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.

Whereas the role of magic in Judaism and Jewish Kabbalah has become increasingly significant to scholars in recent years,² 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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¹ 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 faieth 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 special 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.

² 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 discomfiting 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 Henoch, offers material untouched by theurgic practice. 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. At this point Metatron reveals that he is Henoch, who was transferred from the idolatrous world before the Deluge. He reports that it is true that the angels blamed him 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, in heaven God gives him 72 wings, which comprise all the world, and 365 starry eyes as the signs of angelic existence. Furthermore, all the secrets of the Law and creation are laid open to him. Clad in light, Metatron is henceforth called the lesser

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3 I use the edition of Odeberg, which offers an English translation. See also the new edition of 3 Henoch 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.
4 Odeberg, 3 Henoch, chapt. 1, pp. 3-4 (Hebrew), pp. 3-5 (English).
5 Ibidem, chapt. 4, pp. 6-8 (Hebrew), pp. 8-13 (English).
6 Ibidem, chapt. 6-7, pp. 11-14 (Hebrew), pp. 19-22 (English).
Princes, angels of elements, stars and planets subject themselves to him. Having finished the story of his transfer, 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. 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. 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.

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.

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.

9 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'.

10 Odeberg, 3 Henoch, with some interpolations, chapt. 17-42, pp. 23-46 (Hebrew), pp. 45-132 (English).
11 Cf. Grünwald, Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism, pp. 204-207.
12 Odeberg, 3 Henoch, chapt. 43-44, pp. 46-48 (Hebrew), pp. 132-140 (English).
13 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). 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 Pachakariah and the name of the white of the left eye is Bazaqtzatqiah’. As in the *Sefer Hekhalot*, magic is not only absent but explicitly repudiated. 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. 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. Quite contrary to its original intentions, the *Shi’ur Qomah*, along...
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. 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 Margaliot. Of unsure date, 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.

As stated in the book itself, it provided Solomon with the same wisdom by a chain of tradition. 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

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

20 Margaliot's paramount editorial achievement notwithstanding, it is helpful to use Niggemeyer, Beschworungsformeln, while reading that edition; ibidem, pp. 16-17, for criticism of Margaliot'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.

21 Early fourth century according to Margaliot (Sefer ha-Razim, p. 24); seventh century according to Grünwald (Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism, p. 226).

22 Sefer ha-Razim, ed. Margaliot, 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.

23 Sefer ha-Razim, ed. Margaliot, 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'.

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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. 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. 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. 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. 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. Since it refers to the tetragrammaton, and makes
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. Reuchlin knew the *Liber Razieli*, although he was sceptical towards it. Paolo Ricci († 1541), Maximilian’s physician in ordinary, a convert, and colleague of Reuchlin, knew it through his Maecenas. 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. 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. It would seem that Reuchlin had at hand the *Sefer Hekhalot* in a translation by Flavius Mithradates, whose text was taken from 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 Szol, ‘Sefer ha Razim’, pp. 277-282. It can easily be imagined what a Renaissance neoplatonist might find in this text.


31 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’.


the Sodei Razzaya of Eleazar of Worms. 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. 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.

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. Both texts existed in Latin versions when the Christian Kabbalah reached its peak. According to Iamblichus, a daimon is attributed to every person, and can be made the object of theurgical operations.

35 Cf. Garin, et al., Testi umanistici, pp. 38-39 (Epistola Enoch); 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.
36 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.
37 I have used Iamblique, Les mystères, transl. Des Places (VIII.6, IX.10, pp. 199-210) and Theologie des Aristoteles, ed. Dieterici.
38 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 Aristatalis was published in Rome in 1519, entirely paraphrased, entitled Sapientissimi Aristotelis Stagiritae Theologia sive mistica philosophia secundum Aegyptios noviter reperta et in Latinum castigatisse 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’Avenec’, pp. 346-406; Avicenna, Epistola, XLII-XLIV, pp. 140-144.
39 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.\textsuperscript{40} 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.\textsuperscript{41} 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.\textsuperscript{42} He is a product of the divine will and devotes himself to the theurgist only on divine command.\textsuperscript{43} The \textit{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 \textit{Theology}, the thinker, turning to his soul, enters - like a hypostasis - his essence (\textit{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.\textsuperscript{44}

