seye der Gemeinschaft deiner heiligen Engeln, deiner gottlichen Weißheit und der Gewalt, die du allein deinen Gesalbten über die guten und bösen Geister gegeben hast. Amen'. Cf. Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 11.12, pp. 143-144.

<sup>92</sup> *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, 11.12, p. 80; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, 111.12, p. 242: 'An was Orth die Gedächtnyß meines Namens würd gegründet sein, daselbst will ich kommen zu dir und dich benedeyen'. Cf. Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 11.12, p. 144.

<sup>93</sup> Pouring out oil was part of the nuptials ever since the Talmudic period and especially typical of the state room called 'Hofa'. Streams of oil were an attribute of

to the virtuous practitioner who, led by the angel, in a state of ineffable happiness commands over good and evil spirits.<sup>94</sup> It is the angel who serves as a source of wisdom in the arcane procedures that follow and that were attached to the work by Abraham only for verification. The angel provides his human counterpart with the magical squares necessary for the ensuing rituals. More angels can be evoked without spoken spells, only by the power of the conjuring heart that is cleansed in the angel.<sup>95</sup> **Fallen** angels are then formed according to a person's character which is known only to the private **angel**, and they appear in a shape assumed at the private angel's behest, and bearable to the human being.<sup>96</sup> If necessary, the angel defines more names for **conjuration**.<sup>97</sup>

### *Kabbalistic contributions*

It may be worthwhile to concentrate for a moment on some of the ideas of the sephardic Kabbalists, whose works formed part of Reuchlin's later literary canon. Through an etymological interpretation **Metatron** was turned into **Matrona**, a 'medium' between the divine and creaturely domains. He might be identified with the Sefuah Jesod or the Shechinah and was transformed into an authority of redemption, interpreted either eschatologically or cosmologically, and exceeding angelic nature by far. Similar to the **Dator formarum**, he was in control of the emanations of sefiotic forces leading

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the Messiah as well as of the transfigured just. Cf. Büchler, 'Das Ausgiessen', *passim*, esp. pp. 15-18. Perhaps related to this is a magical application of oil: poured onto a looking-glass, it could be used for divination, since it would evoke demons which could only be seen by children. Such rituals were popular among Ashkenazim and probably also known to Christians. See: Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 219-222, and Dan, 'Sarei', *passim*. There is one ritual from the *Harba de-Moshe* which is closely related to the *Sefer ha-Razim* and provides a wide range of conjuring spells. Following a list of magical names, it says (translation Schafer): '(...) Schreib auf deine linke Handfläche und bring eine neue Leuchte. Verdecke sie und gib etwas Olivenöl und etwas Naphta in sie. Zieh reine Kleider an und schlaf in einem reinen Haus. Sogleich kommt der Engel und eröffnet und offenbart dir alles, was du wünscht'. Cf. Schafer, *Übersetzung*, vol. 4, §§ 598-985, § 622, p. 17 (Hebrew in Schafer, *Synopse*, p. 236).

<sup>94</sup> *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, 11.13, p. 84; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, 111.13, p. 248; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 11.13, pp. 147-148.

<sup>95</sup> *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, 11.14, p. 88; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 11.14, p. 150.

<sup>96</sup> *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, 11.14, pp. 89-90; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, 111.14, p. 256; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 11.14, p. 152.

<sup>97</sup> This section is missing from MacGregor Mathers's version. Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, 111.14, p. 254; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, II.14, p. 151.

further into the angelic world.<sup>98</sup> The pair Henoah-Metatron stands for the restauration of the fallen Adam and for man's ability to reverse the consequences of the Fall by rejoining the divine.<sup>99</sup> On a theurgic-magical level, there was a ritual circulating in the **Ashkenaz** environment that was close to the typology of Metatron in the **Hekhalot** literature, and that enabled a person to be 'clad in the tetragrammaton' resulting in the acquisition of magical or even **theurgic** power.<sup>100</sup> Before **Reuchlin**, genuine kabbalistical speculations saw to it that nature and angelic existence were associated with God. More philosophical authors of the Kabbalah, who were primarily focused on Maimonides, attributed a deliberately ambivalent meaning to 'Elohim', the name of God that can be found in the story of creation in Genesis 1. Basing himself on the semantics of the word, Mairnonides understood 'Elohim' as referring not only to God or the separate intelligences, the **first** intelligible products of creation, but also to the judges and rulers of society.<sup>101</sup> As Moshe **Idel** has shown, Abraham Abulafia extended the meaning of 'Elohim' to the concept of nature because of the identical numerical value (**gematria**), namely 86, of **ha-tew'a** (the nature) and 'Elohim'.<sup>102</sup> In His aspect of 'Elohim', by which He reveals Himself to the world, God is **both** nature and intrinsic goal of the cosmos at the same time.

This idea was adopted by Joseph Gikatilla (1274-1305), who was perhaps the most important source for the **first** Christian Kabbalists. In parts of the *Ginat Egoz*, 'Elohim', contrary to the transcendent tetragrammaton, de-

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Azri'el, *Perush ha-Aggadot*, pp. 10-11, and esp. one of the most important sources of Christian Kabbalah in general, *Sefer Ma'arekhet*, chapt. 4, fol. 72b, chapt. 8, fol. 97b-98a. See also Vajda, *Le commentaire d'Ezra*, pp. 389 and 411; Scholem, *Ursprung und Anfänge*, pp. 148-149, 186-190; Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, vol. 2, pp. 626-632 (study), pp. 643-645 (Zohar Hadash 39d-40a), p. 645 (Zohar II, 159a).

<sup>99</sup> See Joseph de Hamadan, *Fragments*, pp. 17-18, 19-20 (Hebrew), pp. 83-85, 89-91 (French).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Scholem, *Zur Kabbalah und ihrer Symbolik*, pp. 181-184; and recently Liss, 'Offenbarung', pp. 26-32 *andpassim*.

<sup>101</sup> Maimonides, *Führer der Unschlüssigen*, 1.2, pp. 30-31, II.6, pp. 53-63.