Both conceptions are amalgamised in the \textit{Picatrix}, the \textit{Ghayat al-Hakim}.\textsuperscript{45} 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.\textsuperscript{46} This makes the \textit{Ghayat al-Hakim} (as perhaps no other work from the end of Antiquity to the beginning of the

\textit{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.
\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Iamblique, Les mystères}, VIII.6-8, pp. 199-202.
\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Ibidem}, IX.1-6, pp. 202-207.
\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Ibidem}, IX.7-8, pp. 207-208.
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Ibidem}, IX.9-10, pp. 208-210.
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.\textsuperscript{47} 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.\textsuperscript{48} From an absolute hyle, God, the first \textbf{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.\textsuperscript{49} 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.\textsuperscript{50}

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 '\textit{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

\textsuperscript{47} On this point, cf. '\textit{Picatrix}' (German), pp. xxiii-xxix; Perrone Compagni, '\textit{Picatrix latinus}', pp. 249-250; Pingree, 'Some of the Sources', pp. 1-5.
\textsuperscript{48} With respect to a possible theory of magic, Helmut Ritter, however, already stated in his introduction to the German \textit{Picatrix} 'daß wir eine solche Theorie aus den disiecta membra von \textit{Andeutungen, Zitaten} und oft nur halb verstandenen – und nur halb verstandenen \textit{Auszügen} aus allen möglichen Schriften, \textit{zum großen Teil Pseudepigraphen, erst zusammen suchen müssen}' (pp. xxxiii-xxxiv).
\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Picatrix}, Book 4, chapter I: Pseudo Al-Magni, pp. 286-287; '\textit{Picatrix}' (German), pp. 297-298; \textit{Picatrix} (Latin), pp. 174-175.
\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Picatrix}, Book 3, chapter 12: Pseudo Al-Magriti, p. 285; '\textit{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. 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. 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. As he says, Abu

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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. 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. To this division is linked a cosmology of 'sparks', hierarchically unfolding downwards to the last spark that is directly applicable to man. 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. The revelation of the divine will present in the final spark, is passed on to the magician by heralds (maggidim) linked to stars. 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. In the practical part of the Sefer ha-Tamar, a birdlike oracular figure binds the magical emanation of the Maggid. 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. 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). Sefer ha-Tamar, p. 186 (Hebrew), p. 9 (German); pp. 188-189 (Hebrew), pp. 12-13 (German).

Ibidem, pp. 190-191 (Hebrew), pp. 16-17 (German).

Ibidem, p. 193 (Hebrew), p. 19 (German).


Ibidem, pp. 193-194 (Hebrew), pp. 20-21 (German).

Ibidem, p. 195 (Hebrew), p. 22 (German).

Ibidem, pp. 195-196 (Hebrew), pp. 23-24 (German).

Ibidem, pp. 198-199 (Hebrew), pp. 27-29 (German).

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 turn rooted in a principle. The better the principle is received by the object, the purer the identity of both.\textsuperscript{69} The whole idea is derived from an imaginary \textit{Book of Perfection} that might point at the \textit{natura completa}. There is an aphorism dealing with such perfection as can be gained through the right 'mixture' and the enlightenment caused by it.\textsuperscript{70} 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.\textsuperscript{71}

\textit{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 \textit{Liber iuratus} which, in a central part, contains a ritual evocation of a \textit{visio beatifica}.\textsuperscript{72} 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-emminently Hebrew words are written in a field of ashes, in a closed room. In the last conjuration an-

\textsuperscript{69} \textit{Sefer ha-Tamar,} Aphorism 5: p. 207 (Hebrew), p. 40 (German).
\textsuperscript{71} \textit{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 der Ausbreitung ihnen, und würden sie nicht fliehen, würde (jene) nicht existieren. Und wie schwer ware der Versuch, wäre nicht sein Nutzen, und wie groß die Mühe, wäre nicht das Entzieken. Die Wände erloschen, die Rüstungen streifen ab, und die Häuser werden eingerissen, und die Furcht vor ihnen breitet sich aus. Ware sie nicht, so wäre sie schon verloren, und wäre sie nicht unverloren, so existierten ihre Träger 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.
gelic names are, as we have already seen, equipped with attributes: 'Hospek who madest the dry rod florish 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. It could be that this is an adaptation of Jewish Merkavah mysticism presented here in a deliberately Christian appearance. 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. 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. Was he a Jew who

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73 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’.


75 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 egyptischen großen Offenbarungen in sich begreifend die aufgefundenen Geheimnisbücher Mosis; 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 typoscript 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.

76 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 delle
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.
The work by Abraham is introduced by a fictional autobiography that leads the author along the courts of late medieval Europe. 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. 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. 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. True magic, founded in God as the one true artist who creates substance from nought, is entirely different 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. 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-born. Magic and Kabbalah (a term propagated by the author without any further specification) are closely related. Both are God’s noblest creatures, the Kabbalah


79 Abramelin, ed. Mathers, I.4, pp. 11-12; Abraham von Worms, Offenbarungen, I.4, pp. 15-16; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, I.4, pp. 75-77.


85 Mathers knew the Cabala denudata well and asserted (Abramelin, ed. Mathers, I.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'. 86 Fervent prayer
and faith in God can compensate one's lack of knowledge of the
Kabbalah. 87 Magic is characterised – as with Iamblichus – as entirely in-
dependent of temporal determinants, and, if Pesach and Easter prove
suitable due to their spiritual quality, then also magic can be undertaken at
time, independent of stellar influence.‘’

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, 89 and with the
use of a child and sets of numerical squares the angel is invoked. 90 Then fol-
lows the only prayer printed word for word (generally free prayer is recom-
ended) which leads up to an unction with sacred oil, enabling the
mystagogue to dispense divine grace and wisdom and to engage in angelic
collection. 91 The practitioner applies the oil to the pillars of the altar,
writing on its edges: ‘‘In whatever place it may be wherein Commemora-
tion of My Name shall be made, I will come onto you and I will bless
you’’. 92 The combination of ointment, tetragrammaton and angelic appearance is
interesting. 93 It is then that the angel is said to appear, first to the child, then

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87 Only in *Abramelin* (Mathers, 1.9, p. 37).
88 *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, 1.4, p. 57, II.5, p. 60; cf. Abraham von Worms, *Offen-
barungen*, 111.4, pp. 199-200.
93-94.
90 *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, 1.12, pp. 45-46, II.13, p. 81; Abraham von Worms, ed.
Von Ins, 1.12, p. 107, II.13, p. 146.
91 *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, 11.12, 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 damit und alles was mir zugehört,
damit ich recht heilig und gereinigt, würdig seye der Gemeinschaft deiner heili-
gen Engeln, deiner göttlichen Weißheit und der Gewalt, die du allein deinen Gesel-
Worms, ed. Von Ins, 1.12, pp. 143-144.
92 *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, 11.12, p. 80; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen,
111.12, p. 242: ‘An was Orth die Gedächtniß meines Namens würd gegründet sein,
Von Ins, 11.12, p. 144.
93 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.\footnote{Abramelin, ed. Mathers, 11.13, p. 84; Abraham von Worms, Offenhamngen, 111.13, p. 248; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 11.13, pp. 147-148.} 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.\footnote{Abramelin, ed. Mathers, 11.14, p. 88; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 11.14, p. 150.} 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.\footnote{Abramelin, ed. Mathers, 11.14, pp. 89-90; Abraham von Worms, Offenhamngen, 111.14, p. 256; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 11.14, p. 152.} If necessary, the angel defines more names for conjuration.\footnote{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.}

**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 Matriona, 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 sefuotic forces leading

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\footnote{Abramelin, ed. Mathers, 11.13, p. 84; Abraham von Worms, Offenhamngen, 111.13, p. 248; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 11.13, pp. 147-148.}

\footnote{Abramelin, ed. Mathers, 11.14, p. 88; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, 11.14, p. 150.}

\footnote{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. The pair Henoch-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. 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. 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, Maimonides 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. 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’. 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-

101 Maimonides, Fuhrer der Unschlüssigen, 1.2, pp. 30-31, II.6, pp. 53-63.
102 Idel, ‘Deus sive natura’, pp. 110-114. Abulafia describes this ambivalence primarily in Sefer ha-Hescheq and Sefer Sitre Torah, a commentary on Moreh nebu-chim. 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. Jellinek), p. 82. David Meltzer and Bruria Finkel offer a somewhat free translation of the Sefer ha-0th 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’épître, 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. Free from magical connotations, 'Elohim' hovers between angel, God and nature, and embodies man’s completion (in gematria) as ‘adam ha-schalom. These ideas are summarised in the anonymous Eshkol ha-kokhr, 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. In the author’s mind, the anthropomorphic macrocosm, the world of intelligences and nature are one.