<sup>102</sup> **Idel**, 'Deus sive natura', pp. 110-114. Abulafia describes this ambivalence primarily in *Sefer ha-Hesheq* and *Sefer Sitre Torah*, a commentary on *Moreh nebuchim*. Note that the idea of the mystical union of transformed man with the tetragrammaton and its letters played a significant role in the writings of Abraham Abulafia. See Abulafia, 'Sefer ha-0th' (ed. Jelinek), p. 82. David Meltzer and Bruria Finkel offer a somewhat free translation of the *Sefer ha-6th* in: Abulafia, *The Path of the Names*, p. 69. In his mystical program, the 'Letter of the seven Ways', Abulafia considered the study of Hekhaloth-literature and the *Book of Raziel* essential for joining the world of separate intelligences and finally the world of the tetragrammaton. Cf. Abulafia, L' *épitre*, pp. 89-90. On the importance of Abulafia in Renaissance Italy, see **Idel**, 'The ecstatic Kabbalah', pp. 336-340.

notes God's immanence by the power of the essences.<sup>103</sup> Free from magical connotations, 'Elohim' hovers between angel, God and nature, and embodies man's completion (in gematria) as 'adam ha-schalom'.<sup>104</sup> These ideas are summarised in the anonymous Eshkol ha-kojkr, a work from the circle of Gikatilla. According to *Ecclesiastes* 1,7 ('All streams run to the Sea, yet the Sea never overflows, back to the place from which the streams run they return to run again'), everything returns to God, from whom it came forth, for 'Elohim' comprises nature. At the same time, the Sea is the Shi'ur *Qomah* that can be identified with nature.<sup>105</sup> In the author's mind, the anthropomorphic macrocosm, the world of intelligences and nature are one.<sup>106</sup>

Angelic macrocosm and complete nature in De verbo *mirifico*. A magical synthesis.

In 1494, Johann Reuchlin's De verbo *mirifico* was issued, a didactic dialogue in three books of which the basic question is presented in the title: "which word is truly *mirificum* and what kind of magic does this word depend on? Three interlocutors try to answer this question: Sidonius, a philosophically experienced traveller from Phoenicia, Baruchias, a learned Jew, and Capnion, a citizen from Pforzheim, in whom Reuchlin presents himself for the first time as a literary figure. It becomes clear to all of them that only Christ can be this verbum, and only Christian magic can wield it. For a proper understanding of De verbo *mirifico* and the concept of 'Christian magic', some scholarly readjustments were made, firstly by Joseph Blau, more seriously by François Secret and Charles Zika,<sup>108</sup> who unanimously

<sup>103</sup> Idel, 'Deus sive natura', pp. 114-119.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Blickstein, *Between Philosophy and Mysticism*, pp. 60-61, and the quotations in Appendix II, pp. 178-179; on this idea in Gikatilla, see also: Gottlieb, *Mehkarim*, pp. 114-117, 282-284.

<sup>105</sup> Idel, 'Deus sive natura', pp. 117-118: MS Vatican 219, fol 10a, translated by Idel: 'Tous les fleuves vont vers la mer parce que la vitalité de toutes les créatures procède de Lui et retourne à Lui. Le secret de Elohim désigne la Nature dans le récit de la Création, et dans le livre de l'Écclésiaste il est démontré dans le verset: 'La mer n'est pas remplie', car son existence dépend de l'autre, à savoir du nom de Dieu, béni soit-il [...] le secret de la mer est Chiour Qoma, quiconque comprend le secret du verset: 'Tous les fleuves vont vers la mer', comprendra pourquoi le nom Elohim inclut la nature'.

<sup>106</sup> Idel reaches the same conclusion in 'Deus sive natura', p. 118.

<sup>107</sup> Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico* (Basel, 1498), newly issued by Johannes Pistorius as part of his *Ars cabalistica* (Basel, 1587). I quote from a new edition of Reuchlin's text, edited by Ehlers, Mundt, Schafer *et al.*

<sup>108</sup> On De verbo *mirifico* in general, see Blau, *The Christian Interpretation*, pp. 41-49; Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens*, pp. 44-52. From a linguistic point of view, see

acknowledged Pico's influence on the construction of a *philosophia perennis* – and quite justly so, since Pico was an example for Reuchlin regarding the integration of Jewish sources. It is in the larger context of Renaissance occultism, too, that Reuchlin found his place.<sup>109</sup> But how does Reuchlin's work relate to the magical tradition itself and how should his Christian magic be read against the background of Christian and Jewish-Arabic occultist literature? How did Reuchlin handle this material in a specifically Christian way and what enabled him to reach an innovative synthesis?

I have so far presented a historical and structural sketch of the elements of such a synthesis and will now focus upon the way these were employed in *De verbo mirifico*. To begin with, one should not place too much emphasis on the fact that Reuchlin claimed to distance himself from medieval occultist literature, in particular the actual texts of ritual magic, which had a very bad reputation in clerical circles.<sup>110</sup> In a significant essay Vittoria Perrone Compagni has underscored how much already Marsilio Ficino, in drawing up his magical program, derived from the *Picatrix*, adding diverse strains of Platonism from Proclus and other authors. She also identified direct adaptations from the *Picatrix* in *De verbo mirifico*, even though Reuchlin would have denied the existence of such adaptations,<sup>111</sup> which

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Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis*, pp. 179-188', and *idem*, 'Christian Kabbalah', pp. 102-108. An essential work on the occult is Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De Verbo mirifico*', pp. 134-138. Apart from providing very useful synopses, Zika demonstrates the Christian character of Reuchlin's concept and its affinity with Pico's and Ficino's enthusiasm for magic. Furthermore, he puts forward suggestions regarding Reuchlin's position in the contemporary polemics on magic. Zika's thesis, originally written in the sixties, was published only recently: Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 23-62.

<sup>109</sup> Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 144-146; Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, pp. 36-37. A survey of the research on this problem is provided by Zambelli, *L'ambigua natura*, pp. 251-327 (esp. pp. 259-260 on Reuchlin).

<sup>110</sup> Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, p. 124: *Ignorant etenim, quod Aegyptii duplici charactere utuntur, uno in prophanis, altero in sacris, quod denique Chaldaeorum linguam et Hebraeorum, quam operi magico necessariam attestantur, simili characteris imagine scribimus. Nihil igitur horum et Roberthus et Bacon et Abanus et Picatrix et concilium magistrorum, vel maxime ob linguarum ignorantiam ad amussim, ut oportet, tenere atque docere, minus etiam librariorum manus, ab exemplis dupla scribentium, non aberrare, minus discipuli discere, minus operarii potuerunt operari*. The authors are not criticised for their magical inclinations but for their lack of linguistic skills and their dependence on the Latin idiom. However, the condemnation of Pico's theses for the justification of magic may have obliged Reuchlin to exclude certain authorities from the start. On the controversies accompanying Pico's apology of magic, see Euler, *Pia philosophia*, pp. 140-148, and Farmer, *Syncretism*, pp. 115-132.

<sup>111</sup> Perrone Compagni, 'La magia ceremoniale', pp. 313-318. To be precise, Reuch-

shows there is ample reason to reconsider Reuchlin's relationship to classical magic, and to find new parallels.