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, who unanimously

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106 Idel reaches the same conclusion in 'Deus sive natura', p. 118.
107 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.
108 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. 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. 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, which


110 Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wunderßeige 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 Robertus et Bacon et Abanus et Picatrix et concilium magistrorum, vel maxime ob linguarum ignorantiam ad amussim, ut opportet, tenere atque docere, minus etiam librariorum manus, ab exemplis dupla scribentium, non aberrare, minus discipuli discere, minus operarii potuerint 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.

111 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 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 *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*. The goal of man in this disposition is to join his mind with the divine, to become *humanus deus et divinus homo*. 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*.

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. 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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113 Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 82-85, esp. p. 84.
115 Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 146-147.
which miraculous effects can be evoked if the proper word is pronounced individually.\(^{117}\) 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." It is a *tractus innarrabilis* or *foedus* that moves man towards God. Angels and 'good demons' function as *causa 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.\(^{119}\)

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.\(^{120}\)

According to Reuchlin, man's deification should be

\(^{117}\) Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico* / *Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 142-143. See also Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, p. 40.

\(^{118}\) 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 conveniencia, *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 digesti-vae proprietatis internuncius, crudum cibum* digerit et versat. *Nam quo calor est, hoc non magis transformat [...] Et sic ut calor naturalis in digestione *alimentorum* quasi umbra est *locum tenens* occultae propietatis, *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 precedit, in causa est, cuius instar et typum in communic sermone ipsum naturae vocabulum gerit.*

\(^{119}\) Ibidem, pp. 158-161.

\(^{120}\) 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'.\(^{121}\) 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'.\(^{122}\) In it, all potency implicitly dwells, and its correct pronunciation provides the key to all miraculous transformations.\(^{123}\)

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.\(^{124}\) 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 interwoven, 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.\(^{125}\) 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-

\(^{121}\) Reuchlin, De verbo mirifico / Das wundertatige Wort, pp. 184-185, 202-203.

\(^{122}\) Ibidem, pp. 234-237.

\(^{123}\) Ibidem, pp. 244-245.

\(^{124}\) Ibidem, pp. 294-295,300-301.

\(^{125}\) Ibidem, pp. 306-309.
constituted 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.  

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 YeHo-SchUH, the effable name of Jesus and the magical pentagrammaton (יהוה) becomes נְשׁוֹפַת). 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 (Šhemen, Mashiach), and ‘Christ’ originally means the one who is anointed in God. 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. 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. 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.

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129 Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 374-376.  
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. His Isagoge in eruditionem Cabalistarum, 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. 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. Sublunar man is

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133 Ritius, *Isagoge*, Conclusio 36, fol 7a: *Archetypi hominis artus sunt decem angelorum chori, novem quos quidem haebrai appellant haecodes, 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. 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. 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. According to Ricci, the name of Christ is the truly sacred name by which everything was created. 

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 staturae, i.e. the Sefer Hekhalot and the Shi’ur Qomah. The macrocosmos as the angelic body of erelim, hasmalim, seraphim, malachim, elohim, bene elohim, cherubim, has vero sacra Theologorum schola seraphim, cherubim, thrones, dominationes, virtues, po-
testates, principatus, archangelos, angelos vocant. Decirnus vero quem cabalistae una cum sanctorum, philosophantiumque pluribus animasticum (foemineum scilicet) ordinem proferunt: haebraica appellatioe iscin: 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). 

Ritus, Isagoge, Conclusion 22, fol. 6a, and Appendix 22, fol. 17b-18a.

"Ibidem, Appendix 22, fol. 18b.

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

Ritus, De coelesti agricultura, Introductoria Theoremata Cabalae, ed. Pistorius, Appendix 50, fol. 137.

Ritus, Isagoge, Appendix 21, fol. 17: Eiusnodi autem distincta separatorum normina, munia, et loca ex rabi simonis, et magni pontificis rabi ismael templorum tractatus ac eiusdem rabi Ismael de magnitudine staturae ex libello pomorum, ex libro lumino rabi simonis, ex hoc portarum lucis compendio, ex libro candoris rabi nehumiae, ex orationem eiusdem, ex omnibus libelli formationis commentariis colligi solet. At exactiori serie non solum angelorum sed demonum distinctio in rabi simonis templorum volume 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.  

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.  

He even avoids the word ‘magic’. The final causality of all things created and founded in Christ no longer relies on man’s magical connection to the sphere of the

commented upon by Isaac the Blind, Azriel of Gerona, Ramban and others), the *Sefer Bahir*, Joseph Gikatilla’s *Schāra ‘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.


141 On this judgement, see also Zika, *Reuchlin und die okklute 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. 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. 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.

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. 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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143 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah /De arte cabalistica*, p. 46-47.

144 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. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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-

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pressed once more in the totality of the 72 angelic names.” 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 fulfillment 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. 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. 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. 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

151 Reuchlin, On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica, p. 272.
152 See Zika, Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition, pp. 114-115; Reuchlin, On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica, pp. 318,322.
153 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 idei potius tribuant, quamquam etiam orationibus nonnullam esse insitam potestatem opinantur. Dicunt enim atque credunt oratio idei salvabit infirmum neque alter idonei Cabalistae sentient, qui pariter affirmant operationes miraculosas ex solo deo et ab hominis jide pendere. Mendaces igitur et stultos esse illos, pronunciunt, qui soli figurae, soli scripturae, solis lineamentis, solis vocibus aere fractus, tantam miraculorum vim et potentatem concedant, ut testat Rabi Moyseus egypitius in libri perplexorum primi capite LXXII. 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.\textsuperscript{155}

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.

\textit{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 \textit{Arbatel}, transmitted notably in the \textit{Opera omnia} of Agrippa of Nettesheim, explicitly promises Christian magic to its user.\textsuperscript{156} Written in aphorisms, it offers, next to single characters,

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  \item \textsuperscript{155} See also Zika, \textit{Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition}, p. 122. Cf. Reuchlin, \textit{On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica}, p. 350, but see my statements on \textit{De verbo mirifico}.
  \item \textsuperscript{156} \textit{Arbatel de Magia seu pneumatica veterum tum magorum populi Dei, tum magorum gentium, pro illustratione gloriae et Philanthropiae Dei}, in: Agrippa, \textit{Opera omnia}, vol. 1. An English translation can be found in Agrippa, \textit{His Fourth Book}, pp. 177-217. There is a German translation in the collection of J. Scheible entitled \textit{Arbatel oder Einleitung in die Magie}, in Agrippa, \textit{Magische Werke}, vol. 5. On the \textit{Arbatel}, which was first printed in \textit{Basel} in 1575, see: Thomdike, \textit{A History of Magic}, vol. 6, pp. 457-458; Butler, \textit{Ritual magic}, pp. 205-206 and 222-223; Waite, \textit{The Book of Black Magic}, pp. 37-49 (more detailed, though speculative); Peuckert, \textit{Pansophie}, pp. 333-338, 479. On its importance in the history of ‘theosophy’, see Faivre, \textit{Theosophy}, pp. 12 and 35. A manuscript more extensive than the printed version (MS Sloane 3851, fol. 5-50) is mentioned by Clulee, \textit{John Dee’s Natural Philosophy}, pp. 212 and 297. Peuckert, \textit{Pansophie}, p. 338, dates the \textit{Arbatel}, probably with good reason, to 1550, although there is reason to believe there were several redactions. The \textit{Theosophia pneumatica}, which seems to have been printed first by \textit{Andreas} Luppius (1686) as \textit{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 \textit{scientia prophetica} – is bound up exclusively with the true \textit{verbum}, and it is only on this \textit{verbum}, that means Christ, that the changing power of the magical process is based.\textsuperscript{157} A perfect magician is aware of being formed by God and sees himself as an individual bearer of divine wisdom.\textsuperscript{158} The knowledge of the visible and invisible aspects of creation has its origin in the revealed Word.\textsuperscript{159} The \textit{Arbatel} echoes the principal ideas of Reuchlin: the \textit{tetragrammaton} (the author speaks of Jehovah or \textit{numerus quaternarius} as the \textit{fundamentum sapientiae}) pronounces itself in the Son, and is thereby able to provide adequate names for all stars and angels who, by this \textit{ordinatio} or act of the divine will, are made suitable for magical purposes.\textsuperscript{160} The power of the Word enables man to enter into contact with the angelic beings, using the separate intelligence as a magical tool.\textsuperscript{161}