In Books I and II, Reuchlin develops an epistemology oriented on Cusanus<sup>112</sup> which reaches its conclusion in Book III. On the one hand, there is the *ratio opinabilis* which is able to arrive at abstracted forms, but which is nevertheless conditioned by a corruptible and mutable world. The knowledge it attains hence depends on opinions, is constantly wavering and remains in a state of contingency. On the other hand there is the *mens* which is rooted in the supra-lunar world as the source of *scientia aeterna*. It is from *fides*, the truth of divine revelation, that the *mens* obtains its wisdom, contemplating the radiant qualities of the divine spirits 'as in a mirror of eternity'. As the truth of reason is rooted in the *mens*, so the *mens* is rooted in God, increasingly understanding itself as having been established by Him, as an exteriorised manifestation of the divine.<sup>113</sup> The goal of man in this disposition is to join his mind with the divine, to become *humanus deus et divinus homo*.<sup>114</sup> Magic, defined in terms of this basic assumption, can only be called genuine from an absolute perspective when it aims at joining the human mind to the divine – a thought similarly expressed in the *Picatrix*.<sup>115</sup>

Like his predecessors, Reuchlin defines magical practice as the pronouncing of words which by their reference achieve performative power: generally speaking, the magical word contained in God has power *within* mundane nature, and at the same time power *over* nature, including the power to change nature as a whole.<sup>116</sup> Reuchlin adds one more item to the canon of disciplines concerned with the miraculous. Next to astrology, physics and magic, he posits a fourth discipline, namely *soliloquia* through

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lin says in *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, p. 406: *Quoniam crux apud antiquissimos, ut in quodam Arabum collegio contineri scribitur, vetus magorum character sit, quia tamen absque Ihsuh nomine, nullas eius virtutes efficaces legimus*. The *quodam Arabum collegium* can undoubtedly be identified as the *Picatrix*; cf. Perrone Compagni, 'La magia ceremoniale', p. 318. *De occulta philosophia* by Agrippa of Nettesheim, in which the paragraph on the *natura completa* (with reference to Iamblichus) finds a clear parallel, once again proves the attraction of this concept from the *Picatrix*. See Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, III.21–22, pp. 462–466. On a comparable mixture, see Barrett, *The Magus*, vol. 2, pp. 52–53.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Meier-Oeser, *Die Präsenz*, pp. 62–68.

<sup>113</sup> Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 82–85, esp. p. 84.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 94–97. Beierwaltes, 'Reuchlin und Pico', pp. 314–320, rightly stresses the influence of Pico on the development of the idea of *deificatio*. On this point, see also Leinkauf, 'Reuchlin', pp. 122–124.

<sup>115</sup> Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 146–147.

<sup>116</sup> Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 96–99, 132–133. Cf. Pico, *De hominis dignitate / Von der Würde des Menschen*, pp. 51–57.

which miraculous effects can be evoked if the proper word is pronounced individually.<sup>117</sup> This idea is related to the conception of transforming nature. As examples of this idea of **transformation** Reuchlin first employs physical processes, such as the *vis nutritiva* that transforms food, by means of its inherent warmth, into parts of the sensual organs, accompanied by the higher principle of sensuality. In the same way a process of **transformation** concerning **man** can be explained: man's driving-force rests upon a *consortium divinitatis cum mente humana* and the transformation is triggered, not by a subaltern nature, but by a principle that establishes individuality proper, that precedes outward nature and that can be found in nature only as a depiction.<sup>118</sup> It is a *tractus innarrabilis* or *foedus* that moves man towards God. Angels and 'good demons' function as *causae secundae* to lead **man** to his origin, his nature and divinity, and these angels are motivated by divine love to overcome the distance between the Creator and his **creation**.<sup>119</sup>

Here, themes from the *Picatrix* along with the idea of the *natura completa* are specified through the category of the word (or *verbum*). The *transitus* in *Deum* is achieved, as Reuchlin explains in a first approach, through the pronunciation of the correct words. God, as *logos*, is represented by *spiritus*, breath; the *verbum*, in its semantic ambiguity, is *spiratio*, whereas man is the *spirans*. The *verbum* implies both the concept as well as its vehicle, *mens*. God is received in the *mens* and born through the word. Thereby Reuchlin has added a **christological** element to the idea of the transfoxmation into a superior nature and has embedded it indirectly into the trinitarian process.<sup>120</sup> According to Reuchlin, man's deification should be

<sup>117</sup> Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico* / *Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 142-143. See also Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, p. 40.

<sup>118</sup> Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico* / *Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 156-159, pp. 156 and 158: *Consortium divinitatis cum mente humana facit, quod deus homine utitur pro instrumento, haud secus atque Peripatetici de activitate sensitivae et vegetalis naturae docent. Nam ubicunque est vegetativum in sensitivo, ibi vegetativum erit loco instrumenti et sensitivum sicut principalis motor, qui, cum agere coepit, non ad inferius se ipso movet, sed per media utrisque convenientia, quoad eius fieri potest, ad sui par et consentaneum et ad id, quo cum versari queat. Potestatis enim in animalibus alumna et nutrix medio calore, qui tamen sit occultae cuiusdam et digestivae proprietatis intermuncius, crudum cibum digerit et versat. Nam quo calor est, hoc non magis transformat [...] Et sicut calor naturalis in digestionem alimentorum quasi umbra est locum tenens occultae proprietatis, ita in effectibus ex secreta dispositione rerum ortis, qua individuum alterum differt ab altero, non ipsa natura, ut vulgo putant, sed obscurius aliquid, quod naturam praecedit, in causa est, cuius instar et typum in communi sermone ipsum naturae vocabulum gerit.*

<sup>119</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 158-161.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 160-161. That Reuchlin's concept of a trinitarian transformation was an original invention is also emphasised by Leinkauf, 'Reuchlin', pp. 116-120.

seen against the background of the incarnation of the Word in human nature. We have identified the aim of the accomplished *magical operation* as turning individual human nature into divine nature, embedded in *itself* as its final cause; this happens against the background of the *timeless* incarnation of Christ in the human mind, through the absolute *verbum* that makes itself known to man.