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

A similar conception of Christian magic is suggested by the \textit{Schem-}

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\item \textsuperscript{157} \textit{Arbatel de Magia}, p. 706 (within the scale of forms of magic), p. 707 (Introduction and Aphorism \textit{II} of the first Heptad), p. 730 (Aphorism \textit{XXXVIII} of the sixth Heptad, systematics of magic).
\item \textsuperscript{158} \textit{Ibidem}, p. 735 (Aphorism \textit{XLI} of the seventh Heptad).
\item \textsuperscript{159} \textit{Ibidem}, p. 731 (Aphorism \textit{XXXIX} of the seventh Heptad).
\item \textsuperscript{160} \textit{Ibidem}, p. 710 (Aphorism \textit{XI} of the second Heptad), p. 711 (Aphorism \textit{XII} of the second Heptad), p. 709 (Aphorism \textit{VIII} of the second Heptad).
\item \textsuperscript{161} \textit{Ibidem}, p. 739 (Aphorism \textit{XLIX} of the seventh Heptad, a system of \textit{Scientia magica}, the definition of \textit{Theosophia}), pp. 735-736 (Aphorism \textit{XLIII} of the seventh Heptad).
\item \textsuperscript{162} \textit{Ibidem}, p. 725 (Aphorism \textit{XXVII} of the third Heptad), p. 728 (Aphorism \textit{XXV} of the fifth Heptad).
\item \textsuperscript{163} \textit{Ibidem}, p. 721 (Aphorism \textit{XXIII} of the third Heptad, the \textit{maxima secreta} of magic): \textit{Sextum, nosse Deum et Christum, eiusque spiritum Sanctum. Haec est perfectio Microcosmi. Septimum, regenerari, ut sit Henochii rex inferioris mundi.} See also \textit{Theosophiapneumatica}, ed. Adelung, vol. 6, p. 362.
\item \textsuperscript{164} \textit{Arbatel de Magia}, p. 722 (Aphorism \textit{XXIII} of the third Heptad, the \textit{mediocra secreta} of magic). See also \textit{Theosophiapneumatica}, ed. Adelung, p. 363.
\item \textsuperscript{165} \textit{Arbatel de Magia}, p. 708 (Aphorism \textit{VI} of the first Heptad).
\end{itemize}
hamphoras Salomonis Regis, an occultist manual, probably written in the sixteenth century, that repeatedly refers to Agrippa. Another explicit source is the Sefer Raziel, from which the well-known sun-ritual was used in a Christian adaptation. 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. 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. 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,

166 This text, too, was first printed by Andreas Luppius (1686), under the title Semiphoras und Schemhamphoras Salomonis Regis and reprinted by Adelung, Geschichtele, 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, Geschichtele, 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.

167 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, erhoben, welcher er sich zuvor durch Fasten, Reinigen, gute Wercke, muß gleichmäßig machen, oder im Namen des Mittlers bitten, neben innrünstiger Liebe zu Gott und dem Nachsten, zu der Sonnen Seelen kommen, daß er erfilltet 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 Klarheit, daß er alle seine verwandten Formen, nach Wunsch des Verstandes erlanget, und so er das Licht des höchsten Grades gefäbert, so erlanget seine Seele die Vollkommenheit, und vergleicht sich mit der Sonnen Geist, ergrefft die übernatürliche Erliechung, und wird ihrer Macht teilhaftig'.

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. 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.

This conception is expounded in another chain of the Shem ha-mephorash-genre. Adam talks to God in paradise through the name Iovah; but, speaking with the angelic world, he must use the name Yesasaye. 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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170 Ibidem, p. 422.
172 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 sehnllicher Andacht, vor dem Schopffer, so findest du Gnade und gewüste Hülle'. Das ander Semiphoras, da der Adam mit dem Engel redet, welcher ihm diese Schrift gab, Yesasaye, das ist Gott ohne Anfang und Ende (the synthesis of the extremes), diesen nenne wann du mit dem Engel redest, so werden deine Fragen und Willen erfüller'. 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.