Reuchlin gives a further classification of the magical word: God – the source of miracles inherent in the *verbum* – transfers the power of the word to the angels, makes them literally act in His name, and even 'dwells in *them*'.<sup>121</sup> Of course, the truest and most apt of all names of God is the *tetragrammaton*, *excellentissimum supersubstantialis deitatis nomen*, which embraces the *natura universitatis*, and the invocation of which at the same time implies 'begetting'.<sup>122</sup> In it, all potency implicitly dwells, and its correct pronunciation provides the key to all miraculous *transformations*.<sup>123</sup>

In Book III, the *nomen ineffabile*, a christological interpretation of the magical word, man's deification and the angelic cosmos are brought together in a fairly predictable synthesis. One could draw a comparison with the human *mind*, whereby the absolute Logos, in the sense of the spoken *verbum*, corresponds to reason, which, in its claims to *truth*, is justified only by its indivisible unity with the *mens*.<sup>124</sup> Analogously, the sensually embodied mind (as the *human* mind is the divine mind pronounced) *only* becomes genuine by joining the absolute mind, the divine, escaping from the *sublunar* world into illumination. Hence, with the individual and the universal intertwined, man turning into God and God turning into man meet in Christ. While the task of the truly miraculous *verbum*, with respect to all individuals, is a general one, the substance of man, the *natura humana*, is deified as a whole. The individual angel (a name deduced from the absolute Word) on the other hand receives a single body appointed to him, which is only a contingent perfection of a bodily nature.<sup>125</sup> The true secret of magic on a theological level consists in *unifying* exemplarily as well as generally both human and divine nature in Christ. Man's complete nature is the divine hypostasis of Christ to which the human hypostasis is joined in the *regressus*. Christ's divine hypostasis is man's absolute nature per se, i.e. the nature of the Universal Man; yet this divine hypostasis which man hopes to attain by means of magic, is also to be understood as the absolute nature of each individual led to perfection. The effect of any magical name is *con-*

<sup>121</sup> Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico* / *Das wundertatige Wort*, pp. 184-185, 202-203.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 234-237.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 244-245.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 294-295, 300-301.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 306-309.

stituted by its participation in the Logos, and an angel operates through a *virtus operativa* derived from that word. Just as angelic names are permutations of the Name of God, so angels are participants of the Word and, as such, vehicles of magical power in the human and sublunary nature.<sup>126</sup>

Finally, Reuchlin qualifies the transformation of man by means of one of his most renowned ideas: by integrating the letter Shin into the tetragrammaton, he changes the ineffable Name of God to the word YeHoSchUH, the effable name of Jesus and the magical pentagrammaton (יהוה becomes יהשוה).<sup>127</sup> Accordingly, God's literal self-expression in Christ is presented in the magical token itself, that is in the concrete shape of His Name that henceforth is no longer closed and hidden, but now includes the world. But why was it of all letters the Shin that had to be added? Reuchlin answers with a philological speculation: Shin was the consonant of oil and the anointed (*Shemen, Mashiach*), and 'Christ' originally means the one who is anointed in God.<sup>128</sup> He describes in almost mystical terms how oil, as in a lamp, connects wick and fire, thus giving a clear manifestation of the pronunciation of the Name and the person of Christ who comprises both natures.<sup>129</sup> To each individual, being anointed with the oil of Jesus Christ signifies, firstly, the permeation of the mind by *liquor divinitatis*, secondly, the adoption of the splendor of all sciences, and lastly the deification of human nature.<sup>130</sup> YeHoSchUH means tracing back the cosmos in the act of magic and understanding as well as the final embodiment of universal and personal deification. Perhaps the combination of ointment, superior nature, tetragrammaton and individual self-translation remind us of the commanding ritual of Abraham of Worms, in so far as it exceeds Jewish oil-magical practices. However, it is easy to find parallels of the correlation of absolute knowledge, oil-rituals and the application of the tetragrammaton, but these need not be definitive clues as to possible influences.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 340-341.

<sup>127</sup> On the Jewish tradition of this symbol, cf. Oegema, 'Davidsschild', pp. 20-28. On the Renaissance tradition: Secret, 'Pentagramme', pp. 116-120. On a possible Jewish precursor of Reuchlin's idea of the Shin as a sign of Christ, cf. Wolfson, 'The Tree That is All', pp. 74-77, 213.

<sup>128</sup> Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 354-357. Cf. Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 56-57, and note 93 above.

<sup>129</sup> Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 374-376.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 384-385, p. 384: *Utrunque enim apud Hebraeos ab S incipit 'sem', id est 'nomen', et 'semen', id est oleum, quo totum Ihsuh nomen enunciabile fit, et stacten preciosissimam in nos usque guttatim derivat, et mentem nostram, si debito modo aptetur, ita ungendo penetrat et leniendo molliat, et gratissimo divinitatis liquore adeo complet, ut eius unctione liquidior aquis limpidissimis omnium scientiarum splendores in se recipiat, sicut aqua nitida aut tersum aliquod oleo litum corpus ullos queat radios.*

By combining several approaches to magic, Reuchlin, in line with the spirit of the Renaissance, succeeded in leading magic back into the bosom of Christendom. The idea of man's **transformation** into an angelic being by the grace of God (as in the figure of **Metatron** in the *Sefer Hekhaloth* against the background of the tetragrammaton) meets with the conception of a macranthropos, i.e. a God-man described in physical terms, whose body has its extension and periphery in a cosmological system dominated by angels. This is underlined by those parts of *Sefer Raziel* which make the divine body of the universe an object of the magical ritual. The divine body as cosmos and the divine form by which it is constituted have their equivalent in the idea of *natura* which – by offering a wide range of meanings – is not only related to the magical speculations of the *Picatrix* and its surroundings, but also to the terminology of Christian theology. Speaking with Iamblichus, one might say that Christ has become a private *daimon*. To Reuchlin, he is man's *natura completa*. Traditional magic is preserved in the form of a new, yet true magic, by being joined to the macrocosmically intelligible angelic body that received its superior nature from Christ.

#### *Paolo Ricci and the angelic man*

In the period between Reuchlin's first main work and his *De arte cabalistica*, there flourished another author, who became important in the Christian Kabbalah: Paolo Ricci.<sup>131</sup> His *Isagoge in eruditionem Cabbalistarum*, written in two different versions, is a key work in the history of Christian Kabbalah, since it develops an intellectual **framework** very similar to Reuchlin's and provides a place for Christian magic.<sup>132</sup> The complete archetype of a human individual, being a prototype both of the arrangement of the spheres and of sublunary man, consists of ten limbs identical to the angelic choirs. Its last potentially angelic limb or part consists of human souls and is called the *animasticum* or the choir of *ishim*.<sup>133</sup> Sublunar man is

<sup>131</sup> On Paulus Ritus († 1541), see Blau, *The Christian Interpretation*, pp. 65-75; Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens*, pp. 87-97; Secret, 'Aristote et les Kabbalistes', pp. 283-288; and recently Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis*, pp. 160-168, 175-179, 272-286, and *idem*, 'Christian Kabbalah', pp. 88-94; Roling, 'Prinzip', *passim*.

<sup>132</sup> Ritus, *In Cabbalistarum seu allegorizantium eruditionem Isagoge* (Pavia, 1510, and again Augsburg, 1515). Different versions are in: Ritus, *De coelesti agricultura*, book IV, as *Introductoria Theoremata Cabalae* (Augsburg, 1541), and in Pistorius's *Ars Cabalistica* (Basel, 1587). Unless otherwise indicated, I quote from the Augsburg edition of 1515 (*Isagoge*).

<sup>133</sup> Ritus, *Isagoge*, Conclusio 36, fol. 7a: *Archetypi hominis artus sunt decem angelorum chori, novem quos quidem haebrai appellant haioi hacodes, offanim,*

both image and constituent part of the intelligible complex. The archetype of real **man** enables **sublunar** man to bridge the gap between human corporeality and God. In this process of **acclimatisation**, spirits are approached by invoking their names. The angelic spirit is more accessible to man than the divine spirit and can therefore help to unite the extremes of God and man as intermediary. It makes, in Ricci's words, the 'fire' bearable to man in that it gradually heats up his still slow *mens*, in which the actual conjunction will take place.<sup>134</sup> However, the basic direction of a rational being is anticipated by the *mens salvatrix*, which, too, can be obtained with the *spiritus angelicus* and which mirrors the formative principle of Christ.<sup>135</sup> Ricci, too, mentions a *hypostasis individua* of the absolute *mens* which grants the individual eternal existence. Man is transformed and clad in the *indumentum*, the mystical garment of transfiguration and angelic embodiment, as he is unified with Christ by this hypostasis.<sup>136</sup> According to Ricci, the name of Christ is the truly sacred name by which **everything** was created.<sup>137</sup>

Unlike **Reuchlin**, Ricci explicitly mentions his sources, although he leaves out the *Sefer Raziel*. His angelic man comes from Rabbi Ishmael's *Liber templorum* and the *Liber de magnitudine stature*, i.e. the *Sefer Hekhalot* and the *Shi'ur Qomah*.<sup>138</sup> The macrocosmos as the angelic body of

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*erelim, hasmalim, seraphim, malachim, elohim, bene elohim, cherubim. hos vero sacra Theologorum schola seraphim, cherubim, thronos, dominationes, virtutes, potestates, principatus, archangelos, angelos vocant. Decimus vero quem cabalistae una cum sanctorum, philosophantiumque pluribus animasticum (foemineum scilicet) ordinem proferunt: haebraica appellatione iscim: id est viri nuncupari solet. On the Hebrew terms, see Maimonides, Sefer ha-Madah, Hilchot Jesodei, 2.7 and 4.6 (pp. 58-61 and 78-79).*

<sup>134</sup> Ritijs, *Isagoge*, Conclusio 22, fol. 6a, and Appendix 22, fol. 17b-18a.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibidem*, Appendix 22, fol. 18b.

<sup>136</sup> Ritijs, *De coelesti agricultura, Introductoria Theoremata Cabalae*, ed. Pistorius, Appendix 16, fol. 130-131: *Hoc unum praeterea omni quidem attentione dignum, hic minime praetereundum duxi, quod tota humane mentis in individua Hypostasi perpetuitas, provenit ex eius adhaerentia et nexu cum insufflato spiraculo seu formato homine, quod Cabalei indumenti vel tunicae mysterium vocant. It is impossible here to discuss the kabbalistic sources of this section in detail.*

<sup>137</sup> Ritijs, *De coelesti agricultura, Introductoria Theoremata Cabalae*, ed. Pistorius, Appendix 50, fol. 137.

<sup>138</sup> Ritijs, *Isagoge*, Appendix 21, fol. 17b: *Eiusmodi autem distincta separatorum nomina, munia, et loca ex rabi simonis, et magni pontificis rabi ismael templorum tractatus ac eiusdem rabi Ismael de magnitudine stature ex libello pomorum, ex libro luminum rabi simonis, ex hoc portarum lucis compendio, ex libro candoris rabi nehuniae, ex orationem eiusdem, ex omnibus libelli formationis commentariis colligi solet. At exactiori serie non solum angelorum sed demonum distinctio in rabi simonis templorum volumine legitur. The other sources Ricci quotes are less efficient regarding the theory of angels: the Sefer Jesirah (which was extensively*

Christ, i.e. Christ himself, grants man, even in the sublunary realm, power over the domains allotted to the angels. For angels play an important role even in the last sphere, due to the stars that were assigned to them.<sup>139</sup>

*A new attempt: De arte cabalistica*

Whereas the ideas of union with Christ in an angelic world and of man's transfiguration into a God-based angelic being are significant in Ricci's work, magic is not. Reuchlin himself reduces its influence even further in his second *opus magnum*, the 1517 dialogue *De arte cabalistica*, the result of his commitment to Jewish writings for many years.<sup>140</sup> He even avoids the word 'magic'.<sup>141</sup> The final causality of all things created and founded in Christ no longer relies on man's magical connection to the sphere of the

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commented upon by Isaac the Blind, Azriel of Gerona, Ramban and others), the *Sefer Bahir*, Joseph Gikatilla's *Scha'are 'orah* which he partly translated, a *Liber luminum*, and a *Libellus pomorum*, both unknown to me. Probably the *volumen templorum rabi Simonis* can be identified as an excerpt from the Zohar, which in some of its parts deals with angels and demonology and offers chapters from Hekhalot-literature (I.38a-45b, II.244b-268b). Cf. Scholem, *Die jüdische Mystik*, pp. 176 and 418, and Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, vol. 2, pp. 587-595 (study), pp. 597-614 (an extensive example, a translation of Zohar I.41a-45b). Considering the divergence of incipits of 3 *Henoch*-literature in the manuscript tradition, and considering how instable the 'macroforms' in the Hekhalot-literature generally were, one can scarcely say which text Ricci had actually read. The *Sefer Hekhalot* was frequently copied in manuscripts along with *Shi'ur Qomah*-texts, *Sefer Jesirah*, or Zohar-literature; the name 'Rabbi Ishmael' is found in almost all incipits of the *Sefer Hekhalot*-Corpus. Cf. Schäfer, 'Handschriften', pp. 221-233. Without identification this section was quoted again by Johannes Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum*, p. 81.

<sup>139</sup> Ritus, *Isagoge*, Appendix 64, fol. 24b-25a.

<sup>140</sup> On *De arte cabalistica* in general, see Blau, *The Christian Interpretation*, pp. 49-64; Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens*, pp. 52-70. On the adaptation of the philosophical concepts of Azriel of Gerona and Abraham Abulafia, see Gröninger, 'Reuchlin und die Kabbalah', *passim*. On the role of the Shechinah, see Javary, *Recherches*, pp. 225-226, 254-256, 296-297; and on the famous controversy about this work among contemporaries, see Peterse, *Jacobus Hoogstraaten*, pp. 119-130. Rather general statements are made by Beitchman, *Alchemy of the Word*, pp. 71-78. Good synopses are provided by Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 63-125. The standard edition of the work is *De arte cabalistica* (Hagenau, 1517); a facsimile as well as a more accurate French translation are provided by Secret in: Reuchlin, *La Kabbale*. Johannes Pistorius inserted Reuchlin's work into his *Ars cabalistica* (Basel, 1587). I quote from the Hagenau edition, of which a facsimile appears in the Goodman translation, conveniently supplied with page numbers: Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*.

<sup>141</sup> On this judgement, see also Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 166-170.

agent intellect and the messianic soul that promises him illumination and perpetual reality. Reuchlin develops a *philosophia perennis* starting with a fictional Pythagoras and arbitrarily chosen excerpts from kabbalistic literature, that are meant to legitimise these ideas.<sup>142</sup> It can be shown that the basic propositions of *De verbo mirifico* remain the same in spite of the fact that they are dissociated from their magical context and are reduced to their theosophical content.

The human *mens* reaches its perfection and absolute *telos* in a *deificatio* in accordance to its nature. Leaving all worldly matter behind, it proceeds from form to form to reach the absolute *formans* that to the world is identical with God. The being that is thus formed and that, conceived of as *anima mundi*, receives the absolute form, is, in Reuchlin's world of ideas, equal to the Shechinah, which, though somewhat loosely depicted, is constituted by the superior Sefirah Jesod.<sup>143</sup> By gradually turning to his superior self and climbing the ladder of understanding, taking one step after another, man achieves the *deificatio* in the final leap into illumination which is characteristic of the transcendent archetypal human being, Adam kadmon. The elevation of man into this absolute enlightenend being which unites God and man, corresponds in Reuchlin's symbol system with the sixth Sefirah, Tiphereth. It expresses the medium between God and the world more strongly than the Sefirah Jesod (which merely shapes the world), and hence represents Christ in terms of the Christian Kabbalah.<sup>144</sup> Immediately man is transfigured and merged into God; he is identified with God in one of Christ's two natures. As a delivered being, he has the principle of his material part in common with Christ's material nature and hence with the angels who are likewise constituent parts of the absolute body. With respect to his form, the form of Christ, he is essentially united with God. His creaturely otherness springs from the fact that he is material, which in relation to the absolute form is on a par with Christ's human nature and the sum total of all the angels.<sup>145</sup> It is this trick, derived from the theory of Christ's double nature, that kept Reuchlin from sliding into pantheism and that enabled him to maintain a metaphysics of identity based on Cusanus.

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<sup>142</sup> Note the helpful remarks by Busi, 'Die Kabbala', pp. 61-63.

<sup>143</sup> Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 44-45. Cf. Giquilla, *Scha'are'orah*, vol. 1, pp. 93-94. Quoting from the Koran, Reuchlin (*On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 202-203) says about the inhabitants of paradise: *Et paulo superius (sc. in doctrina Mahometh): Incolis quidem (ait) quicquid desiderari potest aderit, qui etiam perfect erunt omnes in statura quidem Adae, in forma vero Iesu Christi, nunquam incrementum aut detrimentum aliquod patientes.*

<sup>144</sup> Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, p. 46-47.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 70-71.

In another sketch Reuchlin describes how the 'worlds' are **intertwined**. As the *mens humana* forms the soul, so the higher levels of existence are arranged according to the relation between matter and form, touching each other in the apex of their realisation. In its potentiality, the messianic soul comprises the sum total of all human and angelic intelligences; it meets with divine reality and connects divine transcendence with immanency.<sup>146</sup> To the same extent the active intellect, the last of the separate intelligences (identified by Reuchlin with Metatron by using a kabbalistic analogy), unites the sublunary *mentes*, who, in this mediator, meet with the realising magnitude of the messianic soul.<sup>147</sup> Reuchlin's approach can scarcely be called magic in this context, yet the miraculous power of the kabbalists no longer relies on the invocation of spirits but on angelic names that are imparted to them when they unite with the messianic soul in the angelic world.<sup>148</sup> Magic is at best a by-product of mystical experience, yet it is the *meditatio* that, preceding illumination, paves the way for transfiguration and unification with the divine once life has been morally cleansed.<sup>149</sup>

The third book of *De arte cabalistica* adds kabbalistic material to the idea of moral elevation. After deriving a Shem **ha-mephorasch** of the 72 angelic names from the biblical verses of *Exodus* 14,19ff., Reuchlin makes a statement concerning the metaphysical significance of the names. Once the adept is in command of a traditional and fixed canon of **terms**, it is their pure spiritual intonation which allows **him** to avoid sensual enticements and which fuels his understanding, until finally the unification of his *mens* with the angelic world is imparted to **him**.<sup>150</sup> The names of the angels are products of the will of God. They are substantially based on the **tetragrammaton**, and through this connection they illumine and enhance man's spiritual return to God. Naturally, as one might expect, this relation is essentially ontological. With the insertion of divine names such as 'El' or 'Yah', angelic names become pronouncable, and God himself (being nature) is the basis of angelic individuation. As was said of the perfect human being, God relates to angels as unity relates to duality, with the oneness of God **ex-**

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Idel, *Messianic Mystics*, pp. 110-115; and, e.g., Moïse de Leon, *Le siècle*, pp. 220-224.

<sup>147</sup> Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 116-121. On this paragraph which I interpret somewhat differently and with less respect to systematical conditions, cf. Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, p. 83, and Grozinger, 'Reuchlin und die Kabbalah', pp. 183-184. Cf. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>148</sup> Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 122-125.

<sup>149</sup> Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 230-231.

<sup>150</sup> See also Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 106-110, 163-164. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 264-269.

pressed once more in the totality of the 72 angelic names.<sup>151</sup> Thus, the angelic macrocosm as a whole can be seen as a corporeal manifestation of God. When read against the background of Reuchlin's earlier mentioned theses, this external aspect of God can be understood as the messianic soul, i.e. the human nature of Christ, the participation in which implies the fulfilment of the *mens humana*.

Reuchlin discusses the symbolic significance of each letter of the alphabet to outline anew the cosmological structure which offers the argument for man's revalorisation. For instance, Yod, marked by the numerical value 10, not only implies the last angelic choir (*ishim*), but also, as it did for Ricci, the illuminated mentes, those who are capable of detaching themselves from the secular world and who, as *nous* or shekel ha-po'el, can actually be part of the angelic world. Opposed to these is Thau, the final letter of the alphabet, which stands for man's human perspective and encompasses the corporeal world.<sup>152</sup> From this context, Reuchlin's work ends with a discussion of angelic influence on the sublunary world and with the question of magical actions. As is confirmed by the Aristotelian system, the intelligences have planets assigned to them through which the angels hold sway over sublunary things.<sup>153</sup> Hence, within certain limits set by God, single intelligences can rightfully be said to exert influence, also where the application of talismans and amulets is concerned, as the practice of the kabbalists shows.

All these figures and *signa*, however, are void in themselves, for the power of the kabbalist relies, like that of the saint, on *fides*, and hence on God Himself.<sup>154</sup> Looking at Reuchlin's theory of perception and the correlation of *mens* and *fides* already presented in *De verbo mirifico*, one notices that it is the conjunction with God and the participation in the angelic world that make up the true basis of an action or operation that still deserves to be

<sup>151</sup> Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, p. 272.

<sup>152</sup> See Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 114–115; Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 318, 322.

<sup>153</sup> Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, p. 342.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 120–121; and recently Busi, 'Die Kabbala', pp. 63–64. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 348 and 350: *Sed (ut asserentibus illis vera loquar) omnia ea jidei potius tribuunt, quanquam etiam orationibus nonnullam esse insitam potestatem opinantur. Dicunt enim atque credunt oratiojidei salvabit infirmum neque aliter idonei Cabalistae sentiunt, qui pariter affirmant operationes miraculosas ex solo deo et ab hominis jide pendere. Mendaces igitur et stultos esse illos, pronunciant, qui soli figurae, soli scripturae, solis lineamentis, solis vocibus aere fracto natis, tantam miraculorum vim et potestatem concedant, ut testat Rabi Moyses egyptius in libri perplexorum primi capite LXXI. It may be doubted whether this was Maimonides's real opinion.*

called magical. In keeping with these ideas, Reuchlin rounds off his discussion of kabbalistic **theurgy** by pointing at its true **signum**, the name of Jesus as the pronounced tetragrammaton.<sup>155</sup>

With a period of twenty years intervening, Reuchlin offered two interdependent **philosophical** designs to his contemporaries, which, even though they have numerous structural similarities and share many of the same ideas, nevertheless show significant differences. *De verbo mirifico* was meant to develop a new and specifically Christian concept of magic based on elements from the Latin and Hebrew traditions. The postulate of magical practice was essential to his work, and the vindication of magic legitimised an eccentric interpretation of Christian dogma. Magic, however, would lose its attraction to Reuchlin two decades later, even though his love of Renaissance philosophy remained. Magic was banned from his new work and the framework originally intended for its vindication was now filled with the findings of his kabbalistic studies.

### *A magical come-back: later texts on Christian magic*

This development did not keep occultist readers from using essential elements of Reuchlin's synthesis for their own, less ambitious, sometimes even simple, purposes. The following readings show that Reuchlin's magic was interpreted, certainly through Agrippa's mediation, as a magical practice rather than as a philosophical construction. The *Arbatel*, transmitted notably in the *Opera omnia* of Agrippa of Nettesheim, explicitly promises Christian magic to its user.<sup>156</sup> Written in **aphorisms**, it offers, next to single characters,

<sup>155</sup> See also Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, p. 122. Cf. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, p. 350, but see my statements on *De verbo mirifico*.

<sup>156</sup> *Arbatel de Magia seu pneumatica veterum tum magorum populi Dei, tum magorum gentium, pro illustratione gloriae et Philanthropias Dei*, in: Agrippa, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1. An English translation can be found in Agrippa, *His Fourth Book*, pp. 177–217. There is a German translation in the collection of J. Scheible entitled *Arbatel oder Einleitung in die Magie*, in Agrippa, *Magische Werke*, vol. 5. On the *Arbatel*, which was first printed in Basel in 1575, see: Thomdike, *A History of Magic*, vol. 6, pp. 457–458; Butler, *Ritual magic*, pp. 205–206 and 222–223; Waite, *The Book of Black Magic*, pp. 37–49 (more detailed, though speculative); Peuckert, *Pansophie*, pp. 333–338, 479. On its importance in the history of 'theosophy', see Faivre, *Theosophy*, pp. 12 and 35. A manuscript more extensive than the printed version (MS Sloane 3851, fol. 5–50) is mentioned by Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, pp. 212 and 297. Peuckert, *Pansophie*, p. 338, dates the *Arbatel*, probably with good reason, to 1550, although there is reason to believe there were several redactions. The *Theosophia pneumatica*, which seems to have been printed first by Andreas Luppius (1686) as *Clavicula Salomonis seu Theosophia pneumatica*, partly

primarily theoretical explanations, which give the text the shape of an isagoge. The practice of true magic – the most valuable form of which is *scientia prophetica* – is bound up exclusively with the true *verbum*, and it is only on this *verbum*, that means Christ, that the changing power of the magical process is based.<sup>157</sup> A perfect magician is aware of being formed by God and sees himself as an individual bearer of divine wisdom.<sup>158</sup> The knowledge of the visible and invisible aspects of creation has its origin in the revealed Word.<sup>159</sup> The *Arbatel* echoes the principal ideas of Reuchlin: the tetragrammaton (the author speaks of Jehovah or *numerus quaternarius* as the *fundamentum sapientiae*) pronounces itself in the Son, and is thereby able to provide adequate names for all stars and angels who, by this *ordinatio* or act of the divine will, are made suitable for magical purposes.<sup>160</sup> The power of the Word enables man to enter into contact with the angelic beings, using the separate intelligence as a magical tool.<sup>161</sup>

As in the work of Reuchlin, it is the *mens coniuncta* that is capable of performing miracles, with the help of *fides*, which is superior to all magical practices, sigils and characters.<sup>162</sup> With reference to the figure of Henoah, the author of the *Arbatel* even envisages an angelic transformation which correlates with such a conjunction.<sup>163</sup> On a practical level, this secret of magic equals the ability of the *natura angelica* to perform miracles.<sup>164</sup> This kind of *animus regeneratus* can judge all matters of knowledge by itself.<sup>165</sup>

A similar conception of Christian magic is suggested by the *Schem-*

relies on it. See Peuckert, *Pansophie*, pp. 480–481; Waite, *The Book of Black Magic*, pp. 50–51; Kiesewetter, *Faust*, pp. 337–340. This text was newly printed by Adelung, *Geschichte*, vol. 6, pp. 360–404.

<sup>157</sup> *Arbatel de Magia*, p. 706 (within the scale of forms of magic), p. 707 (Introduction and Aphorism II of the first Heptad), p. 730 (Aphorism XXXVIII of the sixth Heptad, systematics of magic).

<sup>158</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 735 (Aphorism XLIII of the seventh Heptad).

<sup>159</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 731 (Aphorism XXXIX of the seventh Heptad).

<sup>160</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 710 (Aphorism XI of the second Heptad), p. 711 (Aphorism XIII of the second Heptad), p. 709 (Aphorism VIII of the second Heptad).

<sup>161</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 739 (Aphorism XLIX of the seventh Heptad, a system of *Scientia magica*, the definition of *Theosophia*), pp. 735–736 (Aphorism XLIII of the seventh Heptad).

<sup>162</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 725 (Aphorism XXVII of the third Heptad), p. 728 (Aphorism XXXV of the fifth Heptad).

<sup>163</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 721 (Aphorism XXIII of the third Heptad, the *maxima secreta* of magic): *Sextum, nosse Deum et Christum, eiusque spiritum Sanctum. Haec est perfectio Microcosmi. Septimum, regenerari, ut sit Henochii rex inferioris mundi*. See also *Theosophiapneumatica*, ed. Adelung, vol. 6, p. 362.

<sup>164</sup> *Arbatel de Magia*, p. 722 (Aphorism XXIII of the third Heptad, the *mediocra secreta* of magic). See also *Theosophiapneumatica*, ed. Adelung, p. 363.

<sup>165</sup> *Arbatel de Magia*, p. 708 (Aphorism VI of the first Heptad).

*hamphoras Salomonis Regis*, an occultist manual, probably written in the sixteenth century, that repeatedly refers to Agrippa.<sup>166</sup> Another explicit source is the *Sefer Raziel*, from which the well-known sun-ritual was used in a Christian adaptation.<sup>167</sup> Next to extensive use and abuse of the material from *De arte cabalistica* (motivated by the reception of Agrippa), also structural thoughts from Reuchlin were copied in the *Shem ha-mephorash*. Within one absolute soul God sets in motion all individual souls, and these are able, through their faith, to join in the movement of the intelligences and the other spirits.<sup>168</sup> Also for the author of the *Shem ha-mephorash* the intelligible conjunction, the act of joining with God in the person of Christ, represents the terminus of all magical action.<sup>169</sup> The angelic magic that propagates this aim and dominates the text, points back to the *verbum mirificum*. The principal idea of the *Shem ha-mephorash*, finds expression in a vast number of 'latent' names of God that mostly represent well-known material and are divided into heptads. A hint at the *nomen ineffabile* of the *tetragrammaton* is followed by the statement that the name of Jesus was the *pentagrammaton effabile* during the time of grace, and was written JESU with four, or IHS, with three letters. The angels, presiding over the spheres,

<sup>166</sup> This text, too, was first printed by Andreas Luppius (1686), under the title *Semiphoras und Schemhamphoras Salomonis Regis* and reprinted by Adelung, *Geschichte*, vol. 6, pp. 405–456. Works with this title, presenting material akin to the *Sefer Raziel* and related works, seem to have been common in occultist circles already in the early sixteenth century. Cf. Secret, 'Sur quelques traductions', p. 226. On the above text, cf. Peuckert, *Pansophie*, pp. 425, 443–447. I was unable to find in Luppius's edition any links with the Latin Clavicula-literature and the incorporated invocations assembled under the title Schem-ha-mephorasch; cf. Solomon's Lesser Key, pp. 23–66 (arbitrary material), and Adelung, *Geschichte*, vol. 6, pp. 346–359 (who compared Latin and French versions with Luppius's text); Kiesewetter, *Faust*, pp. 340–341 ('Machwerk sehr neuen Ursprungs'); and Butler, *Ritual* magic, pp. 157–159.

<sup>167</sup> On Raziel as source, Semiphoras (ed. Adelung), p. 452; see p. 425: 'Wer den Sonneneinfluß begehret, der muß nicht allein seine Augen nach der Sonnen wenden, sondern seiner Seelen Macht zu der Sonnen Seelen Macht, welche Gott selbst ist, erheben, welcher er sich zuvor durch Fasten, Reinigen, gute Wercke, muß gleichmäßig machen, oder im Nahmen des Mittlers bitten, neben inbrünstiger Liebe zu Gott und dem Nächsten, zu der Sonnen Seelen kommen, daß er erfüllet werde mit ihrem Glanz und Licht, welches er vom hohen Himmel an sich zeucht, und damit befeuchtet wird, er mit Göttlichen Gaben begabet mit der höchsten Klährheit, daß er alle seine verwandten Formen, nach Wunsch des Verstandes erlanget, und so er das Licht des höchsten Grades gefaßet, so erlanget seine Seele die Vollkommenheit, und vergleichet sich mit der Sonnen Geist, ergreifet die übernatürliche Erleuchtung, und wird ihrer Macht theilhaftig'.

<sup>168</sup> *Semiphoras* (ed. Adelung), p. 423.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 440.

are in turn connected to the name of Jesus, the actual power of God, which, as we have seen quite often, becomes the basis of **magic**.<sup>170</sup> Knowing God, therefore, automatically implies knowledge of the angels and their virtues, just as knowledge of the names of God and of the name of Jesus can include all angelic **names**.<sup>171</sup>

This conception is expounded in another chain of the Shem *ha-mephora*-genre. Adam talks to God in paradise through the name Iovah; but, speaking with the angelic world, he must use the name *Yesasaye*.<sup>172</sup> Again, Christ encompasses the whole of the angelic complex and man, merged into Christ, becomes a part of the angelic world. Once more we encounter a well-known concept, be it in a more trivial context. Whoever makes use of the true magical ritual, will be led by **Christ** to unification with the divine, but it is also through **Christ**, that he will remain a creature of God, even among the angels. For it is God Himself who pronounced the magical Word.

This concludes our survey of the various forms of magical transformation in which Reuchlin, the Christian kabbalist, has been the most prominent pioneer, for it was mainly due to his efforts that the theological appearance of these forms of magic and their proximity to the language of sacramental transubstantiation raised the suspicions of Reginald Scot. The apparent syncretism of the Renaissance remained as alien to the enlightened demonologist as it had been self-evident to Reuchlin.

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<sup>170</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 422.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 426–427.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 413: 'Das erste Semiphoras, ist des Adam, da Er **mit** dem Schopffer im **Paradies** geredet hatte. Das **Andere** Semiphoras, da Er **mit** den Engeln und Geistern geredet hat'. *Ibidem*, pp. 413–414: 'Das erste Semiphoras hat der Adam **erkannt**, da ihn Gott erschaffen, und ins **Paradies** gesetzt hatte, und nur 7 **Stunden** darinnen verbleiben, der Name ist Iovah. Welcher genehmet wird in **großer** Noth, mit sehnlicher Andacht, vor dem Schopfer, so findest du Gnade und **gewüße** Hüllfe. Das ander Semiphoras, da der Adam **mit** dem **Engel** redet, welcher ihm diese **Schrift** gab, Yesasaye, das ist Gott ohne **Anfang** und Ende (the sythesis of the extremes), **diesen** nenne **wann** du **mit** dem **Engel** redest, so werden deine Fragen und Willen **erfüllet**'. Many adaptations may be found on further investigation, also in texts less important than those mentioned here. Cf., e.g., a conjuration of 'water-spirits', taken from the late and obscure *Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses* (Scheible, *Sechstes und Siebtes Buch*, XLVI–XLVII). For angelic names similar to those of the *Sefer Raziel*, cf. Schwab, *Vocabulaire*, p. 153.